# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. IX.

CONTAINING

I. The laſt Twenty-Three Years of the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

II. The Reign of King JAMES I.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

*Illuſtrated with the* HEADS *of* MARY *Queen of* Scots, *and King* JAMES I. *Engraven by Mr.* Virtue: *And a Genealogical Table of the Poſterity of King* JAMES I.

*LONDON:*
Printed for JAMES and JOHN KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCCXXIX.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



# THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

## BOOK XVII. SECT. II.

*The last Three and Twenty Years of the Reign of Queen* ELIZABETH.

## 23. ELIZABETH.



PRINCE *Casimire* left not the Court of *England* till about the middle of *February*. He had been honoured and careſſed in an extraordinary Manner; the Queen having intimated that it would be grateful to her to render his ſtay in *England* as agreeable as poſſible. Before his Departure ſhe conferred on him the *Order* of St. *George*, and put on the *Garter* herſelf about his Leg. It was not without Reaſon that ſhe uſed him thus civilly. He had ſtill a conſiderable Body of Troops ready to aſſiſt the *Proteſtants*, and it was a great Matter to her that ſhe could rely upon him, by ſupplying him with Money. In the preſent Situation of her Affairs, nothing deſerved her Care more than to hinder the Ruin of the *Proteſtants* in *France* and the *Netherlands*, ſince

1579. *The Queen is extremely civil to Prince Caſimire.* Camden.

1579. on their Preſervation depended her ſafety. *Caſimire* was her Inſtrument to keep up in the *Low-Countries*, Troubles which made her ſleep in Peace. When he came back to the *Netherlands*, he found his *Horſe* had accepted the Duke of *Parma*'s Paſs-port, that they might return ſafely into *Germany*, becauſe wanting their Pay, they would neither ſerve any longer, nor ſtay in the Country.

*Simier the French Envoy promotes the Duke of Anjou's Affairs.*

At the ſame Time, the Queen was taken up with an Affair which required her whole Attention: I mean the Negotiation of her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. Beſides *Rambouillet* and *Bacqueville* who had been in *England* ſome Time upon that Account, the King of *France* had ſent alſo *Simier* a Man of Parts and very fit for the Purpoſe. *Elizabeth* had a good deal of Wit and Senſe, and was perfectly well acquainted with her own Intereſts: but ſhe was not free from all the Paſſions of her Sex. *Simier* ſoon finding out her Temper, beſtowed not his Time and Pains in ſolliciting the Duke of *Anjou*'s Suit, by Reaſons of State and Policy: She knew more of that Matter than himſelf. But he underſtood ſo well the moſt proper way to win her Heart, that he gained her Ear more than the Duke of *Anjou* would have done himſelf. All the World were ſurprized at the great Change they ſaw in her, and at the Progreſs the Duke of *Anjou* had made by the help of *Simier*. Nay, 'twas believed he had uſed Love-Potions and other unlawful Arts, ſuch was his Addreſs to render himſelf agreeable, if after all, he was not himſelf over-reached by the Queen. Above all Things, he took great Care to ruin the Earl of *Leiceſter*, not having the ſame Reaſons as the *Engliſh* Courtiers to keep fair with that Favourite. It was he who revealed to the Queen *Leiceſter*'s clandeſtine Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow, and this Diſcovery put her into ſuch a Paſſion that ſhe was juſt going to ſend him to the *Tower* *. *Leiceſter* was vexed to the Heart

* If *Suſſex*, though his deadlieſt Adverſary, had not generouſly diſſwaded

Heart to see himself thus braved by a Foreigner. 'Tis even said, he bribed one of the Guards to assassinate him. It is at least certain, that the Queen fearing the *French* Envoys might receive some Affront, took them under her especial Protection, and commanded by *Proclamation* that no Man should offer them any Injury. It happened shortly after, that as the Queen was in her Barge on the *Thames*, with the three *French* Envoys *, a Pistol was discharged out of a Boat, and one of her Bargemen wounded. The Man that fired the Pistol was taken immediately, and threatened to be put to the Rack; but he cleared himself so ingenuously, that the Queen was perswaded of his Innocence. She took Occasion from her pardoning this Man, to display the Affection she had for her Subjects, saying, *She could believe nothing of her People which a Parent would not believe of his own Children.*

1579. Leicester great Enemy to Simier.

*A Pistol fired into the Queen's Barge.*

Shortly after, the Duke of *Anjou* came *incognito* into *England*, with two of his Servants only. He went to Court, without being known by any Body, and after some private Discourse with the Queen, he returned into *France*. Two Months after the Queen ordered some of her most trusty Privy-Counsellors to examine together the Advantages and Dangers which might arise from her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, and to make their Report to her.

*The Duke of* Anjou *visits* Elizabeth *incognito.* Camden.

Whilst *Elizabeth* was intent upon gaining the King of *France*'s Friendship, the Duke of *Guise* was framing a Plot capable of creating her one Day a great deal of Trouble. As *Englaud* could not be conveniently invaded, but by the way of *Scotland*, *Guise*, who had not lost Sight of the Project which the late Duke his Father, and the Cardinal his Uncle had formed, was devising means to bring it about, by set-

Esme Stuart *tries to set* James *and* Elizabeth *at Variance.* Melvil. Camden.

disswaded her, being of Opinion that no Man ought to be troubled for lawful Marriage. *Camden.*

* *Camden* says, only *Simier*, with the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Hatton* her Vice-Chamberlain, were in the Boat with her.

1579. ting *Elizabeth* and the King of *Scotland* at Variance. He made use for that Purpose, of *Esme Stuart d' Aubigny*, who came to *Scotland* under Colour of paying his Respects to the King as his near Relation. He was Son of *John Stuart*, younger Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the young King's Grandfather. This Lord, who was settled in *France*, where his Family held the Barony of *Aubigny* [in *Berry*] being come to the King, knew so well how to insinuate himself into his good Graces, that in a little Time he became his Favourite. There was also about the same Time another young Man, sprung from a Branch of the *Stuart*-Family, distinguished by the Name of *Oghiltry*, who was very much beloved by the King. These two Favourites joined together to ruin the Earl of *Morton*, as well for the sake of their own Interest, as because it was necessary, in order to execute the Duke of *Guise*'s Designs, to get rid of a Lord, who was too much attached to the Interest of *England*. To compass their Ends, they perswaded the King to take a Progress into some of his Countries, well knowing the Regent had Business which would not suffer him to go with him. The Earl of *Morton* not mistrusting these young Men, who seemed only to mind Trifles, opposed not the King's Design. During the Progress, the two Favourites instilled into the King an utter Aversion to the Regent, and an excessive Desire to be freed from him. We shall see presently the Effects of this Aversion; but it will be proper first to say a Word of what had passed in the *Netherlands*.

Stuart *of* Oghiltry *another of* James's *Favourites* Melvil.

*The two Favourites set the King against the Earl of* Morton.

*Affairs of the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

The Army of the *States* being much weakened by the Retreat of the *German* Troops, the Prince of *Parma* besieged *Mastricht*, whilst Plenipotentiaries on both Sides were treating a Peace at *Cologne*. But this Negotiation served only to divide the Confederates the more. From that Time several Lords forsook them. *Montigny* came to the Prince of *Parma*'s Army with the Forces under his Command. *Artois* and *Hainault* made a separate Treaty, and some other Provinces returned to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*.

*Spain.* The Prince of *Orange* seeing this Defection, used his Endeavour to unite still more strictly the Provinces which persisted in their Resolution to throw off *Philip*'s Yoke. He succeeded at length, and got the famous *Union of Utrecht* to be signed, between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friseland*, and *Utrecht*, the Articles whereof are to be seen in the Histories of those Countries. *Gaunt* and *Ypres* came into the *Union* afterwards, and the Prince of *Orange* was made Governour of *Flanders*. Mean while the Prince of *Parma* took *Mastricht*, after which he disbanded the greatest Part of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, according to his Promise. This sincere Dealing procured him *Mechlin*, *Lisle* and *Valenciennes*. 1579. *Union of* Utrecht.

The City of *London* growing excessive large, to the Detriment of the rest of the Towns of *England*, the Queen thought it necessary to remedy this Inconveniency. She issued out therefore in the beginning of the Year 1580 a Proclamation, prohibiting any new Houses to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City, upon Pain of Imprisonment and Forfeiture of the Materials. It were to be wished for the good of *England*, that this Prohibition had been punctually executed even to this Day, since the City is enlarged to such a Degree, that it is become a monstrous Head to a Body of a moderate Size, to which it bears no Proportion. 1580. *A Prohibition against enlarging the City of* London. Camden.

But there was a still more pressing Evil which it was no less necessary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the *English Seminaries* in foreign Countries from sending Priests into *England* to preach Sedition and Rebellion, under Colour of administring the *Sacraments* to the *Catholicks*. The Priests who were driven out of *England* in the Beginning of this Reign, had set up a College at *Doway* by the means of *William Allen* an *Oxford*-Man, who was afterwards Cardinal. Whilst the Duke of *Alva* was Governour of the *Netherlands*, in this College were formed all the Plots I have mentioned in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*. But *Don Lewis de Requesens*, having banished from the English Seminaries *at* Rome *and* Rheims.

1579. *Low-Countries* all the *Engliſh* Fugitives, the Members of *Doway*-College retired, ſome to *Rome*, and ſome to *Rheims*, where they erected *Seminaries*, under the Protection of the Pope and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who was Archbiſhop of *Rheims*. It was theſe two *Seminaries* which ſupplied the *Catholicks* in *England* with Prieſts. As long as the Court imagined theſe Men only adminiſtred the *Sacraments* in private to thoſe of their Religion, no notice ſeemed to be taken of it. But it was diſcovered at length, that they were diligent in ſpreading pernicious Principles, which might be attended with ill Conſequences. They maintained that the Pope had [by *divine* Right] full Power to dethrone Kings, and that *Elizabeth* being excommunicated and depoſed by *Pius* V's *Bull*, her Subjects were freed from their Allegiance. Four of theſe dangerous Emiſſaries were condemned and executed for daring to maintain publickly, that the Queen was lawfully depoſed *.

*Four Prieſts executed.*

*Firſt Jeſuits in England.*

This did not hinder the two *Seminaries* from continually ſending into *England* Incendiaries, with whom were joined *Robert Parſons* and *Edmund Campian* Jeſuits, who were the firſt of that *Order* employed to preach the above-mentioned dangerous Tenets. They had obtained of the Pope a *Bull* dated the 14th of *April* 1580, declaring that Pope *Pius's Bull* bound *Elizabeth* and the *Hereticks* always; but in no way the *Catholicks*, till a favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to put it in Execution. Theſe two *Jeſuits* had profeſſed the *Proteſtant* Religion, and even held Places in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. After that, withdrawing out of the Kingdom, they returned from Time to Time, appearing one while like *Clergymen*, another while like Soldiers, or in ſome other Diſguiſe, and frequented the Houſes of the *Catholicks*, under Pretenſe of inſtructing and comforting them; but in reality, to inſpire them with Sedition and Rebellion. Nay, they had the Confidence to challenge the *Proteſtant* Clergy

* Namely, *Hanſe*, *Nelſon*, *Maine*, and *Sherwood*.

*Clergy* to diſpute in Print*. All this coming to the Queen's Knowledge, a Proclamation was iſſued out, commanding all thoſe who had any Children, [ Wards, Kinſmen ] beyond Sea, to give in their Names [ to the *Ordinary* ] in Ten Days, and call them home within a Month*1, with a Prohibition to ſupply them with Money after that Time. By the ſame Proclamation all Perſons were forbid to entertain or harbour any *Jeſuits* or Prieſts ſent forth from the *Seminaries* of *Rome* or *Rheims*, upon Pain of being puniſhed as Rebels and ſeditious Perſons. 1580. *Proclamation enjoining the calling home of Children from foreign Parts.*

Shortly after printed Books were diſperſed, intimating that the Pope and King of *Spain* had formed a Deſign to conquer *England* and reſtore the *Catholick* Religion, and exhorting the *Engliſh* Papiſts to help forward the Deſign. Whereupon the Queen iſſued out another Proclamation, declaring, ſhe was not ignorant of the Practices of her Enemies, but by the Grace of God, and the Help of her faithful Subjects, ſhe was able to withſtand their Attacks both at Home and Abroad: That moreover, as the Plots which were contriving were not only againſt her Perſon, but alſo againſt the whole Kingdom, ſhe did not intend to be cruel to the Good, by ſparing the Bad; and therefore ſuch as would not for the future keep within the Bounds of their Duty, were to expect no Mercy. *Another threatning one.*

The Menaces from the Pope and King of *Spain* were not altogether of no effect, ſince it appeared this very Year that there was a Plot formed againſt *Ireland*. *Arthur Grey*, Lord-Deputy of that Iſland, had Intelligence that Seven Hundred *Spaniards* and *Italians* ſent by the Pope and *Philip* II, were landed without Oppoſition, under the Command of *San-Joſepho* an *Italian*, and had preſently run up a For- *Deſcent of the* Spaniards *in* Ireland. Camden.

* *Campian* likewiſe publiſhed his *Decem Rationes* in Defence of the *Romiſh* Communion. His Book was anſwered by Dr. *Whitaker*. Camden.

*1 After Ten Days, and within four Months. *Camden.*

1580. tification, which they called *The Fort del Oro*. The Earl of *Ormond*, who was not far from those Quarters, hastning thither with some Troops, took a few Prisoners, who declared, they had brought Arms for Five or Six Thousand Men, who were to join with them, in order to drive the *English* out of the Island. The Earl not having Troops enough to besiege the Fort, contented himself with investing it, till the Lord-Deputy, who had begun to march, should come and join him. A little after the Fort was besieged in Form, and compelled to surrender the Fifth Day at Discretion. This good Success was sullied by the Cruelty of the *English*, who under Pretence of the Difficulty of guarding so many Prisoners, put the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and hanged up all the *Irish*.

*Drake's Return from his Voyage round the World.*

This Year was memorable for the Return of *Francis Drake* from his Voyage round the World. He had navigated in *America*, upon the *North* and *South-Seas*, and amassed a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver taken from the *Spaniards*. At his Return, which was in the Month of *November*, the Queen knighted him, and was pleased to dine on board the Ship which had gone so great a Voyage. After which she ordered it to be drawn up in a little Creek near *Deptford*, and certain Inscriptions to be set up in Memory of the Thing *.

*The Spanish Ambassador's Complaints against Drake. The Q's. Answer.*

*Bernardine de Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador made great Complaints against *Drake*. He required that he should be punished for his Robberies, and for daring to sail upon the Seas which were under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, and that all the Money he had plundered from the *Spaniards* should be restored. He was

* He sailed from *Plymouth* the 13th of *December* 1577, and returned to the same Port *November* the 3d, 1580. When the Ship was hawled up, the same Day some *Wincheſter-Scholars* set up some Verses on the Main-Mast in praise of *Drake*, which I suppose were the Inscriptions mentioned by the Author, Two of the Verses were as follow:

*Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas,* Drace *Columnis*
*Et magno dicas, Hercule major ero.* Camden.

was told, that the *Indian* Ocean was common to all the Nations of *Europe*, and that the *Engliſh* by no means allowed of the Property which the King of *Spain* aſſumed, or of the Pope's pretended Donation, who had no manner of Right to diſpoſe of Countries and Seas which belonged not to him: That *Drake* ſhould be always ready to anſwer in Law whenever he ſhould be ſued; and to hinder him from converting the Gold and Silver to his own Uſe, the Queen had ordered all the Goods he had brought home to be ſequeſtred, with Deſign to ſatisfy the King of *Spain*, if he could prove they belonged to him or his Subjects, though the Charges ſhe had been at in defending *Ireland* againſt the Attacks of the *Spaniards*, amounted to a great deal more. The Queen however repaid afterwards part of the Treaſure. 1582.

*Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel* died this Year. He was the laſt of that illuſtrious Family which had flouriſhed in *England* for Three Hundred Years and more *. One of his Daughters had married *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and thence it was that the Title of *Earl of Arundel* came to the *Howard* Family. *Death of the Earl of* Arundel.

The Religious War was renewed in *France* in the Month of *January*, and ended in *November* by a Sixth Treaty of Peace. *Affairs of* France.

This Year *Philip* II got Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Portugal*, vacant by the Death of King *Henry*. *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, natural Son to *Don Lewis*, Brother of the late King, would have diſputed the Crown with the King of *Spain*; but the Forces of the two Competitors being very unequal, *Don Antonio*'s Endeavours were in vain. Philip II *gets Poſſeſſion of* Portugal.

The Affairs of *Scotland* began to give *Elizabeth* ſome Uneaſineſs, becauſe ſhe knew King *James*'s two Favourites did all they could to take him off from the *Affairs of* Scotland.

* From the time of *Richard Allen*, who, (being deſcended from the *Albany*'s, antient Earls of *Arundel* and *Suſſex*) in the Reign of *Edward* I, received the Title of Earl without any Creation, in regard of his being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Arundel*. Camden.

1580. the Interest of *England*. The first Thing to that End was to finish the Earl of *Morton*'s Ruin, whom they had already destroyed in the King's Favour. The second, to engage the King to marry a *French* Princess. The third, to persuade him, after his Marriage, to declare the Duke of *Guise* his Lieutenant-General. The Advices the Queen received upon this Occasion had no need of Proof, since she knew long ago the Design on Foot to invade her by way of *Scotland*, and since what was contriving at King *James*'s Court was very proper to bring about that Design. She saw moreover, that the two Favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the House of *Lorrain*, gained more and more the Love and Confidence of the King, who took delight in heaping Favours upon them. *Aubigny* had been made *Earl*, and then *Duke of Lenox*, and *James Stuart* was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Arran*. Upon the Intelligence she had received, she believed it necessary to begin with opening the young King's Eyes with regard to the Plots of his Favourites, or to put him under a Necessity to show that he approved of them, which could not but breed great Discontents among the People of *Scotland*. To that purpose she sent Sir *Robert Bowes* into *Scotland* to accuse the Duke of *Lenox* before the King and Council, of holding with the Court of *France*, and particularly with the Duke of *Guise*, Intelligence destructive of *Scotland* and *England*. The Council of *Scotland*, governed by the Duke of *Lenox*, thought not proper to admit the Accusation: but the King sent into *England* the Lord *Humes*, to clear his Favourite to the Queen, who refused him Audience. Nothing could be more grateful to the Favourites, than the Misunderstanding which began to be formed between their Master and the Queen of *England*. Not to afford him leisure to cool, one Day, as the Earl of *Morton* was present in the Council, the Earl of *Arran* accused him of being concerned in the late King's Murder. Upon which he was immediately arrested,

*Aubigny made Duke of Lenox, and Stuart Earl of Arran.*

*Bowes sent into Scotland to accuse Lenox. He is ill received.*

*Morton is sent to Prison.* Melvil.

arreſted, ſent to Priſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and afterwards removed to *Dunbarton*. 1580.

*Elizabeth* hearing of the Earl of *Morton*'s Diſgrace, and finding his Attachment to *England* was the ſole Occaſion of it, diſpatched *Randolph* out of hand to go and ſollicite in his behalf. But the Favourite's Intention being rather to breed ill Blood than compoſe Matters, his Interceſſion was to no purpoſe. *Randolph* ſeeing the King ſo beſet, that it was not poſſible to obtain any thing, demanded an Audience of the States who were then aſſembled. He repreſented to them, how neceſſary a good Underſtanding with *England* was, what the Queen his Miſtreſs had done for *Scotland* ſince the King's Birth, how great an Affection ſhe had all along expreſſed for him, and with what Pains and Charge ſhe had always protected his faithful Subjects: That, notwithſtanding all this, the Duke of *Lenox* uſed his utmoſt Endeavour to ſow Diſcord between the two Kingdoms, and had ſo far ſucceeded in his Deſign, that the King now looked upon the Queen of *England* his good Kinſwoman as an Enemy. The *States* heard his Harangue, and returned a general Anſwer, which let him ſee they were guided by the Court. So, finding he could gain nothing either upon the King or *States*, he began to practiſe upon the Great Men, to perſuade them to riſe in Arms, whilſt *Elizabeth* ſhould ſend Forces towards the Borders. As all this could not be done without the King and his Favourites being informed of it, the Government of *Sterling* was taken from the Earl of *Marr*, who was ſuſpected of being too good a Friend of the *Engliſh*, and the King iſſued out an Order to all his Subjects fit to bear Arms to hold themſelves ready to march at a Moment's Warning. But as *Elizabeth* wanted only to terrify the King of *Scotland*, and not to go to War with him for the ſake of the Earl of *Morton*, ſhe ordered her Troops to retire. Probably *Elizabeth*'s beſtirring herſelf to ſave the Priſoner's Life, rather haſtened his Death, ſince preſently after he was condemned and beheaded. He confeſſed the Earl

1581. Randolph *is ſent into* Scotland. Camden.

*He can do no good with the King or States.*

*He tries to ſtir up a Rebellion in* Scotland. James *provides for his Defence.*

*The Earl of* Morton *is beheaded.* Camden. Melvil. p. 118.

1581. Earl of *Bothwel* had imparted to him his Design to take away the King's Life, but he denied that he had any Hand in the Murder. He said also, he had intended to carry the King into *England*, that being bred up among the *English*, he might find the less Difficulty to obtain the Crown of that Kingdom after the Queen's Death. *Randolph* seeing *Elizabeth* had no Design to support the Great Men of *Scotland*, whom he had gained, went away without taking his Audience of Leave.

*The two Favourites grow odious.*

The Earl of *Morton* being dead, the two Favourites became more and more Masters of the King's good Graces, and of the Government of the Kingdom, without regarding the People's Murmurings, who could see themselves without Indignation at the Mercy of two raw and unexperienced young Men.

*Their Character.* Melvil.

The Duke of *Lenox* had some good Qualities: but he had no Knowledge of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and besides, he was a *Catholick*, and looked upon as the Duke of *Guise*'s Creature. This gave occasion to fear he had formed Projects destructive of the Religion and Liberty of *Scotland*. The Earl of *Arran* was an *Atheist*, and one of the most wicked Men alive, if *Melvil*'s Testimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the Duke of *Lenox*'s Friend; but he laboured to ruin him, by giving him Counsels capable of making him forfeit the Love and Esteem of the Nobles and People. On the other Side, he privately hinted to the *Clergy* that the *Reformed* Religion would be in great Danger, if care was not taken to oppose betimes the pernicious Designs of the Duke of *Lenox*. By these underhand Ways, he managed it so that the Duke became odious to the whole Kingdom.

*The Articles of the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of* Anjou *are agreed upon.*

Whilst these Things passed in *Scotland*, the Court of *France* earnestly pressed the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth*. In short, the Queen having agreed with *Simier* upon the chief Articles, *Henry* III sent into *England* an honourable Embassy, *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse* Marshal of *France*, President *Brison*, and some other Persons of Distinction.

Diſtinction. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with great Pomp and Magnificence, and the Queen appointed to treat with them the Lord *Burleigh* High-Treaſurer, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral of *England*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, who was made Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *Thomas Smith* lately deceaſed. As every thing was very near ſettling, the following Articles by common Conſent were drawn up, which were to be digeſted in Form of Treaty, after they ſhould be approved of by the King of *France*, and the Duke his Brother. 1581.

*Articles.*

The Marriage ſhall be conſummated within ſix Weeks after the ratifying of the Treaty.

The Duke of *Anjou* and his Domeſticks who are not *Engliſh* ſhall have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, in ſome certain Place to be appointed within his Court.

The Duke of *Anjou* ſhall alter nothing in the Religion now received and eſtabliſhed in *England*.

After the Conſummation of the Marriage, he ſhall enjoy the Title *of King of* England, but the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhall remain in the Hands of the Queen alone.

Whereas the Duke has demanded that he may be crowned *King of England* [ preſently after the Marriage ] and enjoy that Honour, in caſe he ſhall come to be Guardian of the Children he may have by the Queen, it is agreed the Queen ſhall lay the Matter before the Parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her Power.

*Letters Patents*, &c. ſhall run in the Name of the King and Queen, as in the time of *Philip* and *Mary*.

The Queen ſhall aſſign the Duke by Authority of Parliament an honourable Penſion to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſes.

She

1581. She shall procure the Parliament to assign a yearly Pension in case he survives her.

The Duke shall make the Queen a Dowry of Forty Thousand Crowns a Year out of the Dukedom of *Berry*, and shall put her in present Possession thereof.

As to their Children, the following Articles shall be settled, which shall be ratified in the Parliament of *England* and *France*.

All the Children, as well Males as Females, shall succeed their Mother in Inheritance, each in his Order, according to the Customs of *England*.

If the Crown of *France* happens to fall to the Duke of *Anjou*, or his Heirs, and there be two Males, the Eldest shall succeed in the Kingdom of *France*, and the Second in that of *England*.

If there be but one Son, he shall enjoy both Crowns, but shall be obliged to reside in *England* Eight Months in every Two Years.

If the Duke never comes to the Crown of *France*, his Children shall inherit his *Appennage*.

If he out-live the Queen, he shall have the Guardianship of the Children; of the Males till they are Eighteen, and of the Females till they are Fifteen.

If the Duke die before the Time of the Guardianship be expired, it shall be left to the Disposal of the Parliament.

*After these Articles relating to the Children, and serving to settle the Succession, it was further agreed:*

The Duke shall prefer no Foreigner to any Post or Office in *England*.

He shall not carry the Queen out of the Kingdom, without her own and the express Consent of the Peers of the Realm.

If she die without Issue, he shall pretend no Claim to *England*.

He shall not convey the Crown-Jewels out of the Kingdom.

He shall leave all the Places in the Hands of the *English*, and shall not remove from thence any warlike Stores.

There

There ſhall be a particular Treaty of League between *France* and *England*, with the proper Ratifications. 1581.

By a ſeparate Article ſigned apart by itſelf, it was agreed, "The Queen ſhall not be bound to conſummate the Marriage, before ſhe and the Duke of "*Anjou* ſhall thoroughly ſatisfy one another in certain Points, and ſhall certify the King of *France* "thereof within ſix Weeks". It is not known upon what account it was neceſſary to take this Precaution.

*The Duke of* Anjou *is made Sovereign of the confederate Provinces.* Philip II *is degraded from the Sovereignty.*

Ever ſince laſt Year the *States* of the Low-Countries had begun to treat with the Duke of *Anjou* about the Offer they made him of the Sovereignty of the confederate Provinces, and this Negotiation was in ſuch Forwardneſs, that the Conditions were already agreed upon. As ſoon as the Prince of *Orange* was almoſt ſure of this Affair's ſucceeding, he ordered it ſo, that the *States* declared the King of *Spain* to have forfeited the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, and the Duke was expected every Hour to come and take Poſſeſſion of his new Dignity, and to oppoſe the Prince of *Parma* who was beſieging *Cambray*. The Duke arrived indeed in the Month of *Auguſt* with an Army of Twenty Thouſand ſtrong, and conſtrained the Prince of *Parma* to raiſe the Siege, and retire to *Valenciennes*. He made his Entry into *Cambray* the 18th of *Auguſt*, and was declared Prince thereof, having firſt taken the Oath.

Elizabeth *ſtarts Difficulties about her Marriage.*

In the mean time *Elizabeth* ſhowed that ſhe had altered her Mind with regard to her Marriage, or that ſhe had never ſeriouſly reſolved to conſummate it. The Buſineſs was only to find a Pretence to break it off; or at leaſt to defer it till Time ſhould produce a more favourable Opportunity. To this End, ſhe ſent into *France James Somers* Clerk of the Council, to require, that purſuant to the laſt Marriage-Article, a League *Offenſive* and *Defenſive* ſhould be forthwith concluded between *France* and *England*. *Henry* III anſwered, That in the Articles there was no mention of a League *Offenſive*,

1581. *Offensive*, but that he was ready to sign a *Defensive* one. *Somers* replied, the League spoken of in the Articles must be deemed *Offensive*, since there was already a League *Defensive* concluded in 1272, which not having been violated, had no need to be renewed. Upon this *Elizabeth* dispatched Secretary *Walsingham* to *Paris*, to make the most of this Difficulty, and to add some others. *Walsingham* therefore told the King, that when the Queen his Mistress first resolved to marry, she did it purely with design to satisfy her People, who wanted to see her have Heirs; that therefore she had preferred the Duke of *Anjou* before all other Princes, on account of his personal Qualities and high Birth: Nevertheless she could not think of consummating the Marriage, till she knew a little better whether it were pleasing to her People, for fear she should be accused of considering of it too late: That she heard with Grief the Minds of the best Men were averse from the Marriage, and for that reason she thought it necessary to put it off, though she had still the same Esteem for the Duke of *Anjou*: That besides, since the Conclusion of the Articles, Things had happened which required her to think more heedfully of the Engagement she had entered into: That the Duke having accepted the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, had incurred the Displeasure of the King his Brother, and that this new Dignity must needs draw *England* into a War with *Spain*, since it was not possible for the Duke to be engaged in a War without the Queen his Spouse being so too: That she believed therefore the present Juncture to be very unseasonable to consummate the Marriage; and that it was proper to defer it till the Duke should be disengaged from the War he had upon his Hands, and the League *Offensive* and *Defensive* between *France* and *England* were concluded according to Agreement. *Henry* plainly perceiving this was only an Evasion, answered in two Words, he was ready to renew the League *Defensive*, and should be willing to treat about a League

a League *Offenſive*, as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated. 1581.

*The Duke of* Anjou *arrives in* England.

*He is well received.*

Theſe Things paſſed whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* was in the *Netherlands*. After he had raiſed the Siege of *Cambray*, and taken *Cateau* in *Cambreſis*, the *States* preſſed him to join his Troops with their Army, in order to improve ſo fair an Opportunity. But Winter being at Hand, furniſhed him with an Excuſe to ſend back his Troops into *France*, that he might go and ſollicite his Affairs in *England* himſelf. He arrived there in the Month of *November*, and was received by the Queen with ſo great Honour and Civilities, that he thought himſelf almoſt ſure of Succeſs. One Day as the Anniverſary of her Coronation was celebrating, the Queen being in Converſation with him, pulled off a Ring from her Finger and put it upon the Duke's, and this made all the Standers-by imagine ſhe had juſt then given him a Promiſe *.

*The Queen gives him a Ring.*

*She retracts all on a ſudden.*

Mean while this Marriage was exclaimed againſt publickly in the Court and City. *Walſingham*, *Hatton*, and ſome more of the Queen's Confidents, ſtormed at it the loudeſt of all. Her Maids of Honour that were moſt intimate with her never ceaſed to repreſent to her all the Miſchiefs which might from thence befal her as well as the whole Kingdom, and ſtrove by Perſwaſions mixt with Tears, to divert her from this Reſolution. I do not know whether I am miſtaken in ſuſpecting all this to be a mere Farce acted by the Queen's private Orders, that ſhe might have a Pretenſe to go from her Word. Miniſters, Courtiers, Favourites, are ſeldom ſeen to oppoſe ſo openly and publickly the Will of their Sovereign, if they are not certain of being applauded for it. Let this be as it will, the Queen having ſpent the whole Night without taking any reſt, amidſt the Sighs and Tears of

* Among whom *Aldegond* Governour of *Antwerp* diſpatched Letters away into the *Netherlands* to ſignify as much. And *Antwerp* teſtified her Joy by Bonfires and Peals of Ordnance. *Camden.*

1581. her Ladies, went to the Duke's Room and talked with him in private. When she withdrew, the Duke was seen to throw the Ring from him, and presenly to take it up again, complaining bitterly of the Levity of Women, and the Inconstancy of the *English*.

*Remark on the Queen's Conduct.*

*Elizabeth*'s Conduct in every Thing relating to this Match was so uncommon, that there's no knowing how to guess at her Thoughts. If the Business was only a bare Negotiation drawn out in length, and broke off upon the Point of Conclusion, there would be no Occasion to wonder. Nothing was more agreeable to this Queen's Character, and I'll venture to say, to her Interest. But the signing and sealing the Marriage-Atticles raises a Difficulty hard to be removed. It is scarce probable that this wise Politician should think of amusing to such a Degree, a Brother of the King of *France*, and who might himself one Day be King, since *Henry* had no Children. This is so much the harder to be believed, as there was then no visible Necessity for the carrying her Dissimulation so far. For my Part, I see no properer way to unfold this extraordinary Conduct, than by saying, that in the beginning of the Negotiation, her Design was only to amuse the Duke of *Anjou*, that afterwards she suffered herself to be won, and signed the Articles with Sincerity and a Resolution to perform them: But that after signing, she repented of having gone so far, and chose rather to affront the Prince than keep her Word. Then it was that she carried her Dissimulation to the greatest Height, by expressing an extraordinary Value for the Duke, when at the same Time she was labouring to put him out of Conceit with the Marriage. There are two Facts very difficult to be reconciled, without granting what I have just said. The first is, during the Duke's stay at Court, she caused a Man's Hand to be cut off for writing a Satyr upon their Marriage *. After that, she

* *John Stubbs* of *Lincoln's-Inn* published a Book against the Marriage, entitled, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be swallowed by the* French

ſhe publiſhed a ſort of *Manifeſto*, to ſatisfy the Publick that the Duke of *Anjou* had no ill Deſign againſt the *Proteſtant*-Religion, nor had demanded any Thing in Favour of the *Catholicks*. The ſecond Fact is very oppoſite to the firſt, which was, that ſhe took the Opportunity whilſt the Duke was with her, to put to Death *Edmund Campian* Jeſuit, with three other Prieſts, convicted of having endeavoured to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom, and of having obſtinately maintained that the Queen was lawfully depoſed. It is eaſy to perceive, if her Eſteem and Affection for the Duke of *Anjou* had been ſo great as ſhe pretended, ſhe would at leaſt have deferred theſe Men's Puniſhment till after his Departure. But doubtleſs ſhe intended to let him ſee, he would not find in his Marriage thoſe Comforts he thought he had reaſon to expect. Be this as it will, which way ſoever all her Proceedings are explained, there is no juſtifying her, in my Opinion, either for ſigning the Articles, or for afterwards breaking her Word. 1581.

*The Catholicks expoſe themſelves to the Queen's Severity.* Camden.

Whatever the Queen's Intention might be in this Negotiation, 'tis certain it was extremely prejudicial to the *Catholicks* in *England*, who entertaining vaſt Hopes from this Marriage, were too forward to diſcover them. As ſoon as it was known in the World that the Articles were ſigned, *England* was all of a ſudden over-run with *Romiſh* Prieſts, *Jeſuits*, and other *Catholicks*, who hoped to be ſcreened there by the Duke of *Anjou*. Among theſe, ſome were ſo imprudent as to vent openly the moſt extravagant Doctrines concerning the Pope's Power, a Crime

French *Marriage*; upon which he and *William Page*, who diſperſed the Copies, were taken up and condemned to loſe their Right-Hands. Which was done accordingly, by driving a Cleaver thro' the Wriſt with a Mallet, upon a Scaffold at *Weſtminſter*. I remember (ſays *Camden*) being preſent, that *Stubbs* after his Right-Hand was cut off, pulled off his Hat with his Left, and ſaid with a loud Voice, *God ſave the Queen*. But the Multitude ſtood ſilent, either out of Horror of the Puniſhment, or Pity to the Man, or their Hatred of the Match.

1581. then unpardonable, becauſe it tended to deprive the Queen of her Royalty, and ſtir up her Subjects to rebel againſt her. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious Zeal and Imprudence of ſome of the *Catholicks* drew upon the whole Body, Severities which the Queen would not have been eaſily brought to, if they had been contented to ſit down in quiet, with the free Exerciſe of their Religion in private, and not attacked the Government. What did them ſtill a farther Injury was, that ſome of them owned they were come into *England* with Power to abſolve every one in particular from his Oath of Allegiance from which *Pius* V's *Bull* had abſolved the whole Nation in general.

Don Antonio *of* Portugal *retires into* France, *and then into* England. Camden.

This Year *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, who laid claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and had been crowned at *Lisbon*, being expelled thence by the Arms of the King of *Spain*, withdrew into *France*. After which, he came to *Elizabeth*, who took Care of him, and put him in hopes of a greater Relief.

*Laws againſt the* Catholicks.

The Parliament meeting the beginning of the Year 1582, whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* was ſtill in *England*, paſſed very ſevere Laws againſt the *Catholicks*, wherein all thoſe are declared guilty of High-Treaſon, "who ſhall endeavour to diſſwade the Subjects from "their Allegiance to the Queen, and from the Reli- "gion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, or ſhall reconcile "them to the Church of *Rome*, as alſo thoſe who "ſhall be thus reconciled. Thoſe alſo are fined in "two Hundred Marks, and Impriſonment for a "Year who ſhall ſay *Maſs*, and they who ſhall be "knowingly preſent at *Maſs*, are fined in a Hundred "Marks, with Impriſonment alſo for a Year. More- "over they who abſented themſelves from their Pa- "riſh-Churches on the Days appointed for *Divine* "*Service*, are fined in twenty Pounds a Month". It muſt be obſerved that hitherto only one Shilling to the Uſe of the Poor had been exacted every Time for abſence on *Sundays* and *Holidays*. This ſhows that before, the Laws againſt the *Catholicks* were not very

very ſevere, and it is even certain they were not executed with rigour. But the indiſcreet Zeal of thoſe who would not be ſatisfied with this Advantage, was the Occaſion that all the *Catholicks* were deprived of it. 1582.

*The Duke of* Anjou *leaves* Elizabeth.

The Duke of *Anjou*, and thoſe who had attended him into *England* could plainly enough perceive under what Conſtraints they ſhould live, in Caſe the Marriage were conſummated. In all Appearance, the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament againſt the *Catholicks* did not a little help to comfort him, and perhaps to put him out of Conceit with a Country ſo oppoſite to *France*. Nay, 'tis very likely, all this was done before his Eyes with that View. He went away in the Month of *February*, having received from the Queen many Tokens of Eſteem and Affection, the moſt ſubſtantial whereof was a good Sum of Money ſhe ſupplied him with to aſſiſt him in carrying on the War in the *Netherlands*. The Queen having accompanied him as far as *Canterbury*, ordered ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords * to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*, where preſently after he received the Ducal Crown of *Brabant*. By all theſe Marks of Eſteem and Friendſhip, and by all her Civilities, the Queen had a Mind to repair in ſome Meaſure the Mortifications ſhe made him undergo during his ſtay in *England*. It is extremely probable, this ſtay of his was of no Advantage to him, and ſerved only to make known the Meanneſs of his Genius, and his other Qualities.

*He is crowned Duke of* Brabant.

Eliza-beth's *State of Uncertainty.*

*Elizabeth* was too wiſe not to perceive that her Conduct in the Negotiation of her Marriage could not but diſoblige the King of *France*. So ſhe plainly ſaw that although there had been no other Reaſon but this alone, ſhe could not rely much upon his Friendſhip. On the other Hand, ſhe was not ignorant how angry the King of *Spain* was, that whole

* He was attended by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Charles Howard*, *Hunſdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windſor* and *Sheffield*, Barons; Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Sir *George Bourchier*, &c. Camden.

1582. Bodies of *Engliſh* Troops ſerved in the Army of the *States* of the *Low-Countries*, under the Command of *Norris*. Though theſe Men were called *Volunteers*, that is, owned by no-body, and ſerving at their own Charge, it was eaſy to judge that they were not there in ſuch Numbers, without the tacit or expreſs Conſent of their Queen. Beſides, it was hardly poſſible for *Elizabeth* to conceal the Supplies of Money ſhe had given Prince *Caſimire* and the Duke of *Anjou*, for the Maintenance of their Armies. *Philip* II was the moſt potent Prince in *Europe*, and the Conqueſt of *Portugal* had lately rendered him ſtill more formidable particularly to the *Engliſh*. He was ſupported by the Pope, and had but too much Influence in the King of *France*'s Council. Whereas *Elizabeth* had no Friend ſhe could depend upon. The Duke of *Guiſe* was then labouring to take from her the King of *Scotland*. The *Iriſh* wanted only a favourable Opportunity to revolt, and the *Engliſh Catholicks* were inceſſantly ſtirred up to Rebellion by the Pope's Emiſſaries. To theſe may be added a great Number of Proteſtants, the Queen of *Scots* Adherents, who only waited for an Occaſion to ſhow their Affection for her. *Elizabeth*'s Miniſters could not think without Dread of all theſe Things. They were in continual Apprehenſion that ſome terrible Storm was going to fall upon *England*. To this Fear were owing firſt the League Defenſive with *France*, and then the Project of the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, the Miniſters judging it next to impoſſible ſhe could ſupport herſelf without ſome powerful Alliance.

*She relies on her People's Affection.*

Mean while, whether *Elizabeth* thought herſelf able to prevent, or repel the Danger, ſhe took but few Precautions, relying wholly on the Affection of her People. This was her beſt, or rather, her only Refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt them, and cauſe them to loſe the Love and Eſteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very ſenſible Part. To this muſt be aſcribed the tender and affectionate Expreſſi-

ons

ons ſhe uſed when ever ſhe ſpoke to her People upon any Occaſion. It muſt be confeſſed however, that ſhe won her People's Love, not by Words and other external Demonſtrations only, but chiefly by very ſubſtantial Deeds. Let a Man turn over the whole Hiſtory of *England*, and he will find no Reign wherein Juſtice was adminiſtred ſo impartially, or the Subjects enjoyed their Privileges more peaceably, or were freer from Wars Abroad and at Home, or from extraordinary Taxes and Impoſitions, in a Word, wherein the Kingdom was more flouriſhing. The Queen ſpent no unneceſſary Money, and her Treaſury being regularly managed, the People had no Occaſion to complain, ſince whatever they gave was laid out for their own Good. 1582. *and wins it by good means.*

But it was not only at Home that the Queen laboured to make her People Happy, her Care reached alſo Abroad. This Year ſhe ſent an Ambaſſador * to *Frederick* II King of *Denmark*, under Colour of carrying him the *Order* of the *Garter*. But the Chief Motive of this Embaſſy was to induce that Prince to deſiſt from certain *Cuſtoms* which the *Engliſh* Merchant-Ships paid him in paſſing the *Sound*, in which however it was not poſſible to ſucceed. *Frederick* gratefully received the *Collar* of the *Order*, but refuſed to take the uſual Oath, becauſe he had denied the ſame Thing before, when he was admitted into the *Order* of St. *Michael* by the *French* King. *She ſends the Order of the Garter to the King of* Denmark. Camden.

Though *Henry* III had no reaſon to be pleaſed with *Elizabeth*, he gave her notice however, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was plotting ſomething in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, and was to imbark in *Normandy* ſome Troops which were deſigned either for *England* or *Scotland*, though he pretended he would ſend them into *Flanders*. For this Reaſon ſhe recalled Sir *Wal-* Henry III *warns* Elizabeth *of the Duke of* Guiſe's *Deſign.*

* *Peregrine Bertie*, whom ſhe, as being ſparing in conferring Honours, had with much ado made Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, though his Mother was only Daughter of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and Heir to the Lord *Willoughby*. Camden.

1582. ter *Mildmay*, who had been sent to treat with the Queen of *Scots*, or at least to pretend so.

*She minds the Affairs of* Scotland.

As there was no likelihood the Duke of *Guise* would invade *England* directly, but on the contrary every Thing looked as if he intended to execute some Purpose in *Scotland*, the Queen turned her Thoughts wholly upon the Affairs of that Kingdom. They were then in a violent Convulsion. Some Persons of great Distinction, among whom were the Earls of *Marr*, *Lindsay*, *Gowry*, full of Indignation to see the Realm governed by a young Prince of fifteen Years, and two rash unexperienced Ministers who had nothing less in view than the Kingdom's Welfare, conspired together to seize the King's Person and remove his two Favourites. To that End, taking their Opportunity whilst they were both absent from Court, and the King was intent upon Hunting near *Athol*, they sent and invited him by the Earl of *Gowry* to pass a few Days at his House at *Huntington*; and when he came there they secured his Person. This was called the *Ruthven*-Conspiracy, because *Ruthven* was the Name of the Earl of *Gowry*'s Family *. For the same Reason the Conspirators were called the *Lords of Ruthven*. The Earl of *Arran*, one of the King's Favourites drew together some People, and would have attempted to go and free his Master, but he was repulsed and forced to fly for shelter to *Ruthven* Castle, where the Earl of *Gowry* received him and saved his Life, but kept him Prisoner. The Duke of *Lenox* being informed of what was done, speedily retired to *Dunbarton*, whereof he was Governour, and the King was carried to *Sterling*, free in Appearance, but Prisoner in reality.

*The* Ruthven-*Conspiracy in* Scotland. Camden. Melvil.

*James avows the Conspiracy.*

Upon News of this, *Elizabeth*, who in all likelihood was not ignorant of the Conspirators Design, ordered *Henry Carew* to go out of Hand, and offer her Service to the King of *Scotland*. But *James* terrified

* *William Ruthven* had been very lately created Earl of *Gowry*. Camden.

fied by those who had him in their Power, answered, that every Thing had been done with his Consent, and that he was very well pleased with the Lords who were about him. *Melvil* affirms however, that the King found means to tell *Carew* in private the contrary to what he had said in Publick. The King of *France* sent likewise *La Mothe Fenelon* into *Scotland* to try to support the Favourite's Party, well knowing those who had seized the King were all Friends to *England*. *La Mothe* had also Orders to inform the King, that the Queen his Mother, who had hitherto refused to own him for King, agreed to make him her Partner in the Royalty. 1582.

Melvil, p. 132.

*Queen Mary agrees to share the Royalty with her Son.*

Shortly after, Queen *Mary* writ to *Elizabeth* to try to engage her in the Deliverance of the King her Son. But she took a very improper way to obtain this Favour, seeing her Letter is full of Reproaches for the barbarous Usage she met with.

Camden. Mary's *Letter to* Elizabeth.

This Year Pope *Gregory* XIII published his *Bull* for reforming the *Calender*, and ordered ten Days of this very Year to be cut off at once. As *England* and the rest of the *Protestant States* refused to comply with this Order, because it flowed from the *Papal* Authority, there began from that Time to be a Difference of ten Days in the *Dates*, the one reckoning it the first Day of the Month, when it was the tenth with the others. This Difference still subsists in some Places, and particularly in *England*, [and *Swedeland*,] where the old way of reckoning is still used with the Addition however of the new *.

Camden. *The Calender is reformed.*

* 365 Days 6 Hours exceeding a Year by about eleven Minutes a Day is gained in about 132 Years, by which means from the Year 325, wherein the Council of *Nice* was held to the Year 1582, ten whole Days were gained. Whereupon, to set Matters right again, Pope *Gregory* ordered the 5th of *October* 1582, to be called the 15th, and to prevent the like Error again, he decreed that 3 Days should be taken out every 400 Years; (which comes to almost the same as taking out 1 Day every 132 Years) and this was done by making every *hundredth Year* common, which, according to the *Julian* Account, is always *Leap-Year*, but every *four hundredth Year* to continue

1583. Elizabeth *makes as if she desires to release the Queen of Scots.*

*Camden* pretends that *Elizabeth* was very much moved with *Mary*'s Letter, and that Compassion for the afflicted Queen made her advise with her Council upon what Terms she could be released. We shall see presently that this Proceeding of hers was far enough from demonstrating a Desire to set her at Liberty. It is much more likely that she sought only to amuse her, and by putting her in hopes of Deliverance, had no other view than to put a stop to the continual Plots which were contriving in her Favour, and free herself from the Sollicitations she was perpetually troubled with. However this may be, some Time after she had received her Letter, she sent to her *Robert Beal*, one of the Clerks of the Council, with certain Articles grounded upon *Mary*'s Offer of Associating her Son in the Government. Consequently they supposed a previous Agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper Season to negotiate this Agreement, seeing King *James* was Captive in the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Adherents. Here are the Articles with some Remarks, which will serve to show *Elizabeth*'s Aim in pretending to be willing to release her Prisoner.

*Conditions proposed.*

I. The Queen of *Scots* and the King her Son should promise to attempt nothing prejudicial to *England*.

*It is easy to perceive that this Article is expressed in such General Terms as required a large Explanation.*

II. She should disclaim as unjust whatever was done by *Francis* II her first Husband, and ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

*The former Part of this Article was very general, and liable to abundance of Cavils. As to the latter Part it must be observed, that* Mary *could not ratify the Treaty of* Edinburgh *but with the Restriction she had offered.*

*So*

continue *Leap-Year*. Though this be the truest and most exact way of reckoning, yet such is the Perverseness of the *English* and *Swedes*, that they still keep to the old Way, and hence comes what we call *Old* and *New Stiles*, which differ now by Eleven Days, and are thus written $\frac{1}{11}$ of *July*, 1729.

*So that in propoſing to her the ratifying of that Treaty ſimply and abſolutely, a Snare was laid for her, or elſe ſhe was put under a Neceſſity of rejecting this Article.* 1583.

III. She ſhould diſcover and condemn all the Conſpiracies againſt Queen *Elizabeth* that were come to her Knowledge.

*This was accuſing her of having had a Hand in theſe Conſpiracies, and making her own it, which was very hard Meaſure for* Mary. *She could have done no more, if ſhe had been fully convinced of* Elizabeth's *Sincerity, which is not very likely.*

IV. She ſhould contrive nothing againſt the Government of *England*, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil.

Mary *was a Catholick, and the Laws of* England *excluded the Catholicks from all Poſts. So if ſhe agreed to this Article without farther Explanation, it might have been inferred from thence that ſhe excluded herſelf from ſucceeding* Elizabeth.

V. She ſhould claim no Right to the Crown of *England* during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, and after *Elizabeth*'s Death ſhe ſhould refer her Title to the Judgment of the Parliament.

*This was alſo laying a Snare for* Mary, *in making her own that her Title was dubious, though ſhe maintained, and had all along maintained that it was inconteſtable.*

VI. She ſhould ſwear to theſe Articles, to the end there might be no room for the Objection taken from her not being at Liberty.

VII. The King her Son ſhould ratify them by Oath and Writing.

*To enable the King of* Scotland *to ratify theſe Articles, it was neceſſary firſt that he ſhould agree in an authentick Manner that he was King, only as aſſociated by the Queen his Mother, which was not then in his Power, ſince he was in the Hands of the Lords of* Ruthven, *who by no means acknowledged* Mary's *Authority.*

VIII. For the Performance of this Article the Queen of *Scots* ſhould give Hoſtages to the Queen of *England.*

*This*

1583 *This Article was also liable to many Difficulties, concerning the Number and Quality of the Hostages.*

It is therefore evident that *Elizabeth* proposed these Articles to *Mary* only to amuse her and the World, at a Time when it was not possible to enter into Treaty upon this Matter: besides that, there was scarce one but what was insnaring and liable to Discussions, which the Court of *England* might have drawn out to what length they pleased. *Camden* says, the *Scots* of the *English* Party were utterly against this Agreement, affirming it was owing to the Intrigues of the *French* Court. It is true, if the Conditions proposed had been advantageous to *Mary*, 'tis not unlikely that *Elizabeth* would have set the *Scots* to oppose the Conclusion of the Treaty. But there was no Occasion for this, since she had taken sufficient care to hinder *Mary* from accepting them.

I must now proceed to relate what passed in *Scotland* this Year. If a Man sits down with what *Camden* says, his Notion of Matters will be very imperfect. This is one of those Passages wherein that Historian has thought fit to be very short, for fear of wronging King *James*'s Reputation, for whose sake he wrote the *Annals* of Queen *Elizabeth*. But by good luck we have *Melvil*'s *Memoirs*, which give us a much greater Insight into Things.

*Affairs of Scotland. Melvil.*

The Duke of *Lenox* seeing the King in the Hands of the Lords of *Ruthven*, and the little Probability there was of forming a Party strong enough to free him, withdrew into *France*, where he died soon after.

Mean while the Lords of *Ruthven*, whose sole Aim had been to remove from the King his two Favourites, finding that one was in Prison, and the other in *France*, thought proper to convene the States, where the King was present. He declared whatever they had done was with his Consent, and that he was satisfied with them. He writ the same Thing to the General Assembly of the *Kirk*, whereupon the States and

and the *Kirk* approved by authentick *Acts* all that had passed. This done, the King was no longer watched, but left entirely at Liberty. 1583.

Shortly after the King assembled the Nobility in the City of St. *Andrew*'s, before whom he declared, that although he had been detained against his Will, he owned however it was done for his Service: That he did not intend to call any Person to an account for it, but would speedily publish a General Pardon. To show that he forgot all that was past, he went and visited the Earl of *Gowry*, who casting himself at his Feet asked Forgiveness, which he very readily obtained.

All being thus quiet, the King appointed Twelve Counsellors to assist him to govern the State. But shortly after, his Affection for the Earl of *Arran* being revived, he wished to see him; and as all his Counsellors were unanimously against it, he protested he would send him away again within Four and Twenty Hours: But he was not as good as his Word, for he kept him for ever. In a short space, the Favourite had such an Influence over him, that he would suffer none but him to meddle in the publick Affairs. Whereupon the Council of Twelve being no longer consulted, broke up of themselves. As soon as the Earl of *Arran* saw himself fully restored, he suggested to the King that he had made a false Step in not punishing the Insolence of the Lords of *Ruthven*, and persuaded him at length to alter his Resolution *. So, instead of the General Pardon which he had promised, he issued out a Proclamation, commanding the Accomplices of the *Ruthven*-Conspiracy to come and beg Pardon for their Crime. Every one plainly saw the Difference

* *Arran* insinuated to the King, that it would be a troublesome Business to be incumbered with so many contrary Opinions. He desired him to recreate himself with Hunting and Hawking, and he would attend the Council, and report to his Majesty all their Opinions and Conclusions. This he did two or three Times, but at length he gave account of no Man's Advice but his own, and made the King believe it was all their Opinions that it was his Interest to follow a violent Course. *Melvil*, p. 159.

1583. Difference between this Proclamation and the promiſed Act of Oblivion. The King being free, had declared, that they who had detained him had no ill Deſign againſt him, and for that reaſon he had promiſed them a Pardon. But by the Proclamation he looked upon them as guilty, and obliged them to throw themſelves upon his Mercy, at a Time when he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by one of thoſe very Favourites againſt whom they had conſpired. This was ſufficient to induce theſe Lords to retire, ſome to their own Homes, and others into *England*, to wait there for another Opportunity to ruin their Enemy (*a*).

Elizabeth's *Letter to the King of* Scotland. Camden.

*Elizabeth* being informed of the King of *Scotland*'s Proceedings, and the Danger there was that the Earl of *Arran* would entirely ruin the *Engliſh* Party, writ to the King, repreſenting to him the Conſequences of the Courſe he was taking, and mixed in her Letter ſome Reproaches for breaking his Word. She told him moreover, that ſhe intended to diſpatch Secretary *Walſingham* to talk with him from her. *James* returned a pretty ſtout Anſwer, and vindicated himſelf for not having performed his Promiſe, ſince it was extorted from him when he was a Captive. This Excuſe might be good with reſpect to what he ſaid to the States: but it was inſufficient, ſince he repeated the ſame Thing to the Nobility when at full Liberty. However, he promiſed the Queen to proceed no further till *Walſingham*'s Arrival. In the mean Time, the Favourite made the Earl of *Gowry* undergo ſo many Mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the Court. *Walſingham* being come, imparted to the King, in two private Audiences, the Advice the Queen gave him about the Management of his Affairs. But as this Advice tended to the Earl of *Arran*'s Ruin, the Ambaſſador brought back no very ſatisfactory Anſwer.

*She ſends* Walſingham *to him.*

The

(*a*) *Camden* turns this whole Affair to the King's Advantage, by paſſing over in ſilence all the Particulars related by *Melvil*.

The Beginning of the Year, the Duke of *Anjou* being too much ſtraitned by the Conditions laid upon him by the *States*, attempted to ſeize on one and the ſame Day, *Antwerp* and Seven or Eight other Towns of the *Netherlands*. But miſſing his Aim, he was forced to retire to *Dunkirk*, and from thence into *France*. Mean while the Affairs of the *States* were in a ſad Condition. The Prince of *Parma* made great Progreſs this Year, and it was very likely he would ſucceed at length in obliging all the United-Provinces to return to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*. 1583. *The Duke of* Anjou's *Attempt upon the Low-Countries is fruſtrated.* Grotius.

*Henry* III behaved in *France* after ſo ſtrange a Manner, that he daily drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects. In publick he affected an over-ſtrained Devotion, whilſt in private he plunged himſelf into the moſt criminal Pleaſures. *Philip* II taking advantage of *Henry*'s Indolence with regard to his moſt important Affairs, ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to raiſe him Troubles, which ſhould hinder him from taking in hand the Defence of the *Netherlands*, who ſhowed a ſtrong Inclination to put themſelves under the Dominion of *France*. He tried firſt to perſuade the King of *Navarre* to take Arms, promiſing to aid and protect the *Huguenots*. This way failing, he applied to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who accepted the Succours *Philip* offered him, in order to revenge the Mortifications he daily received from the King's Minions. *Affairs of* France. Mezerai.

Whether Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice to the King of *Scotland* had a good Effect upon him, or whether *Melvil*'s Remonſtrances, as he hints himſelf in his *Memoirs*, made ſome Impreſſion on his Mind, he ſeemed reſolved to give over proſecuting the Lords of *Ruthven*. To that purpoſe he aſſembled the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, to end this Affair by the Advice of the Great Men, in the Manner he had at firſt projected it, by publiſhing a General Pardon. But the Earl of *Arran*, a bold and daring Man, defeated this Project in ſpite of the King himſelf. When the Great Men were come to *Edinburgh*, he went and talked 1584. *Affairs of* Scotland. Melvil.

1584. talked with every one apart, and gave them to understand that the King's Intention was only to get his Conduct approved with regard to the Lords of *Ruthven*, after which he would grant them a Pardon, when they should have acknowledged that they owed that Favour to his Clemency. The Great Men seeing the Point in hand was only to save the King's Honour, and thinking the Fugitives would receive no Prejudice, promised the Favourite to do as the King desired. So, when the King asked their Advice in this Affair, they answered, That it was their Opinion he acted with a great deal of Clemency, in opening the Fugitives a Way to obtain their Pardon. This done, the Earl of *Arran* hinted to him, that if after this Declaration he published a General Pardon, without the Fugitives owning themselves guilty, he would disoblige the Nobility by neglecting their Advice, and extremely wrong his own Dignity. Thus the Fugitives were not the better for this Assembly, though the King had convened it purely for their sake.

The Declaration of the Nobility drove the Lords of *Ruthven* to despair. They would have forced them to ask Pardon for a Thing which the King had allowed as done for his Service: Nay, they could not be sure of obtaining their Pardon, seeing, as the King had gone from his Word once before, they could not trust him any more. The Earl of *Arran* having got what he wanted, grew more proud and insolent, and persecuted all his Enemies in such a Manner, that he drove them at length to form a new Conspiracy against him. Though the Earl of *Gowry* had saved his Life, and procured him the King's Pardon, he never let him alone till he had forced him to ask leave to go out of the Kingdom. He was gone to *Dundee* already, in order to retire into *England*, when he heard that the Earls of *Marr*, *Angus* and *Glames*, who were fled into *Ireland*, had some Enterprize in Hand against the Favourite. This News made him stay in *Scotland*, and at last he entered into the Conspiracy himself, without stirring however from

*Dundee.*

*Dundee.* The Conſpirators had ſo well laid their Meaſures, that arriving unawares in *Scotland*, they immediately took *Sterling.* 1584.

Mean while, the Court having received before ſome dark Hints of this Conſpiracy, and knowing the Earl of *Gowry* was in it, ordered him to be arreſted, which was done accordingly, juſt as the Conſpirators became Maſters of *Sterling.* The apprehending of the Earl quite diſheartned them. As he was a near Relation of the King's, they fancied he had ſuffered himſelf to be taken up on purpoſe, and believing they were betrayed, gave over their Enterprize and fled out of the Kingdom. It coſt the Earl his Life, who being brought to *Edinburgh* was there beheaded. Thus the Earl of *Arran* ſtill kept his Poſt in ſpite of his Enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole Kingdom, becauſe he was a wicked, atheiſtical Man, and of an inſatiable Avarice. There was alſo another thing which very much troubled the *Scots:* And that was, the King for ſome time had held private Intelligence with the Queen his Mother, which made it feared that he would engage in Deſigns deſtructive of the State and Religion. He had privately accepted of the Aſſociation ſhe had offered him; and it was ſeen that none but ſuch as were the Queen's known Friends had acceſs to him: Nay, it was whiſpered about that he intended to turn *Catholick*, and began to liſten to the Propoſals of the *French* Court, or rather of the Duke of *Guiſe.*

Elizabeth *ſends* Daviſon *into* Scotland *to gain the Earl of* Arran.

All theſe things were but too capable of giving *Elizabeth* great Uneaſineſs. She was afraid the King of *Scotland* would be prevailed with to take a *French* Wife, and that ſuch a Match would be of ill Conſequence to *England.* To try therefore to prevent the Miſchiefs which might befal her from that Quarter, ſhe ſent *Daviſon* into *Scotland* under colour of excuſing her ſheltering the *Scotch* Fugitives, though the King had demanded them by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance concluded between the two Kingdoms. But *Daviſon*'s main Buſineſs was to endeavour to win the

1584. Earl of *Arran* to the Queen's Intereſts. This Method was better and ſpeedier than the ſupporting the Male-contents of *Scotland*, who were always to be ſupplied with Money, without being ſure of the Succeſs of their Undertakings: Beſides, the Queen ran the Hazard of entirely loſing King *James*. That Prince had Senſe; but as he was young, unexperienced, and too much governed by his Favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into Projects detrimental to the two Kingdoms, for the ſake of other Men. *Daviſon* ſucceeded entirely in his Negotiation with reſpect to the Earl of *Arran*, and by means that are not hard to be gueſſed at, he prevailed with him to be guided by the Queen. Before he returned to *England*, it was agreed between the two Courts, that the Earl of *Hunſdon* for *England*, and the Earl of *Arran* for *Scotland*, ſhould meet upon the Borders and ſettle Matters ſo as to keep up a good Underſtanding between the two Kingdoms. Under this Pretence theſe two Lords conferred together, and before they parted, they made a private Treaty, whereby the Earl of *Arran* engaged to keep the King unmarried for three Years. *Elizabeth* pretended that ſhe deſigned to give him a Princeſs of the Blood-Royal of *England*, who was not yet of a fit Age to marry. This was at leaſt the Pretence the Treaty was coloured with.

*Daviſon ſucceeds.*

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, the Maſter of *Gray* inſinuated himſelf ſo far into King *James*'s Favour, that the Earl of *Arran* growing jealous, found means to remove him at a Diſtance, by cauſing him to be ſent Ambaſſador to *Elizabeth*. *Gray* was no ſooner in *England*, but the Queen won him by her Careſſes and Bounties. From that time this Ambaſſador feigned to be ſtrongly attached to Queen *Mary*'s Intereſt, and by that means he drew Secrets from her, of which *Elizabeth* knew how to make a good Uſe. The Earl of *Arran* having ſome Intelligence of this Intrigue, informed the King of it, in order to ruin his Rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no Proof

*Elizabeth diſcovers Mary's Secrets by Gray the Scotch Ambaſſador.* Melvil.

Proof of what he aſſerted, the Maſter of *Gray* being returned to *Scotland*, was very well received by the King, and ſpared no Pains in his Turn to ruin the Favourite. 1584.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Scotland*, Plots were forming in *England* in favour of the captive Queen. But ſome intercepted Letters to Queen *Mary* from *Francis Throgmorton* having begun to diſcover the Conſpiracy, *Throgmorton* was arreſted. Immediately the Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel* fled into *France*, and there gave out that the *Catholicks* were ſo cruelly perſecuted in *England*, that it was not poſſible for them to ſtay there without danger of their Lives: That the Court had Spies every where, not only to watch the *Catholicks*, but alſo to lay Snares for them: That forged Letters from the Queen of *Scots* were left in their Houſes, in order to force them either to bring them to the Secretary of State, or render themſelves guilty by concealing them. There is no doubt the Queen had Spies to watch the Motions of the *Catholicks*: She had but too much reaſon to ſuſpect their Fidelity. Nay it is very poſſible that among theſe Spies there were ſome, who to enhance their Services, laid Snares for the *Catholicks*. Thoſe who take upon them ſuch an Office, of what Religion ſoever they may be, are not uſually the moſt honeſt Men. But the Behaviour of the *Catholicks* had made theſe Precautions neceſſary, the knowing of what paſſed among them being of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Queen. Several Books, as well printed as in Manuſcript, were handed about, wherein the Queen was ſlandered to the higheſt Degree. She was taxed with putting to Death many *Catholicks* without Cauſe, having firſt racked them, in order to compel them to confeſs Crimes whereof they were innocent. Her *Maids of Honour* were exhorted to ſerve her in the ſame Manner *Judith* did *Holophernes*, and render themſelves, by ſuch an Action, worthy of the Applauſe of *the Church* throughout all future

*A Conſpiracy diſcovered.* Camden.

1584. Ages *. These Books, with what had been discovered after *Throgmorton* was in Custody, made it thought some Plot was ready to break out.

*The Queen blames the Judges Severity* Camden.

Mean while the Queen, willing to show it was not for their Religion that some *Catholicks* had been punished, sent for the Judges of the Realm, and sharply reproved them for having been too severe in the Tortures they had made these Men suffer. In all likelihood this was done to afford them an Opportunity to clear themselves from this Charge, by an Apology which was made publick. They affirmed, "That "no Person had been made to suffer for his Reli- "gion, but only for dangerous Practices against the "Queen and State; that indeed *Campian* the *Jesuit* "had been put to the Rack, but with so little Vio- "lence, that he was presently able to walk and sub- "scribe his Confession: That *Brian* one of his Ac- "complices obstinately refusing to speak or write "the Person's Name who penned the Papers found "about him, was indeed denied Food, till such time "as he asked it in writing". But however, the Queen willing to take from her Enemies all Occasion of disparaging her in foreign Parts, forbid the putting any Person whatever to the Rack, and was satisfied with transporting out of *England* Seventy Priests who were in Prison, and of whom some were under Sentence of Death. Among these were certain *Jesuits* *1, who afterwards proved very ungrateful for the Kindness she did them. Perhaps indeed she acted, upon this Occasion, not so much from a Motive of Clemency, as to separate two Things which *they* studied always to confound, namely Religion and the Crimes against the State, under Pretence that most of the Conspirators were *Catholicks*.

*They clear themselves*

Before

* The Author of these Books was never discovered, but the Suspicion lighted upon *Gregory Martin* an *Oxford Man*, very learned in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. *Carter* a Bookseller was executed, who procured them to be printed. *Camden.*

* *Gaspar Heywood*, *James Bosgrave*, *John Heart* and *Edward Rishton* were the Chief. *Camden.*

Before *Throgmorton* was apprehended, he ſent a Cabinet full of Papers to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, of which the Court had notice. He denied all at his firſt Examination: but at the ſecond, he confeſſed, that going ſome few Years ſince to the *Spaw*, "he had conferred ſeveral times with *Jeney* and Sir "*Francis Ingleſield*, two *Engliſh* Fugitives, how *Eng*"*land* might be invaded: That after his Return, "*Morgan*, another Fugitive in *France*, had given "him to underſtand that the *Catholick* Princes had "formed a Deſign to free the Queen of *Scots*, and to "employ the Duke of *Guiſe* for that purpoſe: That "nothing was wanting, but to know what Succours "might be depended upon from the *Engliſh Catho*"*licks*: That in order to take their Meaſures the "better, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit Name "of *Moſs*, was ſent into the County of *Suſſex*, where "the Duke of *Guiſe* intended to land: That he "(*Throgmorton*) had imparted the Project to the "*Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had been already in"formed of it, and ſhowed him the Havens where "it would be moſt proper to make a Deſcent: That "he had moreover acquainted the ſame Ambaſſador "with the Names of the Great Men to whom he "might freely open his Mind, becauſe as he was a "publick Perſon, he would not be watched ſo nar"rowly: Finally, that he had conferred with him "how to raiſe Soldiers privately in *England*, to have "them in a Readineſs againſt the foreign Troops "ſhould arrive".

1584. *The Spaniſh Ambaſſador is diſcovered to be in the Plot.*

Upon theſe Depoſitions the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was deſired to come to the Council, where he was told all that *Throgmorton* had witneſſed againſt him. As he did not think himſelf doubtleſs innocent enough to clear himſelf from theſe Accuſations, he choſe by way of Recrimination to charge the Queen with detaining the *Spaniſh* Money ſhe had ſeized, and with aſſiſting the Duke of *Anjou*. Then he ſpoke againſt the Miniſters, ſaying, That by their ill Counſels they inceſſantly laboured to ſow Diſcord between the

*He is ſent for by the Council.*

*He makes a poor Defence.*

1584. Queen and the King of *Spain*. A few Days after the Queen commanded him to depart the Kingdom, which he did out of hand, thinking himself very happy in coming off at so easy a Rate. However, when he came into *France* he made loud Complaints, as if in *England* the Law of Nations had been violated upon his Account. Mean while the Queen dispatched *Waad* to *Spain* to inform the King of what had passed, and to tell him she was ready to receive another Ambassador from him. But *Philip* would not give *Waad* Audience, who refused also in his Turn to impart the Contents of his Embassy to the Prime Minister.

*He is ordered to depart the Land.*

*The Queen sends to inform* Philip *of it, who refuses Audience.*

When *Throgmorton* was brought upon his Trial, he denied all that he had confessed at his Examination, affirming, he had invented the whole on purpose to avoid being put to the Rack. But after he was connemned to die, upon the Evidence of his own Letters which he had writ to the Queen of *Scots*, and the Papers found in his Coffers, he owned all, and even gave a fuller Account than he had done at first. And yet when he came to the Gallows, he denied again whatever he had confessed.

Throgmorton *is executed.*

*Elizabeth*, as she could not doubt but her Enemies were in perpetual Motion to deprive her of the Crown, and set it on the Head of the Queen of *Scots*, lived in a constant Uneasiness, and under the Apprehension that some one of their Plots would in the end succeed. Wherefore the better to see into the Designs of her Enemies, she seemed willing to resume the Negotiation which had been begun with the Queen of *Scots*. To that End she sent *Waad*, at his Return from *Spain*, to let her know she was ready to renew the Treaty which had been broken off, and would dispatch to her very soon Sir *Walter Mildmay* for that purpose. But withal, she gave her to understand that she insisted upon two Conditions, namely, that she should prevail with the King her Son to grant the Pardon he had promised to the Lords of *Ruthven*, and should put a stop to the Plots of the Bishop of *Glasgow* her Ambassador in *France*.

Elizabeth *renews the Negotiation with the Queen of* Scots,

*and sends* Waad *to her;*

At

At this very time happened the taking of *Sterling* by Surprize, the Impriſonment of the Earl of *Gowry*, and the Flight of the Conſpirators into *England*. Whereupon *Elizabeth* ſent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, to pray her to interceed with the King her Son for the Fugitives, and inform her of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns, as ſhe had promiſed *Waad*. *Mary* anſwered, She had promiſed nothing, but upon Condition ſhe ſhould be ſet at Liberty: That ſhe would readily interceed for the *Scotch* Fugitives, provided any Advantage would accrue from thence to herſelf or the King her Son, and in caſe they would confeſs their Fault. She did not diſown that ſhe had deſired the Duke of *Guiſe* to uſe his Endeavours to free her: but ſhe ſaid, ſhe knew nothing of his Deſigns, neither if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcover them, unleſs ſhe was well aſſured of her Deliverance. She intreated *Elizabeth* to uſe her with more Humanity, and deſired the Treaty might be concluded with her, before the *Scots* were treated with. Laſtly, ſhe added, that as the King of *France* had owned and received her Ambaſſador jointly with her Son's as Princes aſſociated, *Elizabeth* would be pleaſed to cauſe this Aſſociation to be publiſhed in *Scotland*.

1584. *and then* Beal.

Mary's *Anſwer.*

*Elizabeth* took care not to ſerve her in what ſhe deſired, her Aim being only to draw from her a Sollicitation in behalf of the *Scotch* Fugitives, and an Information concerning the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns, upon the uncertain Hopes of an Accommodation, which ſhe flattered her with. But finding ſhe could get nothing out of her, ſhe left off the Negotiation as needleſs. However, perceiving by *Mary*'s Anſwer that the King of *Scotland* had accepted of the Aſſociation, ſhe was afraid ſome dangerous Plot was contriving in *Scotland*. It was this chiefly that made her reſolve to win the Earl of *Arran* at any rate, wherein ſhe ſucceeded as I ſaid before.

*The Negotiation is broken of.*

Shortly after *Elizabeth* made a further Diſcovery that her Enemies did not ceaſe their ſecret Practices. *Crichton* a *Scotch* Jeſuit, going by Sea to *Scotland*, and

*Other Plots diſcovered.* Camden.

1584. the Vessel he was on Board being attacked by Pirates, tore some Papers he had about him, and threw them into the Sea. But by a very extraordinary Accident it happened, that the Wind hindered the torn Papers from falling into the Water, and blew them back into the Ship, where somebody took the Pains to gather them all up. These Papers being delivered to *Waad*, he pasted them together upon another Paper with a great deal of Labour and Patience, and by that means a Plot was discovered, framed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guise*, for invading *England*. Whereupon, by the Earl of *Leicester*'s Means, a general Association of Men of all Degrees and Conditions was formed in *England*, who bound themselves by Oath to prosecute to the Death those that should attempt any thing against the Queen.

*A general Association in favour of the Queen.*

Mary *sends Proposals to* Elizabeth. Camden.

The Queen of *Scots* easily perceived that the Plots of her Friends were discovered, since the Association was a clear Evidence enough that *Elizabeth* thought herself in danger. As she was afraid she should not be able to avoid the Efforts of this Association, in case it should come to be known that she had a Hand in these Plots, she used her Endeavours again to free herself from Captivity. To that purpose she sent *Nawe* her Secretary to *Elizabeth* with these Proposals:

That if she might be set at Liberty, she offered to enter into a closer Amity with the Queen of *England*: To renounce the Title of *Queen of England*, and never lay Claim to the Crown of that Kingdom as long as *Elizabeth* was alive: To sign the Association: To make a League Defensive with *England*, (so far as might stand with the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*) provided that nothing were done in *England* to her Disadvantage, before she herself or the King her Son were heard in the Parliament: To stay in *England* till Hostages were given: To make no Change in the Religion established in *Scotland*, provided she might have the free Exercise of her own: To bury in

Oblivion

Oblivion all Injuries done to her in *Scotland*, on Condition that whatever had been enacted to her Diſgrace ſhould be repealed: To recommend to her Son ſuch Counſellors as were inclined to keep up a good Underſtanding with *England*: To procure a Pardon for the Fugitives, provided they would own themſelves guilty: To treat about no Match for the King her Son without *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge. She required on her Part, that the Treaty ſhould be made with her and the King her Son jointly, and promiſed to get it ratified by the Duke of *Guiſe*. Moreover, ſhe deſired Matters might be ſpeedily concluded, for fear ſome Accident ſhould obſtruct the Treaty. Laſtly, ſhe prayed *Elizabeth* to give her ſome Token of her Eſteem, by granting her a little more Liberty. 1584.

Had *Mary* made theſe Offers at any other Time, it may be *Elizabeth* would have given ſome heed to them. But in the preſent Juncture, they only ſerved to increaſe her Suſpicions, ſince it was evident they were the Effects of the Fear which the Aſſociation and the Diſcovery of the Plots had inſtilled into the Priſoner. *Camden* pretends, contrary to all appearance, that *Elizabeth* being ſatisfied with theſe Propoſals, was juſt going to ſet *Mary* at Liberty, had ſhe not been hindered by the Clamours of the *Scots*. Hence he takes Occaſion to make a long Invective againſt the *Presbyterians* and their Preachers, and to accuſe them of Inſolence, Contempt of the King's Perſon, and Rebellion againſt the Laws. Here alſo he ſpeaks of the Suppreſſion of *Buchanan*'s Writings, which was nothing to the Purpoſe. In a word, he would have *Presbyterianiſm* be conſidered as the ſole Cauſe of the Obſtacles to *Mary*'s Deliverance, in ſpite of the good Thoughts *Elizabeth* had of her. This is no wonder; it was the modiſh Stile in *England* in the Reign of *James* I. to whom Court was made by inveighing againſt the *Puritans*. I own however, it is not altogether unlikely that upon this Occaſion *Elizabeth* even ſet the *Scots* upon forming the Obſtacles mentioned here by *Camden*. But there is not the leaſt Probability,

*Remark upon this Subject.*

1584. lity, that at a Time when ſhe ſaw her Enemies in League againſt her, to place *Mary*, for all ſhe was a Priſoner, on the Throne of *England*, ſhe ſhould really intend to ſet her at Liberty, in order to enable her the better to execute her Deſigns. To take *Elizabeth*'s Diſſimulation for her real Intention, was an Artifice of *Camden*'s, thereby to inſinuate that ſhe thought *Mary* innocent of the Plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himſelf, by ſaying a little after, that *Mary* loſing all Hopes of an Accommodation, hearkened at length to dangerous Counſels, and writ to the Pope and the King of *Spain*, ſolliciting them *to haſten what they had in Hand with all ſpeed, let what would happen to her.* It is therefore evident that there was now ſome Project on Foot, that ſhe was acquainted with it, and had already given Ear to dangerous Counſels before the Time *Camden* ſpeaks of. But *Elizabeth*, who was better informed than *Mary* imagined, knowing that Meaſures were already taken to carry her away, took her out of the Hands of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed her to the Cuſtody of Sir *Drue Drury* a watchful Man, if ever there were one. *Camden* ſays, the Earl of *Leiceſter* willing at once to free *Elizabeth* from the Uneaſineſs the Queen of *Scots* created her, bribed certain Murderers to aſſaſſinate the Priſoner; but as none durſt give them an Order for Leave to come near her, *Drury*'s Watchfulneſs hindered them from being able to get Acceſs to her. If this denotes the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Villany, and perhaps, in *Camden*'s Intent, that of *Elizabeth* herſelf, it ſhows too withal how dangerous a Perſon the Queen of *Scots* was deemed, ſince it was thought *Elizabeth*'s Life could not be ſafe but by her Death. It is not likely therefore, that *Elizabeth* ſhould then think of ſetting her at Liberty. The ſame Author ſays, that to alienate Queen *Elizabeth*'s Heart entirely from the Queen of *Scots*, it was whiſpered in her Ears that a Reſolution was taken to deprive her of the Crown, and to ſet it on *Mary*'s Head: That a Council had been held, wherein

*Mary is put into Drury's Cuſtody.*

wherein Cardinal *Allen* for the *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſticks, *Ingleſield* for the Laity, and the Biſhop of *Roſs* for the Queen of *Scots*, all three impowered by the Pope and the King of *Spain*, had agreed, that *Elizabeth* ſhould be made away with, King *James* depoſed, and *Mary* given in Marriage to ſome *Engliſh* Catholick Nobleman; That this Nobleman ſhould be elected King of *England*, and the Crown ſettled upon his Heirs. He adds, *Walſingham* diligently inquired who this *Engliſh* Nobleman ſhould be, and that the Suſpicion lighted upon *Thomas Howard* Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*. 1584.

*Affairs of the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

During this Year, the Affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worſe and worſe, the Prince of *Parma* from time to time taking Places from them. At laſt, as it were to reduce them to the laſt Extremity, God permitted the Prince of *Orange* to be aſſaſſinated by one *Balthazar Gerard* a *Burgundian*. *Philip* his eldeſt Son being then in the Hands of the King of *Spain* and bred up in the *Catholick* Religion, the *States* conferred the Government of *Holland* and *Zealand* upon his ſecond Son *Maurice* about eighteen years old. Mean while the Prince of *Parma* taking advantage of the Conſternation of the *States*, laid Siege to *Antwerp*. In this Diſtreſs the *States*, finding it was not poſſible to ſupport themſelves any longer with their own Forces, debated whether they ſhould put themſelves under the Protection of *France* or *England*, and at length reſolved for *France*. But *Henry* III had then Affairs upon his Hands which ſuffered him not to accept their Offer. So finding they were denied from that Quarter, they were forced to apply to the Queen of *England*. We ſhall ſee next Year the Iſſue of this Negotiation *.

The

* Within the Compaſs of this Year *Charles Nevil* the laſt Earl of *Weſtmereland* of this Houſe, ended his Life in a miſerable Exile. From this Family ſprung (beſides ſix Earls of *Weſtmoreland*,) two Earls

1584. *Affairs of France.*

The Troubles which had so long agitated *France*, and which seemed to be a little appeas'd, were renewed by the Death of the Duke of *Anjou* which fell out in *June*. As the King had no Children, and as he was thought incapable of having any, the Duke of *Guise* took it in his head to seize the Throne, as descended from *Charlemain*. This at least is what several have accused him of, not without great Probability: But as *Henry* of *Bourbon* King of *Navarre* was become the First Prince of the Blood, after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*, a Pretense must be found to exclude him from the Throne, otherwise it would not be possible for the Duke of *Guise* to attain his Ends. It was no hard Matter to find a Pretense, since the King of *Navarre* made Profession of the *Reformed* Religion. So the Duke of *Guise* hiding his Ambition under the Veil of Religion, pretended he had no other View but to maintain the *Catholick* Religion, which would be in danger if a *Huguenot* should ascend the Throne. The King, who was very sensible of his Design, did his utmost to perswade the King of *Navarre* to change his Religion, and the Duke perceiving *they* were endeavouring to break his Measures, renewed the League first at *Paris* and then in the Provinces. By this Means he could have an Army in a readiness upon the first occasion. The People were so blind and stupid as to imagine he only aimed at the Preservation of the *Catholick* Religion. Mean while the Duke having notice that the King would cause him to be arrested, he withdrew to his Government of *Champagne*, where on the last day of *December* he signed a private League with the King of *Spain*, who, on Pretense of Religion, sought only to foment the Troubles in *France*. But as the Duke would not have

Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquiss *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, a Baron *Ferrars* of *Ossey*, Barons *Latimers*, Barons *Abergavenny*, one Queen, five Dutchesses, not to reckon *Countesses* and *Baronesses*, an Archbishop of *York*, and a great Number of inferiour Gentlemen. *Camden.*

have it appear that he aſpired to the Crown; the Treaty ran that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſhould be raiſed to the Throne after the Death of *Henry* III, and to that End the King of *Spain* ſhould find fifty Thouſand Crowns a Month. Thus, by the Means of the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Philip* II kindled in *France* a Flame which long conſumed that Kingdom, and hindered the *French* from thinking of the Acquiſition of the *Netherlands*. 1584.

In the beginning of the Year 1585, *Elizabeth* diſcovered a Conſpiracy of which *William Parry* was the Author. He was a Gentleman of *Wales*, Member of the Houſe of *Commons*, and had ſignalized his Zeal for the *Catholick* Religion in oppoſing alone a *Bill* which was preferred in the *Lower Houſe* againſt the *Jeſuits*. He ſpoke upon that occaſion with ſo much Paſſion and Vehemence, that he was committed to Cuſtody: but [his Submiſſion being made] he was in a few days admitted to his Place in the Houſe again. Hardly was he at liberty when *Henry Nevil* * who laid Claim to the Inheritance of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* lately deceaſed in *the Low-Countries*, accuſed him of conſpiring againſt the Queen; whereupon he was ſent to *the Tower*. He owned that he had a Deſign to kill the Queen, and was perſwaded thereto by *Morgan* an *Engliſh* Catholick Refugee in *France*: that he held Intelligence with *Jeſuits*, the Pope's *Nuntio*'s and *Cardinals*: that the better to deceive the Queen and get free Acceſs to her Perſon, he returned from *France* into *England*, and diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy to her: that afterwards, repenting of his wicked Intention, he left off his Dagger every time he went to her, leaſt he ſhould be tempted to commit the Murder: but that at length Cardinal *Allen*'s Book, wherein he maintains it to be not only lawful, but honourable to kill Princes excommunicated, falling into 1585. Parry's *Conſpiracy* Camden.

* *Edmund Nevil* was his Name, he claimed the Inheritance of the *Nevils* Earls of *Weſtmoreland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer* as next Heir-Male.

1585. into his Hands, he read it, and felt himself strongly encouraged to pursue his first Design: that *Nevil* his Accuser coming to dine with him, proposed the attempting some thing for the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scots*, to which he answered, he had a greater Design in his Head: that a few days after *Nevil* coming to see him, they resolved to kill the Queen, as she rode abroad to take the Air, and swore upon *the Bible* to keep the Secret: But that in the mean while, *Nevil* hearing the News of the Earl of *Westmoreland*'s Death, accused him, in hopes of procuring thereby the Earl's Inheritance to which he laid claim. Upon this Confession, he was condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

*The Parliament confirms the Association*

*Act against the Queen of* Scots.

This Conspiracy occasioned the Parliament to take extraordiuary Care of the Queen's and the Kingdom's Welfare. The *General Association* was admitted, approved and confirmed by unanimous Consent. It was enacted also, that Twenty-four [or more] Commissioners chosen and appointed by the Queen should make Inquisition concerning Those who should endeavour to raise a Rebellion in the Kingdom, or attempt the Queen's Life, or claimed any Right to the Crown of *England*. That the Person for whom, or by whom any Attempt should be made, should be utterly incapable of succeeding to the Crown, deprived for ever of all Right and Title to it, and prosecuted to Death, if he should be declared guilty by the four and Twenty Commissioners.

It was impossible not to see that the Queen of *Scots* was directly pointed at, for whose sake all these Plots were framed. So it is very probable, that from this time her Death began to be determined, the two Queen's being no longer able to subsist together. The Council of *England* at least was of this Opinion. *Mary* made no doubt but the Law was enacted against her. Perhaps she would have prevented the fatal Effects of it, could she have resolved to renounce the Intelligence she held in the Kingdom and in Foreign Countries. But she had not the Prudence to take this wise

wiſe Courſe, or, it may be, to avoid the Snares laid for her, nor quick-ſighted enough to perceive ſhe only ſerved for Blind to her pretended Friends, in order to execute other Projects. 1585.

The Parliament was not contented with the ſevere *Statute* for the Queen's Preſervation, it was farther enacted, " That all *Popiſh* Prieſts ſhould depart the " Realm within four * Days; That thoſe who ſhould " afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of High-Trea- " ſon: That to receive or harbour them ſhould be " *Felony* *". It was declared alſo, " That thoſe " who were brought up in foreign *Seminaries*, if they " returned not into *England* within ſix Months [after " Notice,] and made not their Submiſſion before a " Biſhop, or two Juſtices of Peace, ſhould be guilty " of High-Treaſon. That if any Perſon ſubmitting " himſelf, ſhould within ten Years approach the " Court, or come within ten Miles thereof, his Sub- " miſſion ſhould be void. That thoſe who ſhould " directly or indirectly, convey any Money to Stu- " dents, or others in ſuch *Seminaries*, ſhould incur the " Penalty of a *Præmunire*, loſs of Goods and perpe- " tual Exile. That if any of the *Peers* of the Realm " ſhould offend againſt this *Act*, they ſhould be " brought to their Tryal by their *Peers*. That if " any Perſon ſhould know any *Popiſh* Prieſt or *Jeſuit*, " lurking in the Kingdom, and ſhould not diſcover " him within four Days, he ſhould be fined and impri- " ſoned at the Queen's Pleaſure. That if any Man " ſhould be ſuſpected to be a Prieſt or Jeſuit, and " refuſe to ſubmit himſelf to Examination, he ſhould " be impriſoned till he did ſubmit. That they who " ſhould ſend their Children to *Popiſh* Colleges, or " *Seminaries*, ſhould be fined in one Hundred Pounds " *Sterling*. That if thoſe who were ſent thither, did " not return within a Year, they ſhould be uncapa- " ble

*Another againſt the Papiſts.*

* Within Forty-Days. *Camden*.

*1 So all Capital Crimes are called under the Degree of Treaſon.

1585. "ble to succeed as Heirs to any Estate. That if the "*Wardens* of the Ports should suffer any others be- "sides Merchants to cross the Seas without the "Queen's License, signed by six Privy-Counsellors, "they should be turned out of their Places. That "the Masters of Ships who received any Passengers "without such License, should forfeit their Ships and "Goods, suffer a Year's Imprisonment, and be in- "capable of exercising Navigation for the future".

This was the severest *Act* against the *Catholicks* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. But they could blame no Body but themselves, or rather the indiscreet Zeal of some amongst them, who never ceased plotting against the Queen, and endeavouring to set the Queen of *Scots* on the Throne of *England*. Even this *Statute* was not capable of holding them in, till at last they carried their Zeal to such a Height, that the Destruction of one of the Queen's became necessary for the Preservation of the other.

*The Earl of* Arundel *is apprehended as he is going out of the Land.*

*Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, had through the Queens special Grace and Favour, been restored in Blood and to his Father's Estate three Years before. But afterwards he embraced the *Catholick* Religion, and having been twice cited before the Council to answer to certain Accusations entered against him, he was confined to his own House. Six Months after he had his Liberty again, and came to the House of Lords: but he withdrew the very first Day, that he might not be obliged to be present at the Sermon. As he was extremely addicted to his Religion, he resolved to leave the Kingdom in order to have the free Exercise of it; and before he set out, he writ a Letter to the Queen, which was not to be delivered till after his Departure. The Letter was full of Complaints, that his Innocence was oppressed. He said, that in order to avoid the Misfortune which had befallen his Grandfather, and Father, and to serve God with Freedom, according to his Conscience, he had resolved to quit

th

the Kingdom, but not his Allegiance to his Sovereign. But being betrayed by his own Servants, he was apprehended juſt as he was going to embark, and ſent to the *Tower*. 1585.

*Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, Brother to him that was beheaded, was in the ſame *Tower*, having been charged with being concerned in *Throgmorton*'s Conſpiracy, and with holding Correſpondence with the Lord *Paget* and the Duke of *Guiſe*. In the Month of *June* this Year he was found dead in his Bed, ſhot with three Bullets under his left Pap. As he was alone in his Room, which he had bolted on the inſide, it was eaſy to ſee he had killed himſelf. *The Earl of Northumberland kills himſelf.*

The Calm *Elizabeth* had enjoyed for ſome Years, began to be turned into Storms which threatened her from all Quarters. This Change muſt be aſcribed to three principal Cauſes. The firſt was the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Power, which was almoſt equal to that of the *French* King himſelf. *Philip* II's flouriſhing Condition may be reckoned a ſecond, who after acquiring the Kingdom of *Portugal*, was juſt upon the Point of reducing to his Obedience the revolted Provinces of the *Netherlands*. The third was the Hopes Queen *Elizabeth*'s Enemies flattered themſelves with of gaining the King of *Scotland*, and making uſe of him to invade *England*. I mention not the Court of *Rome* or the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who always continued in the ſame Mind, ſo that there was nothing new in that Reſpect. The Queen of *Scots* was all along the Stumbling-block. It was ſhe that gave Birth to all the Devices. They had a Mind to free her from Captivity, in order to ſet on her Head the Crown of *England* and *Scotland*, and reſtore by her Means the *Catholick* Religion in the two Kingdoms. This was the Scheme of *Elizabeth*'s Enemies. She could not be ignorant of it, ſince they had purſued it from the very beginning of her Reign, as on her Part ſhe had made it her whole Buſineſs to break their Meaſures. But ſome Advantages which ſhe had hitherto had, began to fail. Theſe were firſt, the Jealouſy between *Elizabeth is threatned from ſeveral Quarters.*

1585. the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* which had reſtrained both from attacking her openly. Secondly, the *French Huguenots* had been ſtrong enough to ſupport themſelves, and diſable the Court from attempting any Thing againſt *England*. Thirdly, as long as the Affairs of the Confederates in the *Netherlands* were proſperous, they had kept the *Spaniſh* Forces ſo much in play, that it was not poſſible for *Philip* II to think ſeriouſly of foreign Matters. But at the Time I am ſpeaking of, the Scene of Affairs was entirely altered. *France* was in ſuch a Way as *Elizabeth* could no longer build her Safety upon the Jealouſy between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Crowns, that Foundation being grown too weak. The Duke of *Guiſe*, her mortal Enemy, was more powerful in *France* than the King himſelf, and beſides was ſupported by the King of *Spain*. It was very probable the *Huguenots* would be entirely oppreſſed, and the *Low-Countries* ſoon brought under the *Spaniſh* Yoke again; after which, there was no doubt but *England* would be invaded. It was neceſſary therefore that *Elizabeth* ſhould think betimes of preventing the impendent Danger, or reſolve to ſuſtain alone the Efforts of her Enemies. Prudence required that ſhe ſhould in the firſt Place avoid the Aſſaults which were preparing againſt her, without neglecting however the Means of withſtanding them, if ſhe ſhould be forced to it. The Scheme ſhe laid was this, as may be eaſily made appear by the Sequel. Firſt, ſhe reſolved to make Alliances, if poſſible, with the two *northern* Crowns and the *German* Proteſtants, though it were only to raiſe the Jealouſy of her Enemies. Secondly, to ſend a ſtrong Aid to the Confederates of the *Low-Countries*. in order to keep the King of *Spain* employed there. In the third Place, to aſſiſt the *French Huguenots*, that they might not be too eaſily oppreſſed, well knowing the Duke of *Guiſe* would be unable to attempt any Thing againſt her as long as the Civil Wars took him up in *France*. Laſtly, ſhe thought there was no better way to break her Enemies Meaſures, than to

endeavour, if poſſible, to have the King of *Scotland* in her Power, or if that failed, to raiſe Troubles in *Scotland*, which ſhould hinder that young Prince from framing Projects detrimental to *England*. It is alſo very likely, that at this Time the Death of the Queen of *Scots* was determined, ſince her Life was the Ground of all the Plots againſt *Elizabeth* both at Home and Abroad. At leaſt, if this Reſolution was not abſolutely taken, it is very probable *Elizabeth* and her Council were determined not to ſpare *Mary*, as ſoon as the Neceſſity of Affairs required ſhe ſhould fall a Sacrifice to the Safety of the Publick. I own this is only a Conjecture, but it is built upon the Poſture *Elizabeth*'s Affairs were in at that time. 1585.

To execute the firſt Part of her Scheme, ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* into *Germany* and *Denmark*, to endeavour to perſuade the *Proteſtant* Princes to make a League Defenſive with *England*. He had Orders, among other Things, to acquaint the King of *Denmark*, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, when a Suitor to *Elizabeth* for Marriage, did not ſtick to challenge the Crown of *Denmark* as Grandſon to *Chriſtiern* II by his Daughter. I do not know the Iſſue of *Bodley*'s Negotiations: but as *Elizabeth* was extremely ſparing of her Money, it is ſomething likely ſhe uſed not the beſt way to gain the *German* Princes to her Intereſt. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the ſecond and third Articles of *Elizabeth*'s Scheme, relating to *France* and the *Netherlands*. As to the fourth and laſt about *Scotland*, we find it explained in *Melvil*'s *Memoirs*, if we may after all give entire Credit to this Author, who ſeems very much prejudiced againſt *Elizabeth*. *She ſends an Ambaſſador into* Germany.

The King of *Scotland* being determined to marry, had caſt his Eyes on the King of *Denmark*'s eldeſt Daughter, who, having ſome notice of it, reſolved to ſend an Embaſſy into *Scotland*, under colour of propoſing an Alliance between the two Kingdoms, and withal to give King *James* an Opportunity to move his Marriage. *Melvil* pretends, that *Elizabeth* having Intelligence of the Project, came to a *She tries to break off the Project of the King of* Scotland's *Marriage.* Melvil.

1585. Resolution to use her Endeavour to make it miscarry. Not that this Match was unsuitable for the King of *Scotland*, but it was requisite for *Elizabeth* that he should not marry, unless he would take an *English* Wife of her chusing, or rather, she wanted to have him in her Power before he should be married. She writ to him therefore, that in order to keep up always a good Understanding with him, she intended to send an Ambassador who should reside at his Court, not to trouble his Majesty with Business, but to entertain him with merry Discourse, and bear him Company in his Recreations: That she had pitched upon for that purpose *Edward Wotton*, a Man of Wit and a great Traveller, imagining he would be a very proper Person to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great Delight in his Conversation. *Melvil*, who was ordered to go and receive this Ambassador, remembred he had seen him formerly at *Paris*, at Dr. *Wotton*'s his Uncle, the *English* Ambassador, and that young as he was then, he had laid a Snare for the old Constable *Montmorency*, into which that able Minister had fallen (*a*). He warned the King of it, who minded it not. On the contrary, he made this Ambassador Partner of all his Pleasures, and one of his greatest Favourites.

*Affairs of Scotland.* The *Danish* Ambassadors being arrived in *Scotland*, *Wotton* and some of the King's Minister's ordered it so, that they received so many Mortifications, that they were upon the Point of returning in very great Discontent. But *Melvil* informing them of the State of Affairs, persuaded them to have Patience; and indeed, the King being undeceived as to some Notions which had been instilled into him against the King of *Denmark*, sent them back better satisfied. Shortly after he sent *Patrick* * *Young* his Almoner to the same Prince, to thank him for his Embassy, and to acquaint

(*a*) See towards the End of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, where mention is made of this Snare, p. 201.

* *Peter*. Melvil, p. 167.

quaint him that he would very ſoon diſpatch Ambaſſadors to him. The real Motive of *Young*'s going was to ſee the King of *Denmark*'s two Daughters, and inform the King his Maſter of their Qualifications. 1585

In the mean while the Earl of *Arran*'s Credit ſenſibly decreaſed, by the Means of the Maſter of *Gray* his Rival, who knew better how to manage the King. Beſides, *Wotton* helped with all his Power to ruin the Favourite; for beſides that *Elizabeth* had no farther need of him, ſince ſhe had won the Maſter of *Gray*, he was a Man on whom ſhe could not much rely. Moreover, an Accident which happened on the Borders did the Earl of *Arran* great Injury. The Lord *Fernihurſt*, who had married his Niece, holding a Conference with *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford**, about Affairs relating to the two Kingdoms, an *Engliſhman* being taken pilfering, raiſed a Quarrel between the two Guards, wherein *Ruſſel* was ſlain. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador made a great Noiſe about this Matter, pretending that the Earl of *Arran* had ſtirred up this Quarrel by his Nephew, on purpoſe to breed a Rupture between the two Kingdoms. Upon his Complaints, the Earl of *Arran* was confined to his own Houſe, and *Fernihurſt* ſent to Priſon, where he died ſoon after.

Francis Ruſſel *killed on the Borders.* Camden. Melvil.

*Elizabeth* having notice of this Fact, demanded a ſolemn Reparation. *James* did not refuſe it: but pretended he could do nothing in the Matter before he had Proofs. This was no eaſy Thing, by reaſon of the Cuſtoms mentioned elſewhere, which allowed not the Evidence of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*, or of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*, concerning what paſſed on the Borders. This Difficulty cauſing the Buſineſs to be prolonged, and the Earl of *Arran* having his Liberty, *Elizabeth* took occaſion to permit the *Scotch* Fugitives, who had fled into *England*, to return home. *Wotton* being informed of the Queen's Deſign, laboured to corrupt ſeveral *Scotch* Courtiers, and win

*The Queen demands Satisfaction.*

*She ſuffers the* Scotch *Fugitives to return home.*

* And *Warden* of the *Middle-Marches*.

1585. them to *Elizabeth*'s Intereſt. If we may believe *Melvil*, the Perſons whom the King moſt confided in were of this Number. So *Wotton*, finding himſelf well ſupported, formed the Project to take the King in *Sterling* Park and carry him into *England*. But miſſing his Aim, he reſolved to force the Guard of the Caſtle, and had now prepared every Thing neceſſary to execute his Deſign, when the King having ſome Intelligence of it, broke his Meaſures, by ſuddenly leaving *Sterling*. Then *Wotton* perceiving he was diſcovered, went away privately without taking leave. This was the Man *Elizabeth* had ſent to King *James* to entertain and divert him.

*Wotton reſolves to carry away the King of Scotland.* Melvil.

*He is diſappointed and flies,*

But all the Danger was not over. *James* was beſet with Perſons who held Intelligence with the Fugitives, and hindered him from taking care of himſelf. The Fugitive Lords were now entered *Scotland*, where they had drawn together a Body of Three Thouſand Men, and were marching directly to *Sterling*, where the King was returned, without any Thing being done at Court to ſtop their Proceedings. This Negligence, cauſed by the Traitors whom the King had about him, afforded the Male-contents an Opportunity to come to the Gates of *Sterling*, where the King was ſurprized in ſuch a manner, that he was forced to put himſelf into their Hands: but the Earl of *Arran* had time to eſcape. The Male-contents having the King in their Power, treated him with ſo much Reſpect and Submiſſion, that they perſuaded him at length they were not his Enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned, he had been led aſide by the pernicious Counſels of the Earl of *Arran*, and conſented that the Exiles ſhould be reſtored to their Eſtates. By this Revolution *Elizabeth* had the Satisfaction to ſee the King of *Scotland* guided by Counſellors from whom ſhe had nothing to fear, whereas before ſhe was under continual Apprehenſions with reſpect to the Affairs of that Kingdom. Shortly after Colonel *Stuart* going to *Copenhagen*, began there a Treaty

*The Fugitives return into* Scotland.

*They ſeize the King's Perſon,*

*and are reſtored.*

*Treaty about the King's Marriage.*

a Treaty about the King's Marriage, with one of the Princeſſes of *Denmark*. 1585.

In the mean time the Affairs of the United-Provinces were in ſo dangerous a Situation, that the *States* could no longer hope to withſtand the King of *Spain*, unleſs they were ſtrongly aſſiſted. *Henry* III having refuſed the Sovereignty offered him by the *States*, they applied to *Elizabeth*, who would not accept of it neither, for fear of engaging in a very troubleſome Affair. She perceived that the War which ſhe ſhould be obliged to wage with *Spain*, for the Preſervation of this Sovereignty, would draw her into extraordinary Charges, which ſhe ſhould not be at liberty to leſſen as ſhe pleaſed. She choſe, in order to purſue the Scheme ſhe had formed, to give the *States* a powerful Aid, that ſhe might keep the King of *Spain* in play; and the rather, becauſe this Aid might be increaſed or leſſened, according to the Poſture of her Affairs. She made then a Treaty with them, whereby ſhe promiſed to find them Five Thouſand *Foot* and a Thouſand *Horſe*, under the Command of an *Engliſh* General. It was agreed, That ſhe ſhould pay theſe Troops during the War, on Condition that the Money ſhould be repaid when the War was ended; namely, in the firſt Year of the Peace the Expences laid out in the firſt Year of the War, and the reſt in four Years: That for Security of Payment *Fluſhing* and *Rammekins* in *Zealand*, and the *Brill* in *Holland*, ſhould be delivered into her Hands: That the Governours ſhe ſhould place there ſhould exerciſe no Authority over the Inhabitants: That after the Money was repaid, theſe Places ſhould be reſtored, not to the King of *Spain*, but to the *States*: That the *Engliſh* General and two others whom ſhe ſhould name, ſhould have a Place in the Council of State, and no Peace or Truce ſhould be made without a mutual Conſent: That if the Queen ſhould ſend a Fleet to Sea, the *States* ſhould be obliged to join it with an equal Number of Ships under the Command of the *Engliſh* Admiral:

*The Q's Treaty with the States.*

1585. miral: Lastly, That the Ports should be open and free to both Nations *.

*The Earl of* Leicester *is made General of the* English *Troops. The Q's Manifesto.*

This Treaty being concluded, the Queen appointed for General of her Auxiliary Forces the Earl of *Leicester*, for whom she had all along a great Affection: but he went not over into *Flanders* till about the End of the Year. Some time after she published a *Manifesto*, wherein she alledged as a Reason for her aiding the Confederate Provinces, that the Alliance between the Kings of *England* and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, was not so much between their Persons, as betwixt their respective States. From whence she inferred, that without breaking this Alliance she might assist the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, oppressed by the *Spaniards*.

*She sends a Fleet into* America *against the* Spaniards.

Mean while, as she judged this Reason would not be satisfactory to the King of *Spain*, and that he would doubtless look upon this extraordinary Aid given his rebellious Subjects as a Declaration of War, she resolved to be beforehand with him. To that purpose she equipped a Fleet of One and Twenty Sail, whereon were embarked Two Thousand Three Hundred Soldiers, besides Mariners, to go and carry War into *America*, where the *Spaniards* little expected any such thing. The Fleet was commanded by the Earl of *Carlisle*, who had under him the famous Sir *Francis Drake* *1. The *English* immediately took St. *Jago*, one of the Isles of *Cape Verd*. After that they sailed to St. *Domingo* or *Hispaniola*, and became Masters of the Capital. Having spent there the whole Month of *January*, of the Year 1586, they went and took *Carthagena*. Then they burnt the Towns of St. *Antonio* and St. *Helena* in *Florida*. A violent Storm having dispersed the Fleet, as they were going to undertake new Expeditions, they met not again till

* The King of *Sweden*, when he heard of this Treaty, said, *Queen* Elizabeth *has now taken the Diadem from her Head, and adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.* Camden

*1 Sir *Francis Drake* was Admiral of the Fleet, and *Christopher Carlisle* General of the Land-Forces. *Camden.*

till they came into *England*, where they brought a Booty valued at Sixty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*; but in this Expedition Seven Hundred Men were loſt *. 1585.

At the ſame time *John Davis* an *Engliſhman* went in ſearch of a ſhorter Paſſage, through the *North* Part of *America* to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Ice preventing him from going on, he roved a long while up and down the *Northern* Seas, and accidently lighted upon a *Streight*, under the *Polar Circle*, which ſtill bears his Name, but was not what he wanted. Davis's *Streight in the* North. Camden.

Before I leave the Year 1585, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in *France*. After the Duke of *Guiſe* had concluded his Treaty with the King of *Spain*, he tried always to corrupt the *French*, and draw them to his Party. His Aim was to ſeize the Crown, either before or after *Henry* III's Death. He could not expect that the King who hated him mortally, would countenance his Deſign; and on the other Hand, he had no manner of Colour to challenge the Crown, except his pretended *Deſcent* from the *Houſe* of *Charlemain*. And even in that caſe, the Duke of *Lorrain*, Head of that *Houſe*, would have been before him. It was neceſſary therefore, in order to aſſert ſo extraordinary a Title, that the Affections of the People, and a religious Zeal ſhould make up all Defects, otherwiſe there was not the leaſt Appearance that, in cold Blood, the *French* ſhould ſet on the Throne, after the King's Death, a foreign Prince, in Prejudice of the King of *Navarre*, who was deſcended from St. *Lewis*. To attain his Ends, the Duke of *Guiſe* began, by the Help of his Emiſſaries, to diſparage the King as a Favourer of *Hereticks*, and to rouze the Zeal of the *Catholicks* againſt the *Huguenots*, and particnlarly againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, who profeſſed the *Reformed* Religion, after having publickly abjured it. Mean while, as the Duke of *Guiſe* did not think proper to *Affairs of* France. Mezerai.

* *Ralph Lane*, who had been left in *Virginia* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, came home with *Drake*, and was the firſt that brought Tobacco into *England*. Camden.

1585. to discover his Designs, he published a *Manifesto* in the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Name, wherein he pretended to demonstrate that the Crown belonged to the Cardinal after the King's Death. Not that he desired to place him on the Throne: but it was sufficient in the first Place to set aside the King of *Navarre*. That done, under colour of hindering the Throne from being filled with a *Heretick*, he possessed himself of several Places, pretending all the while that it was for the King's Service and the Good of the Realm.

Mezerai. The Life the King had led for some time, caused him to forfeit the Esteem of most of his Subjects. The Duke of *Guise*'s Intrigues, who made him pass for a Countenancer of *Hereticks*, because he supported the *House* of *Bourbon*'s Title, helped also to alienate the People from him. In short, the Court of *Rome*, the *Clergy*, the *Fryars* were for the Duke of *Guise*, and served him to the utmost of their Power. Thus the King being unable to resist, was obliged to forsake the King of *Navarre*, to publish an Edict against the *Huguenots*, and join with the Duke in their Extirpation: Nay, he had the Vexation not to be able to help giving him the Command of the Army.

Elizabeth *aids the* Huguenots. Camden. The King of *Navarre* and the *Huguenots* finding themselves thus attacked, drew together all their Forces in their Defence. But these Forces were so inconsiderable, in comparison of those of their Enemies, that there was no likelihood they should be able to withstand them long. The Prince of *Conde*, willing to relieve the Castle of *Angers* which was besieged, was on a sudden surrounded by the Enemies Troops, and forced to steal away from his Army, and fly into *England*. *Elizabeth* received him very civilly; and as she knew the Enemies of the *Huguenots* were also Her's, she promised to assist him. It was not without reason that she concerned herself in the Affairs of the *Huguenots*, since the League was not limited to their Destruction, but aimed at the Ruin of the *Protestant* Religion throughout all *Europe*, and especially in *England*. Of this there was seen a very sensible

ſenſible Proof this Year. *Gregory* XIII dying in the Month of *April*, *Sixtus* V his Succeſſor, thundered out immediately the *Cenſures* of the *Church* againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, calling them not only *Hereticks* and *Relapſes*, but alſo a Baſtard Progeny. Hence it was eaſy to ſee, how much the Pope countenanced the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns, and hence the Queen of *England* might infer how great reaſon ſhe had to fear, if the Duke ſhould one Day become King of *France*, being ſupported by the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon this Account it was ſhe ſupplied the Prince of *Condé* with Fifty Thouſand Crowns, to help him to carry on the War, and lent him Ten Ships, with which he raiſed the Blockade of the City of *Rochelle*. 1585.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* being arrived in *Holland* the Beginning of the Year 1586, was received there as a Guardian Angel *. The *States*, under colour of expreſſing their Gratitude to *Elizabeth*, declared him *Governour* and *Captain-General* of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the *United-Provinces*, and inveſted him with almoſt an abſolute Power *1. It is extremely probable, that their Aim was to engage the Queen farther than ſhe had intended. She had refuſed the offered Sovereignty, and they had a mind to give it her in ſome meaſure whether ſhe would or no, by inveſting her General with almoſt a Sovereign Authority. But *Elizabeth* was too wiſe to be enſnared by this Artifice. She complained bitterly to the *States* of this ſort of Fraud, and gave withal the Earl of *Leiceſter* a ſevere Reprimand for accepting the Honour, without having firſt conſulted her. She told him, he had acted directly 1586. Elizabeth *complains of the Authority given by the States to the Earl of* Leiceſter. Grotius.

* He ſet out from *England* with a ſplendid Retinue, being accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and other Knights, with a ſelect Troop of 500 Gentlemen. *Camden*.

*1 He was attended with a noble Guard, and ſaluted by all Men with the Title of *Your Excellency*, upon which he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect King. *Camden*.

1586. rectly contrary to her Intention, since she had publickly declared in her *Manifesto*, that she was very ready to relieve her Neighbours in their Distress, but never meant to assume any Power over them. The *States* excused themselves, by saying, the Necessity of their Affairs had compelled them to confer such an Authority upon the Earl of *Leicester*, to the End he might be the better able to heal their Divisions, which put them in continual Danger of being ruined: That they could not revoke the Authority granted to her General without great Inconveniences; and after all, they had not divested themselves of the supreme Power. The Earl of *Leicester* appeased the Queen by his Submissions. In short, she consented the *Patent* should subsist: but gave the *States* to understand, that they flattered themselves in vain with the Hopes of inducing her to accept of the Sovereignty of their Country, and that her Intent was to keep within the Bounds she had prescribed to herself; that is to say, not to be obliged to aid them any farther than her Affairs would permit.

*The Earl of* Leicester's *ambitious Projects.*

The Earl of *Leicester*, a Man of great Pride and Ambition, was no sooner clothed with the exorbitant Power that had been conferred on him, but he began secretly to form Projects destructive of the Liberties of the Country he was come to defend. At least, this is what all the *Dutch* Historians tax him with. They pretend, his Design was to render himself Sovereign or *Perpetual Dictator* of the Provinces which he had been entrusted with the Government of. He made use of such Means, as bred an universal Discontent against him. In short, after a Campaign, wherein he performed no great Exploits, he returned to *England*, to take proper Measures to smooth the Way to his Ends, and probably to persuade the Queen to support him.

*He returns into* England.

Elizabeth *proposes a League with* Scotland. Camden.

Whilst *France* and the *Netherlands* were in Commotion, *Elizabeth* wisely provided for her Own and her People's Safety. This she did not only by assisting the *Huguenots* and the confederate Provinces, but also by

by preventing the Dangers which might come from *Scotland*, in caſe the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould be ever able to invade her. The preſent Juncture was very favourable. The King of *Scotland* had none about him but Men well-affected to the *Reformed* Religion, and the Intereſt of *England*. This Opportunity therefore was not to be let ſlip, of ſtrictly uniting the two Kingdoms, it being a Matter of vaſt Moment to *Elizabeth*. Accordingly ſhe diſpatched *Randolph* to King *James*, to repreſent to him that the Enemies of the *Proteſtant* Religion openly joining together for its Deſtruction, it was the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant* States to unite alſo for their common Defence. That *England* and *Scotland* were the Bulwarks of the true Religion, and that the Union of their Forces was the only poſſible way to preſerve it. That therefore, ſhe thought it their common Intereſt to join in a League for the Defence of their Religion, againſt all who ſhould attempt to deſtroy it, at leaſt in *England* and *Scotland*. The ſooner to perſuade the King to do what the Queen deſired, *Randolph* hinted to him, that as his Revenues were extremely diminiſhed, by reaſon of the Troubles which had ſo long afflicted his Kingdom, the Queen was willing to grant him a Penſion to help him to ſupport his Dignity. *James* readily conſented to what was propoſed to him, but on Condition, nothing ſhould be done in *England* againſt his Right to the Crown of that Kingdom, and this Article with that of the Penſion ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty. *Randolph* anſwered, he did not believe that was poſſible. As to the Penſion, he ſaid, if it were put into the Treaty, the Queen would ſeem to be tributary to *Scotland*, which ſhe would never agree to. As to the Article of the Succeſſion, the Queen could not ſettle it by a publick Treaty, without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and the Diſcuſſion of ſuch an Affair might retard the Treaty too long, and it may be give Birth to great Difficulties, becauſe of the Queen his Mother's Religion: but he did not queſtion *Elizabeth* would be very willing to give him 1586.

1586. Satisfaction in those two Points, by means of two secret Articles. *James* being contended with this Expedient, *Desneval* the *French* Ambassador did all that lay in his Power to dissuade him from this League. He told him, that *Elizabeth*'s Aim was only to screen herself from the Attacks of those who were combined for the Deliverance of Queen *Mary*. That it was a strange Thing he should think of uniting with a Queen, who kept his Mother in Prison, against those who were labouring to free her from Captivity. He added, the King his Master could not but look upon this League as an express Breach of the old Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. *James* answered, that the Queen his Mother's Misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own Friends, who under Colour of serving her, only aimed at executing their own Projects. That as to the Alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, he did not see wherein he should violate it, since *France* would not be thought to break it when she made a League *Defensive* in *England*, without acquainting him.

*The French Ambassador opposes it.*

*The King's Answer.*

*James* having resolved upon what the Queen desired, the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kingdoms met at *Berwick*, and signed a Treaty of Alliance and *stricter* Amity between the two Crowns.

*Treaty of League between* Elizabeth *and* James. Camden.

The Motive of the Treaty was, That whereas the Princes who called themselves *Catholicks* were entered into Leagues for the extirpating the *Protestant* Religion, not only in their own Dominions, but also in foreign Countries, it was necessary likewise that the *Protestants* should unite for its Defense. That therefore the Queen of *England* and King of *Scotland* did agree upon the following Articles:

I. By this Treaty they shall be obliged to defend the *Evangelical* Religion against all those who shall attack it in either Kingdom.

II. This League shall be *Offensive* and *Defensive* against those who shall hinder the free Exercise of the said Religion in either of the two Kingdoms, all other

ther Treaties and Alliances to the contrary notwithſtanding. 1586.

III. If either of the two Parties be invaded, the other ſhall not directly or indirectly aſſiſt the Invader, any Alliance or Treaty formerly entered into notwithſtanding.

IV. If *England* be invaded in any Parts remote from *Scotland*, the King of *Scotland* ſhall find the Queen of *England* two Thouſand *Horſe* and five Thouſand *Foot*, at the Queen's Charges, from the Day of their entering *England*; and in the like Caſe, the Queen ſhall ſend the King of *Scotland* ſix Thouſand *Foot* and three Thouſand *Horſe*.

V. If *England* be invaded in any Place within ſixty Miles of *Scotland*, the King of *Scotland* ſhall draw together all his Forces, and join the ſame with the Queen's, in order to purſue the Invaders for the ſpace of thirty Days together, or if Neceſſity require, for as long Time as the *Vaſſals* of *Scotland* are bound to furniſh the King with Troops for the Defenſe of the Kingdom.

VI. If *Ireland* be invaded, the King of *Scotland* ſhall hinder the Inhabitants of the County of *Argyle* from entering in an hoſtile Manner into that Kingdom.

VII. The King and Queen ſhall mutually deliver up all Rebels who ſhall have attempted any Thing againſt either of the two Kingdoms, or at leaſt, they ſhall compel them to retire from their Dominions.

VIII. Within ſix Months Commiſſioners ſhall be ſent to compound and adjuſt all Differences which have ariſen on the Borders between the two Nations.

IX. Neither of the two Princes ſhall make any Treaty to the Prejudice of the Articles of this preſent League, without the Conſent of the other.

X. This Treaty ſhall be ratified on both Sides by *Letters-Patents*.

XI. This

1586. XI. This preſent Treaty ſhall in no way derogate from any former Treaties made between the two Kingdoms, or from thoſe which the two Crowns may have entered into before with any Princes or State, what relates to Religion excepted. As to the Article concerning Religion, it is agreed, this Alliance and League *Offenſive* and *Defenſive* ſhall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The Treaties ſhall be confirmed by the *States* of *Scotland* as ſoon as the King ſhall attain to the Age of Twenty-five Years; and in like Manner the Queen ſhall cauſe it to be approved by the Parliaments of *England* and *Ireland*.

*Remark on Camden's Annals.*

Shortly after the Concluſion of this League, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered in *England* which coſt the Queen of *Scots* her Life. As this is one of the moſt important Events of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, it will be neceſſary to relate all the Particulars. But it is a ſad Thing, theſe Particulars muſt be taken from the *Annals* of *Elizabeth*, written by *Camden*, a very ſuſpicious Author with reſpect to the Queen of *Scots*. In all the former Reigns there is no remarkable Event but what the *Collection of the Publick Acts* makes mention of, and gives ſome Light to. But as to this, all the *Acts* relating to Queen *Mary* are deſtroyed, without one remaining. On the other Hand, *James* I. Son of *Mary*, ſucceeding *Elizabeth*, there was not an *Engliſhman* who dared to write in his Reign the Truth of what had paſſed in the foregoing one, whilſt the Memory of it was yet freſh. *Camden* was the only Perſon that undertook to publiſh the *Annals* of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, not ſo much to make known, as to diſguiſe the Events, as far as they concerned Queen *Mary*, and to give an Air of Innocence to every Thing which ſullied her good Name when ſhe was alive. This evidently appears in his Account of King *Henry Stuart*'s Murder, which has given Occaſion to preſume he has been no faithfuller in what he ſays of the Judgment and Death of *Mary*. He affirms,

affirms however, that he has followed the *Memoirs* of *Stephen Parker* * Principal Regiſter to the Queen, of *Thomas Wheeler* Publick-Notary, Cryer of the Court of *Canterbury*, and other Perſons of Credit whom he does not Name. I don't know whether the *Memoirs* he ſpeaks of were ever publiſhed, or whether they are ſtill to be found. Be this as it will, from *Camden's Annals* the following Account is taken, for want of a more impartial Hiſtorian. 1586.

*Conſpiracy againſt the Queen.*

*Gilbert Gifford* Doctor of *Divinity* in the *Seminary* at *Rheims*, *Robert* * *Gifford* and *Hodgeſon*, *Engliſh* Prieſts, had inſtilled into one *John Savage* a Countryman of theirs, that it would be a meritorious Act to kill *Elizabeth*, and had made him vow to do the Deed during the *Eaſter-Holidays* this Year 1586 *. At the ſame Time *Ballard* an *Engliſh* Prieſt of the ſame *Seminary*, who had been in *England*, notwithſtanding the Prohibition, returned into *France*, where he had ſeveral Conferences with *Mendoza* and the Lord *Paget*, how to invade *England*. As the chief End of the Conſpiracy was the reſtoring of the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, the Point was not only to make away *Elizabeth*, but it was neceſſary alſo to have Forces in a readineſs to deliver *Mary* and ſet her on the Throne of *England*. Theſe two Projects could not be ſeparated. *Ballard* was accompanied by one *Maud*, whom he thought a Friend, but who after all was Secretary *Walſingham*'s Spy.

* *Edward Barker.* Camden.

* *Camden* calls the Doctor only *Gifford*, and the Prieſt he calls *Gilbert Gifford*.

*2 At the ſame Time they wrote a ſort of Paſtoral Letter to the *Engliſh* Roman-Catholicks, not to diſturb the Government, or attempt any Thing againſt their Queen; but to have recourſe to *Tears*, *Prayers*, *Watchings* and *Faſtings*, the only juſtifiable Weapons of *Chriſtians* againſt Perſecution. They alſo got a Report ſpread, that *George Gifford*, one of the Queen's Gentlemen-Penſioners, had ſworn her Majeſty's Death, and had received a Sum of Money from the Duke of *Guiſe* for that Purpoſe. All this was done to amuſe the Queen and Council. *Camden.*

1586. About *Whitsontide*, *Ballard* was sent back into *England* by the Conspirators, to win proper Persons to facilitate the Execution of the Project. They told him, he would meet at *London* with a young Gentleman called *Anthony Babington*, whom he might confide in. This *Babington*, who was a zealous *Catholick*, having been lately in *France*, was gained there by the Bishop of *Glascow*, *Mary*'s Ambassador, and by *Morgan* an *English* Fugitive. He was so prepossessed in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*, that he was thought qualified for any Enterprize. And for that Reason he had been recommended to *Mary* without his Knowledge. So upon his Return to *England*, she writ to him, and from thenceforward he was made use of in conveying to her the Letters which came from *France*, till she was committed to the Custody of Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*. Then *Babington* fearing the Watchfulness of these new Keepers, would have nothing more to do with the Letters either to or from her.

*Ballard* when he came to *England* saw *Babington*, and imparted to him the Design which was contriving to invade *England*, to free the Queen of *Scots*, and set her on the Throne. *Babington* answered, he very much questioned that the Project could be brought about as long as *Elizabeth* lived. Whereupon *Ballard* acquainted him also with *Savage*'s Vow; to which *Babington* replied, it was running too great a Hazard to commit the Execution of such a Design to one single Person; that there should be six at least, and he offered himself to be one of the Number *. Then they conferred together how a foreign Army might be brought into the Kingdom, otherwise they judged that the Death of *Elizabeth* would signify nothing.

A few

* *Camden* says no such Thing; neither could he be one of the six, seeing he tells Queen *Mary* in his Letter to her, that whilst these six Persons were to commit the tragical Execution, (as he called it,) he himself with an Hundred more was at the same time to set her at Liberty.

A few Days after *Babington* received, by an unknown Hand, a Letter [in Cypher] from the Queen of *Scots*, blaming him for his Silence, and desiring him to send her the Pacquet of Letters come from *Morgan*, and delivered by the *French* Ambassador's Secretary. *Babington* returned an Answer, and having first excused his Silence by reason of his Fear of *Powlet*'s and *Drury*'s great Watchfulness, he imparted to her the Plot he had laid with *Ballard*. In a second Letter from *Mary* dated the 27th of *July*, she highly commended his Zeal for the *Catholick* Religion, but advises him to attempt nothing till he was sure of foreign Assistance. Besides this, she prescribed several Things towards executing the Project, as to send privately for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, and the Lord *Paget* *. She chalked out the way for her Deliverance, and charged him to promise in her Name, a good Reward to the six Persons. 1586 Mary's *Letter to* Babington.

Mean while *Babington* had gained some other Persons, among whom was *Polly*, a Spy of *Walsingham*'s, who by his means was daily informed of what passed among the Conspirators. He learnt from him that the six who had engaged to assassinate the Queen were, *Savage*, *Babington* *1, *Charnock*, *Abington*, *Maxwell* *2, and *Barnwel*, and that they were all six drawn in one Picture, with certain *Motto*'s which darkly hinted at their Design *3. Nay, he found means to show this Picture to the Queen, who knew only *Maxwel* *4. She retained however the Idea of their Faces so well, that walking abroad a little after, and seeing *Barnwel*, she looked stedfastly on him, and then turning to the Captain of the Guard, said, *Five others ingage to kill the Queen.*

* And that the Association amongst them should be entered into upon Pretense that they stood in Fear of the *Puritans*. Cam.

*1 *Tilney*. Camden.

*2 *Tichburn*. Camden.

*3 The *six* were drawn with *Babington* in the middle, The *Motto* was, *Quorsum hac alio Properantibus* ?

*4 *Camden* says, she knew none of their Faces but *Barnwell*'s, who had often come to her about the Earl of *Kildare*'s Business.

1586. *am not I fairly guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?*

*Babington* was so impatient to see the foreign Succours ready to set out for *England*, that he gave Money to *Ballard*, who had taken upon him to go into *France* and hasten them. But as it was no easy Matter to procure Pass-ports, *Babington* found means to be introduced to Secretary *Walsingham* *, who knowing already what he was, received him very civilly, and expressed a great Value for him. Flushed with this kind Reception, he desired a Pass-port for himself, and another for *Ballard*, under a counterfeit Name, and affirmed that by means of his Friends at *Paris*, he should be able to discover abundance of Secrets concerning the Queen of *Scots*. *Walsingham* commended his Zeal mightily, and promised to help him to a good Reward, if he did the Queen any considerable Service. He put him likewise in hopes of the Pass-ports he desired.

Gifford *discovers all to* Walsingham;

*Polly* was not the only Person from whom *Walsingham* learnt the Secrets of the Conspiracy. *Gifford*, who had been employed to corrupt *Savage*, being sent into *England* to confirm the Villain in his Resolution, served at the same Time to convey Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, and to send back her Answers. To make Tryal of his Fidelity, several blank Papers made up and sealed like Letters were sent by him at first, and as it was known by the Answers that they were delivered, he was employed without Scruple. Some Time after *Gifford*, whether prickt in Conscience, or allured with the hopes of a Reward, came to *Walsingham* and informed him of all he knew. The Secretary received him very kindly, and promised to use his Interest for him with the Queen, and help him to a good Reward. Then instructing him how to behave, he sent him to the Place where the Queen of *Scots* was kept, with a Letter to Sir *Amias Powlet*, desiring him to connive at the Bearer's corrupting one of

*who makes use of him to deliver* Mary's *Letters, and bring back her Answers.*

* By *Polly*.

of his Servants to deliver Letters to the Queen of *Scotland*, and to bring back her Anſwers. But *Powlet* would not ſuffer any of his Domeſticks to be concerned in ſuch an Intreague. He only pointed at a certain Brewer whom he thought fit for the Purpoſe, and who indeed ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. By his means *Gifford* conveyed to the impriſoned Queen Letters, whereof *Walſingham* had already taken Copies, and received her Anſwers, which he ſerved in the ſame Manner. At length, when the Court knew enough, *Ballard* was apprehended, under Colour that being a *Popiſh* Prieſt he had entered the Kingdom without a Licenſe. At this News *Babington* was in the utmoſt Conſternation. He recovered however out of his Fright, as it did not appear that *Ballard* was taken up for the Conſpiracy, and as there was not a Word ſaid at Court intimating the Diſcovery of the Plot. He reſolved therefore to try to ſave *Ballard*, and in order to that, went and repreſented to *Walſingham*, that he would be of great Service to him in *France* to diſcover the ſecret Practices of the Queen of *Scots*, and intreated him to ſet him at Liberty. *Walſingham* laid the blame of *Ballard*'s being arreſted, upon the Watchfulneſs of the Spies who were employed to find out the *Popiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*. He promiſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to procure his Releaſe, and put him in hopes that the Paſs-ports would be ready very ſoon. Mean while he managed ſo, that *Babington* was narrowly watched. In ſhort, *Babington* and all the reſt of the Conſpirators were taken up at the ſame Time, and being examined every one a-part by himſelf, they impeached one another, and diſcovered the whole Buſineſs *.

1586.

*The Conſpirators are arreſted.*

* *Walſingham* had carried on Matters himſelf as far as *Ballard*'s taking up without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's Council, and would have gone on, but the Queen would not ſuffer him. Wherefore he ſent a Note to his Man *Scudamore*, whom he had ordered to watch *Babington*, that he ſhould obſerve him more ſtrictly.

1586. I have already said, it is very likely that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Council had resolved to put the Queen of *Scots* to Death upon the first Occasion given. Her Life continually endangered *Elizabeth*'s, and of this there was but too much Reason to be convinced by the Discoveries lately made. So this Opportunity was laid hold on. Great Care was taken to hinder her from being informed of what had happened to the Conspirators, and Sir *Thomas Gorges* an Officer was sent to acquaint her with it, who surprized her with the News, just as she had taken Horse to ride a hunting. She would have returned to her Apartment, but she was not permitted till such Time as all her Papers were seized and sent to Court. *Nave* and *Curle* her Secretaries, the one a *Frenchman*, the other a *Scot*, were apprehended at the same Time, and without being suffered to have any Conference with her, conducted to *London*. But in order to have still more convincing Proofs against her, a Method was used which succeeded according to Expectation. *Gifford* having revealed that he had delivered to the *French* Ambassador several Papers of Moment relating to the Queen of *Scots*, a sham *Action* which had no manner of Relation to the Conspiracy, was brought against him, for which he was banished the Realm. Before he went away he waited upon the Ambassador, and acquainted him with the Sentence passed upon him, left a Paper cut after a certain manner, and charged him to deliver the Queen of *Scot*'s Papers to him only that should produce the Counter-part thereof. Which Counter-part he gave to *Walsingham*, who by

*Mary's Papers are all seized with her two Secretaries.*

*Artifice to get Mary's Papers from the* French *Ambassador.*

strictly. The Man read the Note so, that *Babington* sitting near him, read it along with him. Whereupon suspecting all was discovered, he rose from the Table as they were at Supper in a Tavern, and leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, went out of the Room, as if he intended to pay the Reckoning, and made all the haste he could to *Westminster*, and changing Cloaths with *Chernock*, withdrew into St. *John*'s Wood with him and others, and lurking about for ten Days, were at last discovered near *Harrow on the Hill*, hid in Barns, and dressed like Countrymen. *Camden.*

by that means came at every Thing the Ambaſſador had in his Hands *. 1586.

The Court being thus ſufficiently informed of all the Circumſtances of the Plot, fourteen of the Conſpirators were arraigned, who received Sentence of Death, and confeſſed all *1. Care was taken before their Execution, to record all their Confeſſions. *Nave* and *Curle*, *Mary*'s Secretaries, being examined, confeſſed they had writ in Cypher the Letters found in the Queen their Miſtreſs's Cabinet, or intercepted by *Gifford*'s means. *Camden* inſinuates here, that *Nave* was bribed by *Walſingham* with the Promiſe of a Reward, which he refuſed to perform afterwards. However this may be, Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent to the Court of *France* with authentick Copies, atteſted by ſeveral Lords, of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, that he might ſhow them to the King. In all likelihood, theſe Letters diſcovered what Hand *Mary* had in the Plot, and the Correſpondence ſhe held with the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Guiſe*. *The Conſpirators are executed.*

At laſt the Reſolution being taken of trying and condemning Queen *Mary* as the prime Cauſe of the Danger which *Elizabeth* was continually expoſed to, it was debated by what *Statute* ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt. But there was but one that could ſerve the Purpoſe. And that was the *Act* paſſed the laſt Year, with a view to her in particular. It was ſo uncommon a Caſe to *try* a foreign Queen who came not in Arms into the Kingdom, but to ſeek for Refuge as a Suppliant, that it would have been in *The Court is determined to try* Mary.

* *Camden* ſays, the Ambaſſador was to deliver the Letters from the Queen or the Fugitives, to the Perſon who ſhould bring him the Counter-part, but mentions no Papers left in the Ambaſſador's Hands by *Gifford*.

*1 On the 13th of *September* ſeven were arraigned and condemned of High-Treaſon, and the next Day the other ſeven were ſentenced in like manner. The firſt ſeven were cut down, their Privities cut off, and their Bowels taken out whilſt alive. But on the Morrow, the other ſeven by the Queen's Order hung till they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. *Camden*.

1586. vain to ſearch in all the antient *Statutes* after any Thing which might ſerve for Ground to ſuch a Proceeding. This gives Occaſion to preſume, that when this *Act* was made the laſt Year, the Queen of *Scot*'s Death was already determined, and that this *Statute* was to ſerve to ground her Sentence upon. Some however pretend that the Intent of this *Act* was only to keep her in Awe, and let her ſee what ſhe was to expect if ſhe continued her Practices, and that it was her own Fault if ſhe did not make a good uſe of this Warning. By Virtue of this *Act* then it was that *Elizabeth* by *Letters Patents* under the Great-Seal appointed forty-two Commiſſioners, with whom ſhe joined five Judges of the Realm to *Try* the Queen of *Scots*. Some Days before, certain Lords, as well Privy-Counſellors as others, fell upon their Knees and beſought her to take Pity on herſelf, the whole Nation, and all their Poſterity, by puniſhing the Queen of *Scots*. It muſt be obſerved, that throughout this whole Affair *Elizabeth* always pretended to act with regret, and from the Neceſſity ſhe was under of ſaving her People whom ſhe beheld in extreme Danger. So that the Proceeding of theſe Lords ſuited not ill with her Deſigns. The Queen's *Commiſſion* ran in this manner :

*Commiſſioners are appointed.*

*The Q's Commiſſion*

Elizabeth, *by the Grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt,* John *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitan of all* England, *and one of our Privy-Council; and to our truſty and well-beloved Sir* Thomas Bromely *Knight, Chancellor of* England, *and &c. Greeting* *.

*Whereas*

* The reſt of the Commiſſioners were: the Lord *Burleigh*, the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Oxford* Great-Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Earl Marſhal of *England*; the Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Warwick* Maſter of the *Ordnance*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter* and *Lincoln*; Viſcount *Montague*, the Lord *Howard* High-Admiral of *England*;

*Whereas by an Act of Parliament held in the 26th Year of our Reign, it was enacted that,* &c. 1586.

Here was inſerted the *Act* which was mentioned under the laſt Year.

*And whereas ſince the firſt Day of* June, *in the ſeven and twentieth Year of our Reign, divers Things have been compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Perſon, as well by* Mary *Daughter and Heir of* James V *King of* Scotland, *commonly called* Queen of Scots, *and Dowager of* France, *pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of* England, *as by divers other Perſons, with the Privity of the ſaid* Mary, *as we are given to underſtand; And whereas we do intend and reſolve, that the aforeſaid* Act *ſhall be in all and every Part thereof duly and effectually put in Execution, according to the Tenour of the ſame, and that all Offences aboveſaid in the* Act *beforementioned, (as afore is ſaid,) and the Circumſtances of the ſame ſhall be examined, and Sentence or Judgment thereupon given, according to the Tenour and Effect of the ſaid* Act. *To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full and abſolute Power, Licenſe, and Authory, according to the Tenour of the ſaid* Act, *to examine all and ſingular Matters compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Perſon, as well by the aforeſaid* Mary, *as by any other Perſon or Perſons whatever, with the Privity of the ſaid* Mary, *and all Circumſtances of the ſame and other Offences whatſoever aboveſaid, in the* Act *above-mentioned, and all*

*Hunſdon* Lord Chamberlain; *Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham* Lord-Warden of the *Cinque-Ports, Stafford, Grey* of *Wilton, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant,* St. *John* of *Bletſho, Buckhurſt, Compton, Cheney*; Sir *Francis Knolles* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Sir *James Crofts* Comptroller, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *Francis Walſingham* and *William Daviſon* Secretaries of State, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Amias Pawlet* Captain of *Jerſey*; *John Wolley*, Eſq; Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Sir *Roger Manhood*, Sir *Thomas Gawdy*, *William Periam*, Judges. *Camden.*

1586. *all Circumstances of the same, and of every of them; And thereupon, according to the Tenour of the Act aforesaid, to give Sentence or Judgment, as upon good Proof the Matter shall appear to you. And therefore we command you, that you at such certain Days and Places which you or the greater Part of you shall for that Purpose set and agree upon, diligently proceed upon the Premisses in form aforesaid,* &c.

*Remark on the Judges.* It must be observed that among the Commissioners were the Lord *Burleigh*, High-Treasurer, and Secretary *Walsingham*, both *Elizabeth*'s most trusty Ministers, known Enemies to the Queen of *Scots*, and in all appearance, Authors and Promoters of the Resolution to bring her to a Tryal. As it was hard to believe that *Elizabeth* had taken such a Resolution without imparting it to her Ministers and Council, and without her Council's approving it, one would think she should not have appointed her Ministers and Privy-Counsellors for *Mary*'s Judges. But on the other Side, as she was willing to be sure of the Issue of the Tryal, she had a Mind no doubt, that Persons of so great Weight as *Ministers* and *Privy-Counsellors* should be able to carry it, in Case of Opposition from the other Judges.

*The Commission is notified to* Mary. Thirty-six of the Commissioners meeting on the 9th * of *October* at *Fotheringhay*-Castle in the County of *Northampton*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then in Custody, sent and notified to her the Queen's Commission. *Her Answer.* When she had read it *1, she answered, that she was sorry the Queen her Sister was misinformed of her. That she had all along thought the *Association*, and the *Act* of Parliament made thereupon, aimed wholly at her, and that she should bear the blame of

* They met on the 11th, and sent next Day to *Mary*. Cam.

*1 It was not the *Commission*, but Letters from *Elizabeth* which were sent to *Mary* by Sir *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* Publick Notary, who were deputed by the Commissioners. *Camden*.

of whatever ſhould be contrived in foreign Countries. That it was very ſtrange the Queen of *England* ſhould look upon her as her Subject, and command her to ſubmit herſelf to a Tryal. That ſhe was a Sovereign Queen, and would do nothing which might be prejudicial to Royal Majeſty, to herſelf, or the King her Son. That beſides, the Laws and Statutes of *England* were unknown to her, and who were her *Peers* ſhe could not tell. That ſhe was deſtitute of Counſellors, and all her Papers were taken from her. That ſhe had ſtirred up no Man againſt *Elizabeth*, nor committed any Crime. That ſhe was not to be charged but upon her own Words or Writings, and ſhe was ſure nothing criminal could be produced againſt her, except the recommending her Cauſe to foreign Princes, which ſhe did not pretend to deny. 1586.

On the Morrow, the Commiſſioners ſent her a Copy of her Anſwer, and after it was read to her, ſhe ſaid, it was rightly taken, but that ſhe had forgot one very material Thing, which was, that it was ſaid in the *Commiſſion* *, ſhe was ſubject to the Laws of *England*, becauſe ſhe had lived a long while under the Protection of them; but that all the World knew ſhe came into *England* to crave the Aſſiſtance of the Queen her Siſter, and had been ever ſince detained in Priſon; and therefore had not enjoyed the Protection of the Laws, nay, had not been able ſo much as to underſtand what manner of Laws they were. *She refuſes to anſwer.*

To be ſhort, ſhe diſputed two whole Days the Authority of the Judges, and would not own that in any Caſe *Elizabeth* had any Juriſdiction over her, but what was uſurped by Force. Nay, ſhe perſiſted in it, after ſhe was threatned to be ſentenced for default of Appearance, as an abſent Perſon. But at laſt *Hatton* one of the Commiſſioners made a Speech to her which ſhook her Reſolution. He told her, that indeed *Hatton perſwades her to plead.*

* It was not ſaid in the *Commiſſion*, but in *Elizabeth*'s Letter to *Mary*, which the *Commiſſioners* delivered to her when they met at *Fotheringhay*.. Camden.

1586. indeed she was accused, but not condemned: That if she were innocent, she injured her Reputation extremely, in suffering herself to be condemned for want of Appearance: That the Queen would be very glad nothing could be proved against her, as he heard her say himself when he took his leave of her.

Had *Mary* had Council, she would doubtless have been made to see that *Hatton*'s Speech tended only to insnare her, and engage her to answer, that she might be condemned by a peremptory Sentence. If she had persisted in her Refusal, *Elizabeth* would have been perhaps somewhat confounded. Though she was resolved to put her to Death, she wished however that the World might be satisfied it was with Justice, that she might avoid part of the Blame of so rigorous a Proceeding. But a Sentence given upon Default of Appearance would not have produced such an Effect, since it could not be denied that the refusing to plead was built upon very good Reasons. *Mary* stood out however till the 14th of *October*, when sending for some of the Commissioners, she told them, *Hatton*'s Arguments had convinced her of the Necessity she was under to make her Innocence appear. Adding, she consented therefore to answer before them, provided her Protestation were admitted; to which the Commissioners agreed, without approving however the Reasons on which it was grounded.

*Continuation of Mary's Tryal.*

Presently after, the Judges met in the Hall of the Castle, to the Number of Thirty-six, and the Queen came to the same Place *. After they were seated, the *Chancellor* turning to *Mary* said, That she was accused of conspiring the Destruction of the Queen, the

* At the upper-end of the Room was placed a Chair of State for the Queen of *England*, under a Canopy of State: Over against it, below, at some distance, near the Beam that ran across the Room, stood a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*. By the Walls on both Sides were placed Benches on which sat the Commissioners. *Camden*.

the Realm of *England*, and the *Proteſtant*-Religion, and that they were commiſſioned to examine the Truth of the Accuſation, and to hear her Anſwer. The *Chancellor* having done ſpeaking, the Queen roſe up and ſaid, That ſhe came into *England* to crave the Aid which had been promiſed her: That ſhe was a Queen, and no Subject of *Elizabeth*'s, and that if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her Honour and Reputation. The *Chancellor* would not own that any Aid had been promiſed her. As to the Proteſtation, he anſwered, that it was in vain, ſince the Law upon which the Accuſation was grounded allowed of no Diſtinction in the Perſons of the Tranſgreſſors, and therefore it was not to be admitted. The Court ordered however that the Proteſtation ſhould be recorded, with the *Chancellor*'s Anſwer. 1586.

This done, the Attorney-General read to her aloud the *Act* of Parliament *, and after having given an Account of *Babington*'s Conſpiracy, concluded that *Mary* had broken the *Act*, becauſe ſhe knew of the Conſpiracy, and even ſhowed the Way and Means for effecting it. She anſwered, That ſhe knew not *Babington*, that ſhe never received any Letters from him, nor wrote any to him. That ſhe never plotted the Queen's Deſtruction, and that to prove any ſuch Thing, Letters under her own Hand ought to be produced, which was impoſſible. That ſhe knew not *Ballard*, nor ever heard of him, and that in a Word, being a Priſoner, ſhe could not hinder the Plots of other People.

Whereupon

* He read the *Commiſſion* to her in which the *Act* was ſpecified. Whereupon ſhe boldly and reſolutely offered her Proteſtation againſt the ſaid *Act*, as made directly and purpoſely againſt her. But upon the Lord Treaſurer's ſaying, every Perſon in the Kingdom was bound by the Laws, though never ſo lately made; and that the Commiſſioners were reſolved to proceed according to that Law, what Proteſtations ſoever ſhe interpoſed, ſhe anſwered at length, *That ſhe was ready to hear and anſwer touching any Fact whatſoever committed againſt the Queen of* England. *Camden.*

1586. Whereupon the Copies of *Babington*'s Letters to her were read, containing all the Circumstances of the Conspiracy. One would think, since her Papers were seized, *Babington*'s Original Letters might have been produced. But as it is likely she had burnt them, only the Copies could be made use of which *Walsingham* took when he had the Originals in his Hands. To this *Mary* answered, *Babington* might possibly write these Letters, and therefore the Point was not to know whether he writ them or not, but whether she received them. To prove that, *Babington*'s Confession just before his Execution was read, wherein he said, he had sent several Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, and received several from her. Then were read the Copies of certain Letters in Cypher from *Mary* to *Babington*, which he had received, wherein mention was made of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northumberland*. Then the Queen bursting forth into Tears, said, *Alas! what has the noble House of the* Howards *endured for my sake*! She added, that *Babington* might write what he pleased: That as for her own Letters in Cypher which were produced she knew nothing of them, and that it was very easy for her Enemies to get the same Cyphers she used, and to write forged Letters in her Name: That in short, the Letters were not her Hand-writing; and besides, it was not likely that in order to execute the Design she was charged with, she should employ the Earl of *Arundel*, who was shut up in the *Tower*, or the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was very young, and to her entirely unknown.

Then were read *Savage*'s and *Ballard*'s Confessions, which ran, That *Babington* had communicated to them several Letters, which he had received from the Queen of *Scots*. To this she answered, protesting that *Babington* never received any Letters from her.

Before I proceed, I shall make here two or three short Remarks. In the first Place, it is surprizing that *Babington*, *Savage* and *Ballard* should be executed before the Queen of *Scots* was tried, since their Testimony

Teſtimony was made uſe of againſt her. In the next Place, hitherto the whole Evidence conſiſted only in *Babington*'s Confeſſion, that he had received Letters from the Queen of *Scots:* but as he was dead, it could not be proved that theſe were the ſame Letters that were read, which too were only Copies of Letters deciphered. My third Remark is, that although *Mary* proteſted ſhe never received any Letters from *Babington*, nor writ any to him, *Camden* muſt needs have been ſatisfied of the contrary, ſince in his Account of the Conſpiracy, he ſpeaks of a Correſpondence by Letters between *Mary* and *Babington* as a Thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little Book, entitled, *The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the Queen of* Scots, printed at *Paris* in 1589, wherein the Author, great Stickler as he was for Queen *Mary*, does not deny that ſhe held a Correſpondence with *Babington.* 1586.

After this were produced ſeveral Letters in Cypher from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein ſhe approved of the Conſpiracy. Theſe were probably the Letters *Walſingham* intercepted by *Gifford*'s Means, or thoſe he cunningly got out of the Hands of the *French* Ambaſſador. The Queen anſwered, that ſhe writ not thoſe Letters, and that probably they were forged by her Alphabet of Cyphers in *France*, and accuſed *Walſingham* of doing it, who cleared himſelf ſo, as ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with his Anſwer*. But to prove that

* Upon her charging *Walſingham* with forging the Letters, he roſe up, and proteſting that his Heart was free from all Malice, ſaid, *I call God to witneſs, that as a private Perſon I have done nothing unbecoming an honeſt Man; neither in my publick Condition and Quality have I done any Thing unworthy of my Place. I confeſs that, out of my great Care for the Safety of the Queen and Realm, I have diligently endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all Plots and Deſigns againſt the ſame. If* Ballard *had offered me his Aſſiſtance, I ſhould not have refuſed it, yea, I ſhould have rewarded him for his Pains and Service. If I have tampered any thing with him, why did he not diſcover it to ſave his Life?* With this Anſwer (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was ſatisfied; and prayed him not to be angry that ſhe had ſpoken ſo freely what ſhe had heard reported, and that ſhe would

1586. that she writ them, the Confessions of *Nave* and *Curle* her Secretaries were produced, who owned they writ them by her Order.

This is all that passed in the first Sitting on the 14th of *October*. In the Afternoon were read the Copies of the Letters *Mary* had received, wherein she was informed of a Conference held at *Paris* betwixt *Ballard*, *Paget* and *Mendoza*, about the Means of invading *England*, and it was proved by the Testimony of *Curle* her Secretary that she had received them. She answered, This did not prove that she had intended to kill the Queen. It is proper to observe here, that she was accused of three Things, of conspiring the Queen's Death, of procuring *England* to be invaded, and of contriving the Destruction of the *Protestant* Religion. The first of these she considered as the Principal, and was very ready to justify herself as to that Point, well knowing she could not, without great Injustice, be condemned for the other Two. In Answer to the Proof taken from the Testimony of her Secretaries, she said, She believed *Curle* the *Scot* to be an honest Man *; but had not the same Opinion of *Nave* the *Frenchman*, who might possibly be corrupted: And besides, he abused *Curle*'s Easiness in such a Manner, that he made him write just what he pleased. In a word, her Secretaries might insert in her Letters Things which she never dictated: And therefore, she ought to be convicted only by her own Hand-writing, and not by that of her Secretaries, who would assuredly clear her if they were present.

*Remark on the Proceedings.* It cannot be denied that there was great Irregularity in this Proceeding: First, in that Three Men had been put to Death, on whose Evidence they pretended to convict the Queen: Secondly, in that her Secretaries, who were alive, were never brought Face to

give no more Credit to those that slandered her, than she did to such as accused him. Spies (*she said*) were Men of little Credit, and desired he would not in the least believe that ever she had consented to the Queen's Destruction. *Camden.*

* But no competent Witness. *Camden.*

to Face with her, though their Teſtimony was made uſe of. This was the more ſtrange, as by an *Act* of Parliament paſſed in the 13th Year of this very Reign, it was expreſsly ordered that the Witneſſes ſhould be confronted with the Parties accuſed. 1586.

Upon this Account doubtleſs it was that the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* perceiving the Embaraſment which was occaſioned by the Queen's Anſwer grounded on the Laws of *England*, thought it proper to proceed to other Matters. He charged her therefore with having Intentions to ſend the King her Son into *Spain*, and to make over to *Philip* II the Right ſhe claimed to the Kingdom of *England*. It is eaſy to perceive that the firſt of theſe Accuſations was nothing at all to the Purpoſe, ſince the Affairs of *Scotland* were not the Point in Hand. Accordingly ſhe made no Anſwer to it. As to the ſecond, ſhe only ſaid, that by her Birth ſhe was Heir preſumptive to Queen *Elizabeth*, and it was lawful to convey her Right to whom ſhe pleaſed: but that all this amounted not to any Proof of her having conſented to the Project of killing the Queen.

It having been objected to her that ſhe had ſent her Alphabet of Cyphers to ſome *Roman-Catholicks*, as *Curle* had teſtified, ſhe denied it not, and briefly anſwered, That it was not unlawful to hold Correſpondence with Men of her Religion. But theſe Objections ſerved only to divert them from the main Point, ſince none of theſe Things were contained in the Accuſation. At laſt, ſhe was again urged with the Teſtimonies of her Secretaries, to which ſhe made the ſame Anſwer as before, proteſting ſhe knew neither *Babington* nor *Ballard*. *But*, ſaid the Lord Treaſurer, *you know* Morgan *very well, who ſent* Parry *over to kill the Queen, and have aſſigned him a Penſion.* To this ſhe anſwered, She was ignorant of what *Morgan* had done, but ſhe knew that he had loſt all for her ſake, and ſhe might as well give him a Penſion, as *Elizabeth* give one to *Patrick Gray* and the King himſelf.

1586. Then they proceeded to the other two Articles of the Impeachment, which related to the Invaſion of the Kingdom, and the Deſtruction of the *Proteſtant* Religion; and in order to prove that *Mary* was concerned in theſe Plots, the Letters were read which ſhe writ to *Mendoza*, *Inglefield*, and the Lord *Paget*. She anſwered, That theſe things did not prove ſhe had any hand in the Conſpiracy againſt the Queen's Life: That ſhe had nothing to ſay to the reſt, and had often declared to the Queen herſelf, that ſhe would try all things to procure her own Liberty. In this manner paſſed the ſecond Sitting.

The next Day the Court being met, *Mary* repeated her Proteſtation againſt the Authority of her Judges, and required that a Copy of its being recorded ſhould be delivered to her. She complained, that all the Offers ſhe had made to bring about an Accommodation were rejected, and that ſhe was moſt unworthily dealt withal, whilſt all her Letters were publickly read, wherein were many things no ways relating to the Impeachment. To this the Lord Treaſurer replied, That he was going to anſwer her in a double Capacity, as Commiſſioner, and as Privy-Counſellor. As a Commiſſioner, he told her, that her Proteſtation was recorded, and a Copy thereof ſhould be delivered her. As to their Authority it was grounded upon the Power conferred on them by *Letters-Patents* under the Queen's own Hand and the Great Seal: That as to the reading of her Letters which ſhe complained of, it was neceſſary to read them whole and entire, becauſe they contained things, which by their Circumſtances were ſo interwoven with one another, that there was no ſeparating them. Here ſhe interrupted him and ſaid, That although the Circumſtances were proved, it would ſignify nothing, as long as the main Point was not: That her Integrity depended not upon the Credit of her Secretaries, ſince they might very poſſibly be corrupted: That theſe Letters having no Superſcription might be directed to others, and many things inſerted without her Know-

ledge; but if ſhe had her Papers ſhe could the more eaſily vindicate herſelf. The Lord Treaſurer anſwered, Nothing ſhould be objected but what paſſed ſince the 19th of *June* laſt, concerning which her Memory could furniſh her with what ſhe thought requiſite for her Defence: That her Papers would be of no Service to her, ſince *Babington* and her Secretaries, without putting to the Rack, had owned that theſe Letters came from her: That it was left to the Commiſſioners to judge, whether more Credit were to be given to her bare Negation than to their Affirmation. He added, as a Privy-Counſellor, that it was true. She had often uſed her Endeavours to procure her Liberty, but if they had proved fruitleſs it was owing to herſelf and the *Scots*: That the Lords of *Scotland* had refuſed to give the King in Hoſtage, and when the laſt Treaty was holden concerning her Releaſe, *Morgan* her Vaſſal ſent *Parry* into *England* to kill the Queen. *Mary* eaſily perceived the ſecret Venom of theſe Words, whereby under colour of juſtifying the Council, the Lord Treaſurer would have inſinuated to the other Commiſſioners, that ſhe was concerned in *Parry*'s Plot. Wherefore upon hearing him ſay this, *Ah!* (cries ſhe) *you are my Adverſary.* *Yes,* (ſaid he) *I am Adverſary to all Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies.* 1586.

Then were read again her Letters to *Charles Paget*, wherein ſhe told him, there was no other way left for the King of *Spain* to reduce the rebellious *Netherlanders* but by ſetting a *Catholick* on the Throne of *England*. There was read likewiſe the Copy of a Letter to her from Cardinal *Allen*, wherein he called her his *moſt dread Sovereign Lady*, and told her that the Buſineſs was recommended to the Prince of *Parma*'s Care. She anſwered, ſtill keeping cloſe to the firſt Article of the Impeachment, that *Babington* and her Secretaries had accuſed her to ſave themſelves: That ſhe had never heard of the Six Murderers, and that all the reſt was of no Service to prove the main Crime ſhe was accuſed of: That ſhe held *Allen* for a Reverend Prelate,

1586. late, and acknowledged the Pope for the true Head of the Church; and that she could not hinder Foreigners from giving her what Titles they pleased: That as for her Secretaries, she was willing to add farther to what she had already said of them, that they deserved no Credit, seeing as they had sworn not to reveal her Secrets, they could be deemed no other than perjured Persons, when they gave in their Evidence against her: That *Nave* had often writ otherwise than she dictated, and *Curle*, whatever *Nave* was pleased to bid him: That they had possibly confessed several Falshoods in order to save their Lives, imagining that her Royalty would screen her from Punishment: That she had never heard of any such Man as *Ballard*, but of one *Hallard*, who had offered her his Service, which however she refused, because she knew he was one of *Walsingham*'s Spies. It must be confessed they gave *Mary* a great Advantage, by not confronting the Witnesses with her, though it be a necessary Formality in Trials upon Life and Death.

Lastly, were read some particular Passages out of *Mary*'s Letters to *Mendoza*, wherein mention was made of her Design to make over to the King of *Spain* her Right to the Crown of *England*. To this she answered, that she being a close Prisoner, and in a very ill State of Health, it seemed good to her Friends that the Succession to the Crown of *England* should be settled upon the King of *Spain*, or some *English* Catholick; and that a Book was sent her to justify *Philip* II's Title, which she would not read: but having lost all hopes of recovering her Liberty by any other means, she had resolved not to refuse foreign Help. When she had done speaking, the Lord Treasurer asked her if she had any more to say in her Defence*:

To

* Before *Burleigh* asked her this, the *Sollicitor* put the Commissioners in mind what would become of them, their Honours, Estates and Posterities, if the Kingdom were assigned to the *Spaniard*. But the Lord Treasurer showed the Kingdom of *England* could not be conveyed at all, but was to descend by Right of Succession according to the Laws; and then asked the Queen if she had any more to say. *Camden*.

To which she answered, That she required to be heard in full Parliament, or before the Queen and Council *. Then the Court adjourned till the 25th of *October* to the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster*. 1586.

This is *Camden*'s Account of the Queen of *Scots* Trial at *Fotheringhay*. As there are no better *Memoirs*, we are forced as it were to take it for granted that all he says is true. Nevertheless there is but too much reason to suspect, that he has curtailed or altered in several Places what he pretends to take from the *Register*'s *Memoirs*. For instance, it may easily be remarked in this Narrative, that whatever is objected to the Queen of *Scots* is indeterminate and general, without descending to Particulars. Of all the Letters that were read in order to convict her, he cites not one Extract; so that she seems to have been accused of holding a Correspondence by Letters with *Babington* and other of *Elizabeth*'s Enemies, rather than of having entered into a settled Plot to kill the Queen, though this was the main Point. In a word, this Historian's Partiality for the Queen of *Scots* on other Occasions, gives room to think that he did not forget himself in this principal Article, but that he used all his Wit and Cunning to render doubtful the Fact she was accused of. However, as it is only a Conjecture, I do not mean to insist upon it (*a*). I shall content my self, in order to clear this Matter, with making some Observations on this famous Sentence.

*Reflections on the Sentence.*

It is hardly to be questioned that *Mary*'s Death was determined, when *Elizabeth* and her Council resolved to have her tried by *Commissioners*. But it must not be imagined that it was their Intent to punish her for attempting to take away the Life of *Elizabeth*. If

* Upon which she rose up and had some Conference with the Lord Treasurer, *Hatton*, *Walsingham* and the Earl of *Warwick* apart by themselves. *Camden*.

(*a*) This Conjecture is however grounded upon the Difference between *Camden*'s Account and that of *Thuanus*, *Lib.* 86, *Tom.* III, *p.* 156 and 162.

1586. that had been All, they would never have proceeded to such Extremities; they would doubtless have been satisfied with putting it out of her Power to lay any such Plots for the future, which would have been an easy Matter, by confining her more closely. But it was not so easy to hinder the Pope, the King of *Spain*, the House of *Guise*, the *English* Catholicks, the *Irish*, the *Scottish* Male-contents, from looking upon her as a Princess to whom of Right belonged the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, and from using their continual Endeavours to restore her to the Throne of *Scotland*, and to set her on that of *England*, even in *Elizabeth*'s Life-time. Though she had been so closely confined that she could not have any farther hand herself in these Plots, it would not have prevented her Friends from acting for her. Nothing therefore but her Death could break their Measures, and put an End to the Conspiracies which were daily framing on her Account. Wherefore, it might with Truth be said, that as *Elizabeth*'s Death was *Mary*'s Life, so *Mary*'s Death alone could preserve *Elizabeth*, and with her, Liberty and the *Protestant* Religion in *England*. But as it was not likely *Mary*, who was the younger, should go out of this World the first by a natural Death, there was a Necessity of having recourse to Violence, that the Queen and the Realm might be freed from the Danger they were in. The share which *Mary* had in *Babington*'s Conspiracy, and which in all likelihood was greater than what *Camden* hints, was not then the Cause of her Condemnation, but the Pretence made use of to get rid of a Queen on whose Life *Elizabeth*'s Adversaries built all their Hopes. It was therefore *Mary*'s own Friends that occasioned her Misfortune, by serving her with too much Zeal, or rather by making her their Instrument to execute the vast Projects they were forming against the *Protestant* Religion. The Pope flattered himself with the Hopes of restoring by her Means the *Catholick* Religion in *England*; and the *English Catholicks* looked upon her as the only Person that could free them

them from the intolerable Yoke of a *Proteſtant* Government. *Philip* II ſaw no other Remedy to ſubdue the *Netherlanders*. In ſhort, the *Houſe* of *Guiſe*, whoſe ambitious Projects are well known, thought to find in her an infallible Means to cruſh the *Huguenots* of *France*, who ſupported the Title of the lawful Heir to the Crown of that Kingdom. *Mary* herſelf gave but too much Countenance to all theſe Plots. She was ſo imprudent, as, being a Priſoner, never to ceaſe confounding two Things, which might be well diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated; I mean, her Liberty, and her Title to the Crown of *England*. Hereby ſhe gave *Elizabeth* a Handle to confound them too, and to ruin her in order to preſerve her own Life and Crown. 1586.

Theſe were the real Motives of *Mary*'s Condemnation. If we conſider them only with a View to Politicks, they may be ſaid to be good and neceſſary; but it happens very frequently that State-Policy is repugnant to Juſtice and Equity. Upon this Condemnation it is that *Elizabeth*'s Enemies have mightily flouriſhed, and indeed, it is a Subject which admits of a great deal of Rhetorick. But if a Man conſiders who they were that exclaimed the loudeſt againſt *Elizabeth*, he will find they were the very Perſons who would have murdered her in order to ſet *Mary* on the Throne of *England*. Had they ſucceeded in their Deſign, would their Deed have been more juſt, or more conſonant to the Precepts of the *Chriſtian* Religion? There is no queſtion but it would, were the Thing to be tried by the Principles of the Adverſaries to *Elizabeth* and her Religion. But if it were allowed by the Laws of Religion, Juſtice and Equity, to take away the Life of *Elizabeth* in order to ſet *Mary* on the Throne, and reſtore the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, was it not as allowable for the *Engliſh* to put *Mary* to Death, in order to preſerve their Queen and Religion from the Deſtruction they were continually threatned with? Let us ſay rather, that theſe Maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the Rules

1586. of the Gospel, to what Party soever they are applied.

Having seen the real Motives of the Queen of *Scots* Condemnation, there is no great reason to wonder at the irregular Proceedings to be observed in her Trial. The Point was not so much to punish her for the Hand she had in the Conspiracy, as to satisfy the Publick that she was concerned in it, that her Condemnation might be thought the less strange, or rather that the Nation might be persuaded, it was absolutely necessary for the Safety of *England*. The Queen and Council believed they had sufficient Evidence, that *Mary* was acquainted with the Conspiracy, had consented to it, and helped to bring it about to the utmost of her Power. This was enough for their Design. They knew very well the People would willingly overlook some Irregularities, in a Business where their own Preservation was at Stake.

Since therefore *Mary*'s Condemnation cannot be considered but as the Effect of *Elizabeth*'s Policy, it is to no purpose that the following *Queries* are put concerning her Sentence. 1. What Authority had *Elizabeth* over her? 2. Whether *Mary* could be considered as subject to the Laws of *England*, under colour that she had lived there Eighteen Years, being a Prisoner? 3. Whether it could be said, she had enjoyed during that time the Protection of the Laws, and be thence inferred, that she ought to be liable to them? 4. Whether, even upon such a Supposition, she had enjoyed in her Trial the Benefit of the Laws of *England*? 5. Whether she were tried by her *Peers* according to the constant and immutable Privilege of the *English*? 6. Who could be her *Peers*? 7. Whether *Elizabeth*'s Commission was according to Law? 8. Whether the Formalities requisite in a Trial of this Nature were observed? 9. Whether she can be said to have been legally convicted by the Testimony of Persons that were dead, and whom it lay in *Elizabeth*'s Breast to keep alive and bring Face to Face with her? 10. Whether the Evidence of her Secretaries, who

were

were ſtill alive, could be deemed good and valid, without their being confronted with her, contrary to expreſs *Acts* of Parliament? 11. Whether a captive Queen's Conſent to the Invaſion of a Kingdom, where ſhe is unjuſtly detained, is a Crime worthy of Death? 12. Whether the Letters in Cypher writ by her Secretaries were a ſufficient Proof that the whole Contents were dictated by her? 13. laſtly, Suppoſing ſhe had given a full and entire Conſent to the Conſpiracy, whether the manner of her being detained in *England*, her long Confinement, the Loſs of her Kingdom, brought about partly by *Elizabeth*'s ſecret Practices, did not merit that her Crime ſhould be reckoned of a different Nature from that of a Subject who conſpires againſt his Sovereign? I do not think it poſſible to vindicate *Elizabeth* upon each of theſe *Queries*. We muſt therefore keep to the Neceſſity ſhe was under of deſtroying *Mary* in order to ſave herſelf, and juſtify her by the natural Law of Self-Preſervation, the only one which can be pleaded in her favour. 1586.

*Sentence pronounc'd againſt Mary.*

The Commiſſioners being met in the *Star-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *October*, ſent for *Nave* and *Curle*, who confirmed upon Oath their former Evidence, which done, Sentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that *Mary* had broken the Statute paſſed the laſt Year. This is all that was publiſhed of it. It is not known whether the Commiſſioners expreſsly condemned the Queen of *Scots* to die, or whether, after having paſſed their Judgment of the Fact, they left it to the Laws and the Queen to decide what Puniſhment the Crime deſerved. What follows is all that was publiſhed afterwards by the Queen's Order. *That ſince the firſt Day of* June, *in the 27th Year of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *divers Matters have been compaſſed and imagined within this Realm of* England, *by* Anthony Babington *and others, with the Privity of the ſaid* Mary, *tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of our ſaid Lady the Queen. And alſo, that ſince the aforeſaid Day, the ſaid* Mary *pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm, has compaſſed and imagined within*

1586. *within this Realm divers Matters tending to the Destruction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, contrary to the Tenor of the Statute in the Commission aforesaid specified.*

It is easy to perceive by this Extract itself that the Sentence must have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the Terms *of the said Mary*, which show that she was spoken of before. But the Queen thought not proper to publish any more of it. The Author of the Book entitled, *The History of the Martyrdom of* Mary Stuart, says, so great care was taken to conceal this same Sentence, that he could never come at a Copy of it, what Pains soever he took about it. *Without doubt* (continues he) *there were Mysteries in it which were not to be divulged.*

*Declaration of the Judges in favour of the King of Scotland.*

The same Day the Sentence was pronounced, the Judges declared that it did nothing derogate from the King of *Scotland*, that is to say, his Title to the Crown of *England* did still remain entire. But was it their Business to give such a Determination relating to the Succession, when they were not impowered to do it by their Commission? It is visible that they acted by the Queen's Direction, who was willing to pacify the King of *Scotland* by this means. Otherwise the Judges would not have taken upon them to make such a Declaration which was beyond their Power.

*The Parliament confirms the Sentence,*

The Parliament being met four Days after, on the 29th of *October*, approved and confirmed the Sentence given against the Queen of *Scots*. But whether this was done without a perfect Knowledge of the Matter, or after a diligent Inquiry into it, it is hard to know, though afterwards *Elizabeth* pretended it was not done till after a long and serious Examination. Be this as it will, the Parliament having confirmed the Sentence, presented their *Petition* to the Queen, beseeching her to order it to be put in Execution. The *Petition* ran altogether upon Reasons taken not from the Heinousness of the Crime, but the Danger *Elizabeth* and the Realm would be exposed

*and petition the Queen to put it in Execution.*

to,

to, if the Queen of *Scots* were ſuffered to live *. The Queen returned to this *Petition* an Anſwer, the Drift whereof was to let the Parliament ſee, that ſhe was extremely troubled and toſſed with Doubts upon that Account. She had a Mind to inſinuate that ſhe was inclined to Mercy, but that the Love ſhe had for her People, threw her into great Perplexity of Mind. It was eaſy to conclude from this Speech, that ſhe deſired to be preſſed, that ſhe might not appear to act from a Motive of Revenge. Here follows the Anſwer, which perfectly ſhows *Elizabeth*'s Genius and Character. 1586.

*The Q's Anſwer.*

" SO many and ſo great are the unmeaſurable
" Graces and Benefits beſtowed upon me by the
" Almighty, that I muſt not only moſt humbly ac-
" knowledge them as Benefits, but admire them as
" Miracles, being in no ſort able to expreſs them.
" And though none alive can more juſtly acknow-
" ledge himſelf bound to God than I, whoſe Life he
" hath miraculouſly preſerved from ſo many Dan-
" gers: yet am I not more deeply bound to give
" him Thanks for any one Thing, than for this which
" I will now tell you, and which I account as a Mi-
" racle, namely, That as I came to the Crown with
" the hearty Good-will of all my Subjects, ſo now
" after 28 Years Reign, I perceive in them the ſame,
" if not greater, Affection towards me; which if I
" ſhould once loſe, I might perhaps find my ſelf to
" breathe, but never could I think that I were alive.
" And now, though my Life hath been dangerouſly
" ſhot at, yet I proteſt there is nothing hath more
" grieved me, than that one who differs not from me
" in Sex, one of like Quality and Degree, of the
" ſame Race and Stock, and ſo nearly related to me
" in Bloud, ſhould fall into ſo great a Miſdemeanour.
" And ſo far have I been from bearing her any Ill-will,
" that

* See the *Petition* in the Appendix to *Elizabeth*'s Reign, p. (667.) of the ſecond Vol. of the Compleat Hiſtory.

1586. " that upon the Discovery of some treasonable Prac-
" tices against me, I wrote privately to her, that if
" she would confess and acknowledge them by a Let-
" ter betwixt her and me, they should be wrapped
" up in Silence. Neither did I write this with a Pur-
" pose to intrap her, for I knew already as much
" as she could confess. And even yet though the
" matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent,
" and no man would undertake her Cause against me,
" and if my Life alone depended hereupon, and not
" the Safety and Welfare of all my People, I would
" (I protest unfeignedly) willingly and readily par-
" don her. Nay, if *England* might by my Death ob-
" tain a more flourishing Condition and a better
" Prince, I would most gladly lay down my Life.
" For for your sakes it is and for my People's that
" I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great
" Reason (according as I have led my Life) why I
" should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have
" had good Experience of this World; I have known
" what it is to be a Subject, and I now know what it
" is to be a Sovereign. Good Neighbours I have had,
" and I have met with bad; and in Trust I have
" found Treason. I have bestowed Benefits upon Ill-
" deservers; and where I have done well, I have
" been Ill requited and spoken of. While I call to
" mind these things past, behold things present, and
" look forward towards things to come, I count them
" happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless a-
" gainst such Evils and Mischiefs as these I am arm-
" ed with a better Courage than is common in my
" Sex; so as whatsoever befalls me, Death shall ne-
" ver find me unprepared.

" And as touching these Treasonable Attempts, I
" will not so far wrong my self or the Laws of my
" Kingdom, as not to think but that she, having
" been the Contriver of the said Treasons, was bound
" and liable to the ancient and former Laws, though
" the late Act had never been made; which notwith-
" standing was in no sort made to prejudice her, as

" divers

" divers who were inclined to favour her have ima- 1586.
" gined. So far was it from being made to intrap
" her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and
" deter her from attempting any thing againſt it.
" But ſeeing it had now the force of a Law, I thought
" good to proceed againſt her according to the ſame.
" But you Lawyers are ſo curious in ſcanning the nice
" Points of the Law, and proceeding according to
" Forms, rather than Expounding and Interpret-
" ing the Laws themſelves, that if your way were
" obſerved, ſhe muſt have been indicted in *Stafford-*
" *ſhire*, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar,
" and have been tried by a Jury of Twelve men. A
" proper way, forſooth, of Trying a Princeſs. To
" avoid therefore ſuch Abſurdities, I thought it
" better to refer the Examination of ſo weighty a
" Cauſe to a ſelect number of the nobleſt Perſonages
" of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm: and
" all little enough. For we Princes are ſet as it were
" upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the
" World: the leaſt Spot is ſoon ſpied in our Gar-
" ments, the ſmalleſt Blemiſh preſently obſerved in
" us at a great Diſtance. It behoveth us therefore
" to be carefull that our Proceedings be juſt and ho-
" nourable. But I muſt tell you one thing, that by
" this laſt Act of Parliament you have reduced me
" to ſuch Straits and Perplexities, that I muſt reſolve
" upon the Puniſhment of her who is a Princeſs ſo
" nearly allied to me in Bloud, and whoſe Practices
" againſt me have ſo deeply affected me with Grief and
" Sorrow, that I have willingly choſen to abſent my
" ſelf from this Parliament, leſt I ſhould increaſe my
" Trouble by hearing the Matter mentioned; and not
" out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts
" againſt me, as ſome think. But I will now tell you
" a farther Secret, (though it be not uſual with me
" to blab forth in other Caſes what I know.) It is
" not long ſince theſe Eyes of mine ſaw and read an
" Oath wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill me
" within a Month. Hereby I ſee your Danger in

" my

1586. " my Person which I will be very carefull to prevent " and keep off.

" The Association you entred into for my Safety " I have not forgotten, a thing I never so much as " thought of, till a great number of Hands and " Seals to it were shewed me. This hath laid a per- " petual Tie and Obligation upon me to bear you a " singular Good-will and Love, who have no greater " Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's " Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch " as the matter now in hand is very rarely exampled " and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not " look for any present Resolution from me: for my " manner is, in matters of less Moment than this, " to deliberate long upon that which is but once to " be resolved. In the mean time I beseech Almighty " God so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I " may see clearly what may be best for the Good of " his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, " and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed " Danger we will signifie our Resolution to you with " all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Sub- " jects may expect at the Hands of the best Prin- " ces, that expect from me to be performed to the " full ".

*Remark on the Queen's Speech.* It is no hard Matter to perceive in this Speech, notwithstanding her affected Obscurity, the double View *Elizabeth* proposed to herself. One was to make the Publick believe, she could not, without extreme concern, resolve to put the Queen of *Scots* to Death: The other, to insinuate to the Parliament that there was a Necessity of making away Queen *Mary*, or of resolving to lose the best of Queens, who was ready to lay down her Life for the good of her Subjects. She dwelt chiefly upon the tender Affection she had for her People, that they might fear to be deprived of so gracious a Queen, and earnestly required the Death of her Adversary. But least the Love the Parliament had for her should not be strong enough, she took

took Care to hint at ſeveral Times, that their own Safety depended upon her Preſervation. She ſaid, if her Welfare only were at Stake, ſhe would readily pardon her, ſince ſhe was not fond of Life; but that it was ſolely the Danger of the State which made her uneaſy. Was not this very plainly ſaying, that the Death of the Queen of *Scots* was neceſſary for the Safety of the Realm? She would fain have it believed, that ſhe was inclined to favour *Mary*; but ſhe alledged no Reaſon for her. On the contrary, ſhe made uſe of the Arguments of *Sex* and *Kindred* to aggravate her Crime, and largely ſet forth the Reaſons which might carry her to conſent to her Death. She magnified the Care ſhe had taken not to ſuffer her Dignity to be debaſed, by trying her like a common Perſon. This is all the Favour ſhe ſhowed her. But what favour was it to give her Judges, among whom were her greateſt Enemies, Perſons who had before voted againſt her in the Council, and had been for bringing her to a Tryal? *Hatton*, one of the Judges, drew her into a Snare, by perſwading her to plead for herſelf, and the Lord-Treaſurer acted in ſome Meaſure the part of an Accuſer. On the other Hand, we ſee in ſeveral of *Walſingham*'s Letters ſent from *France* when he was Ambaſſador there, that it was his Opinion, *Elizabeth* could never be ſafe as long as the Queen of *Scots* was alive. Was not the giving her ſuch Judges befriending her very much? In ſhort, with what intent did *Elizabeth* tell the Parliament, that ſhe knew for certain ſome had bound themſelves by an Oath to kill her within a Month? Was it not in order to incite the *two Houſes* to prevent this Misfortune by the ſpeedy Execution of the Sentence given againſt *Mary*? All this ſhows that her Aim was to get the Parliament to preſs her upon this Account, that ſhe might in ſome Meaſure be juſtified to the World, by aſcribing the Execution of the Sentence to the Inſtances of the Parliament. But the Sequel will make it appear ſtill more plainly. 1586

On

1586. *Elizabeth desires the two Houses to find out some Expedient. They find none, and insist upon their Demand.*

On the 12th Day after, the Queen sent the Lord Chancellor to the *Upper-House*, and *Puckering* * to the *Lower*, to desire them to find out some Expedient, whereby the Queen of *Scots* Life might be saved and the Safety of the State *1 provided for. The *Two Houses*, after a serious Debate, answered her, that her Safety could not possibly be secured as long as the Queen of *Scots* lived. That there were but four Ways to be devised to that End, all which were insufficient. The first was, that the Queen of *Scots* should seriously repent: But such a Repentance was not to be expected, seeing she would not so much as acknowledge her Fault. The Second, that she should be kept with a closer Guard, and bound to her good Demeanour by Bond and Oath. The Third, that she should give Hostages. But that these two Ways were insufficient, since if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these Precautions would vanish into Air. The Fourth, that she should depart the Kingdom. But that this was the most dangerous of all: for if whilst a Prisoner, she stirred up so many in her Favour, what would she not do if she were at Liberty? In a Word, the *Two Houses* in their Answer represented to the Queen, that if it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to the meanest of her Subjects, how much more to the whole Body of the People unanimously and with one Voice sueing for the same. They who have the least Knowledge what Influence the Court-Party usually have upon the *Two Houses*, will very easily judge that the Parliament would never have expressed themselves in this Manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the Queen. But to have a clearer Insight into *Elizabeth*'s Character, it will be necessary to insert here her Answer, which will evidently show, not her Perplexity and Uncertainty, as she pretended, but her extreme Dissimulation in this Matter.

"VERY

* Speaker of the House of Commons. *Camden.*
*1 And her own Safety provided for. *Camden.*

1586.

*The Q's. Speech to the Parliament.*

" VERY unpleaſing is that Way, where the
" ſetting out, Progreſs and Journey's End
" yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have
" this day been in greater Conflict with my ſelf than
" ever I was in all my Life, whether I ſhould ſpeak,
" or hold my peace. If I ſhould ſpeak, and not com-
" plain, I ſhall diſſemble: if I ſhould be ſilent, all
" your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: and if
" I ſhould complain it might ſeem a ſtrange and un-
" uſual thing. Yet I confeſs that my hearty Deſire
" was, that ſome other means might have been de-
" viſed to provide for your Security and my own
" Safety, than this which is now propounded. So
" that I cannot but complain, though not of you,
" yet to you, ſince I perceive by your Petition that
" my Safety dependeth wholly upon the Ruine of a-
" nother. If there be any that think I have ſpun
" out the time of purpoſe to get Commendation by
" a ſeeming Shew of Clemency, they doe me Wrong
" undeſervedly, as he knoweth who is the Searcher
" of the moſt ſecret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if
" there be any that are perſwaded the Commiſſioners
" durſt pronounce no other Sentence for fear they
" ſhould thereby diſpleaſe me, or ſeem to fail of their
" Care for my Preſervation, they do but burthen
" and wrong me with ſuch injurious Conceits. For
" either thoſe whom I put in Truſt have failed of
" their Duties: or elſe they acquainted the Commiſ-
" ſioners in my Name, that my Will and Pleaſure
" was, that every one ſhould act freely according to
" his Conſcience; and what they thought not fit to
" be made publick, that they ſhould communicate
" to me in private. It was of my favourable Incli-
" nation towards her, that I deſired ſome other way
" might be found out to prevent this Miſchief. But
" ſince it is now reſolved, that my Security is deſpe-
" rate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy
" and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my
" time pardoned ſo many Rebels, winked at ſo ma-
" ny

1586. " ny Treasons, or neglected them by Silence, should " now seem to shew my self cruel towards so great " a Princess.

" I have, since I came to the Government of this " Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pam- " phlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant. " Well fare the Writers hearts; I believe their mean- " ing was to tell me News. And News indeed it " was to me to be branded with the note of Tyran- " ny. I would it were as great News to hear of their " Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it which " they will not venture to write now, when they " shall hear that I have given my Consent that the " Executioner's Hands should be imbrued in the " Bloud of my neareſt Kinswoman? But so far am " I from Cruelty, that, though it were to save mine " own Life, I would not offer her the least Vio- " lence: 'neither have I been so carefull how to pro- " long mine own Life, as how to preserve both hers " and mine: which that it is now impossible to doe " I am heartily troubled. I am not so void of Sense " and Judgment, as not to see mine own Danger " before mine Eyes, nor so indiscreet, as to sharpen " a Sword to cut mine own Throat; nor so egregi- " ously careless, as not to provide for the safety of " mine own Life. This I consider with my self, " that many a man would hazard his own Life to " save the Life of a Princess: but I am not of their " Opinion. These things have I many times thought " upon seriously with my self.

" But since so many have both written and spoken " against me, give me leave, I pray you, to say " somewhat in mine own Defense, that you may see " what manner of Woman I am, for whose Safety " and Preservation you have taken such extraordina- " ry Care. Wherein as I do with a most thankfull " heart discern and reade your great Vigilancy; so " am I sure I shall never requite it, had I as many " Lives as all you together.

" When first I took the Sceptre into my Hand, I 1586.
" was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore
" I began my Reign with Securing his Service, and
" the Religion I had been both born in, bred in,
" and I trust shall die in. And though I was not ig-
" norant how many Dangers I should meet withall at
" Home for my altering Religion, and how many
" great Princes abroad of a contrary Profession
" would in that Respect bear an Hostile mind to-
" wards me: yet was I no whit dismayed thereat,
" knowing that God, whom alone I eyed and re-
" spected, would defend both me and my Cause.
" Hence it is that so many Treacheries and Conspi-
" racies have been attempted against me, that I
" might well admire to find my self alive at this pre-
" sent day, were it not that God's holy Hand hath
" still protected me beyond all Expectation. Next,
" to the end I might make the better Progress in the
" Art of Ruling well, I had long and serious Cogi-
" tations with my self what things were most worthy
" and becoming Kings to doe: and I found it abso-
" lutely necessary that they should be completely fur-
" nished with those prime capital Virtues, Justice,
" Temperance, Prudence and Magnanimity. Of
" the two latter I will not boast my self, my Sex
" doth not permit it, they are proper to Men. But
" for the two former and less rough, I dare say,
" (and that without Ostentation) I never made a
" Difference of Persons, but high and low had equal-
" ly Right done them: I never preferred any for
" Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I
" never was forward to believe Stories at the first tel-
" ling; nor was I so rash as to suffer my Judgment
" to be forestalled with Prejudice before I had heard
" the Cause. I will not say but many Reports might
" haply be brought me too much in Favour of the
" one side or the other: For a good and a wary
" Prince may sometimes be bought and sold, whilst we
" cannot hear all our selves. Yet this I dare say bold-
" ly, My Judgment (as far as I could understand the

1586. " Caſe) ever went with the Truth. And as *Alcibia-*
" *des* adviſed his Friend, not to give any Anſwer till
" he had run over the Letters of the whole Alpha-
" bet; ſo have I never uſed raſh and ſudden Reſo-
" lutions in any thing.

" And therefore as touching your Counſells and
" Conſultations, I acknowledge them to have been
" with ſuch Care and Providence, and ſo advantage-
" ous for the Preſervation of my Life, and to pro-
" ceed from Hearts ſo ſincere and devoted to me,
" that I ſhall endeavour what lies in my Power, to
" give you cauſe to think your Pains not ill beſtow-
" ed, and ſtrive to ſhew my ſelf worthy of ſuch Sub-
" jects.

" And now for your Petition, I deſire you for the
" preſent to content your ſelves with an Anſwer
" without Anſwer. Your Judgment I condemn
" not, neither do I miſtake your Reaſons: but I
" muſt deſire you to excuſe thoſe thoughtfull Doubts
" and Cares which as yet perplex my Mind; and to
" reſt ſatisfied with the Profeſſion of my thankfull
" Eſteem of your Affections, and the Anſwer I have
" given, if you take it for any Anſwer at all. If I
" ſhould ſay I will not doe what you requeſt, I
" might ſay perhaps more than I intend: and if I
" ſhould ſay I will do it, I might plunge my ſelf in-
" to as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to pre-
" ſerve me from: which I am confident your Wiſe-
" doms and Diſcretions would not that I ſhould, if
" ye conſider the Circumſtances of Place, Time,
" and the Manners and Conditions of men ".

This Speech, which was of the ſame Nature and Spirit with the former, was not an Anſwer to the Petition of the *Two Houſes*, as the Queen herſelf owned, but only to let the *Engliſh* ſee how imprudent it would be to hazard the Life of ſo good a Queen, in order to ſave *Mary*'s. She would appear to be under a great Perplexity, and yet gave to underſtand that ſhe was fully determined. And indeed, ſeeing ſhe pre-

ferred the Good of her Subjects before all other Things, and seeing *Mary*'s Death was necessary thereto, what could be the Cause of her Doubts? If a Man compared the Reasons which made her incline to Mercy, with those which concerned her own Safety, he need not have been very sharp-sighted to see to which Side she would turn, though she had a Mind to seem irresolute. So that in this as well as in the former Speech, her only Aim was to make the Publick believe, she yielded with Reluctancy to the Instances of the Parliament, though she took Care not to object any strong Reasons to these Instances. But her Actions were still plainer Indications than her Speeches, of what passed in her Thoughts. 1586.

Immediately after she returned this Answer and no Answer, the Parliament was prorogued, for fear doubtless her feigned Perplexities should be taken litterally, and some Expedient found out to save the Queen of *Scots*. After what had been done, *Elizabeth* had no farther Occasion for the Parliament, and when she should cause the Sentence to be executed she might say she was wrought upon purely by the pressing Instances of the *Two Houses*. It will perhaps be thought strange that I am thus peremptory in a Thing so hard to be known as *Elizabeth*'s inmost Thoughts. But in my Opinion, very evident Proofs may be drawn both from her Actions and Words, that throughout this whole Business, she acted with a great deal of Dissimulation. *The Parliament is prorogued.*

A few Days after the proroguing of the Parliament, the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beale* were sent to the Queen of *Scots*. They had orders to tell her that her Judges had condemned her to die, that the Parliament had confirmed the Sentence, and desired the Execution thereof, believing that if she remained alive the Religion established in *England* could not subsist. She received the News with great Resolution, and even seemed to triumph that Religion was the Cause of her Death. Then she said, with some Emotion, *It is no wonder if the* English, *who have often* *Mary is informed of her Sentence.* *She shows great Firmness of Mind.*

1586. *put their own Sovereigns to Death, ſhould do the ſame by a Princeſs ſprung from the Blood of their Kings.*

*The French Ambaſſador ſollicites in her Favour.*

*L'Aubeſpine* the *French* Ambaſſador, who was entirely devoted to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, ſtopped for ſome Days the Publication of the Sentence by his Sollicitations. But at laſt it was proclaimed all over *London* * by the Queen's expreſs Order, who forgot not to let the People know that her Conſent to it was extorted by the preſſing Intreaties of the Parliament.

*The Sentence is publiſhed.*

In the Proclamation the Queen ſaid, that being informed of the Queen of *Scots* Devices, the Lords of the Council with many others earneſtly beſought her to bring her to Juſtice, and try her in the moſt honourable Manner. That upon theſe Inſtances ſhe granted a Commiſſion to Forty-two Lords, Thirty-ſix of whom met at *Fotheringhay*, and after a very ſtrict Examination gave Sentence to this Effect: *That* Mary *had broken the Statute made the laſt Year*: That the Parliament having examined the Sentence and the Proofs it was built upon, required the Execution thereof, notwithſtanding her frequent Inſtances to manage it ſo, that ſome other Expedient might be found out: That therefore, moved with her own and the *Nation*'s Welfare, ſhe had ordered the Sentence to be made known to her good Subjects.

*Mary's Letter to* Elizabeth.

*Mary*, when ſhe received the News of the Publication of the Sentence, plainly ſaw there was no Mercy to be expected. She writ a long Letter to *Elizabeth*, deſiring certain Favours about her Death, her Burial, and her Domeſticks *1. But it is uncertain whether this Letter was ever delivered.

*The King of Scotland intercedes for his Mother.*

The King of *Scotland* writ alſo to Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſent *Patrick Gray* and *Robert Melvil* to implore her Mercy in behalf

* And then throughout the Kingdom. *Camden.*

*1 She deſired her Body might be buried in *Catholick* Ground, particularly in *France* near her Mother. That ſhe might not be put to Death in private without Queen *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge, but in the Sight of her Servants, who might give a true Teſtimony of her Faith: That her Servants might peaceably depart whither they pleaſed, and enjoy thoſe Legacies which ſhe had bequeathed them by her Will and Teſtament. *Camden.*

behalf of the Queen his Mother; but it was to no purpose: Nay, it is said, the Master of *Gray*, who had been many Years attached to *Elizabeth*'s Interest, after having publickly sollicited her to favour *Mary*, advised her in private to make her away, saying, *A dead Woman bites not.* 1586.

*The King of* France *sends an Ambassador into* England.

*Henry* III sent also the President of *Bellievre* into *England* to intreat *Elizabeth* in behalf of the condemned Queen. The Ambassador discharged his Commission like one who seemed very desirous of succeeding. He presented a long *Memorial* which was published, containing the strongest Reasons that he could devise, to persuade *Elizabeth* to spare the unfortunate Queen; to which *Memorial* the Queen returned an Answer in the Margin of each Article. The Substance of the Answers was, That things were come to that pass, that one or other of the two Queens must fall, and *Elizabeth* flattered herself that the King of *France* had her Interest no less at Heart than *Mary*'s.

*The Ambassador's secret Orders.*

But if *du Maurier* is to be credited, in his Preface to his Father's *Memoirs*, the Ambassador played a sham Part, and imposed upon the World and *Mary*'s Friends. He affirms, that he heard his Father say, that *Bellievre*, though he feigned to have Instructions to the contrary, had private Orders to sollicite the Death of the Queen of *Scots* (*a*). This is not unlikely, considering the Posture the Affairs of *France* were in at that time, and the just Apprehensions the King had entertained of the ambitious Designs of the Duke of *Guise*.

1587. *The* French *Ambassador's Conspiracy against the Queen.*

Whilst all the World was in Expectation of the Issue of this extraordinary Sentence, the Court discovered that *L'Aubespine* the *French* Ambassador had bribed two Assassins to murder the Queen. One of the Villains repenting, and having informed the Ministers of the Plot, the Ambassador was desired to

(*a*) Nay, this was not so secret, but that after the Death of the Duke of *Guise*, *Henry* III was accused by the *Leaguers* of having caused the Queen of *Scots* to be put to Death.

1587. come to the Lord Treasurer's House where the Council was assembled, and the two Witnesses were brought Face to Face with him. If *Camden* is to be believed, he made but a poor Defence, contenting himself with pleading the Privilege of Ambassadors, who were accountable to none but their own Masters. The Lord Treasurer, without allowing or disputing this same Privilege, gravely reproved him, and advised him to beware for the future how he provoked a Queen who was too much injured already, and who had it in her Power to be revenged. It must be observed, that the *French* Translator of *Camden*'s *Annals*, thought fit to pass over in Silence this whole Conspiracy.

*The People loudly call for* Mary's *Death.*

It was no proper Season to enquire any farther into the Circumstances of this Plot, which in all appearence was entirely owing to the Ambassador's furious Zeal for the House of *Lorrain*. Nay, who knows whether it were not a Snare laid for him to make him Instrumental, contrary to his Intention, in hastning the Queen of *Scots* Execution? As soon as this Affair became publick, every body was heard to say, there was no Safety for the Queen as long as *Mary* was in the Land of the living. This was precisely what the Court wanted, that the People being satisfied of the Necessity of executing the Sentence, should the more easily overlook the Irregularities thereof. *Camden* says, *Elizabeth* was still in suspense, and greatly distracted in her Thoughts, not being able to resolve to put to Death a Queen, a near Relation, over whom she had no Jurisdiction. He adds, means were found however to determine her, by spreading a Report that *England* was going to be invaded: That the *Spanish* Fleet was already arrived at *Milford*-Haven: That the Duke of *Guise* was landed in *Sussex* with an Army: That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, and was raising Troops in the *North*: That several Plots were on foot to kill the Queen, and set the City of *London* on fire: Yea, that the Queen was dead. By these Artifices, according to that Historian, *Elizabeth* was prevailed upon to sign a Warrant for *Mary*'s

*Mary*'s Execution. For my part, who verily believe that *Mary*'s Death was reſolved upon, even before ſhe was brought to a Tryal, I rather think all theſe Rumours were ſpread abroad by the Emiſſaries of the Court, on purpoſe to terrify the People, and to let them ſee how neceſſary *Mary*'s Death was. There is not the leaſt Probability that the Queen and her Miniſters ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by ſuch Reports, the Falſhoods whereof it was ſo eaſy for them to know. But *Camden*'s Aim is to inſinuate that *Elizabeth* was convinced of *Mary*'s Innocence, and that it was that which diſtracted her Thoughts. 1587.

We are now come at length to the laſt Act of the Tragedy, for ſo it may well be called with reſpect to the Queen of *Scots*, though with regard to *Elizabeth* it was a real Comedy, or at leaſt a Scene of Diſſimulation, acted with ſo much Art, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried to ſuch a Height. I have already ſaid, that before *Elizabeth* ordered the Commiſſion to try *Mary* to be drawn up, ſeveral Lords caſt themſelves at her Feet, and begged her to take Pity of them and their Poſterity, and to provide, by *Mary*'s Death, for the Security of the *Church* and *State*. Afterwards, when Sentence was given, ſhe waited till the Parliament ſollicited her twice, with the ſharp Reproach that ſhe denied her People Juſtice. To carry on the Farce, ſome Formalities were likewiſe to be acted after the Publication of the Sentence, before the Warrant was ſigned for Execution. All this was done: but there was ſtill ſomething more. *Elizabeth* undertook to make the Publick believe that the Execution was done againſt her Will, and without her Knowledge; the way ſhe went to work was thus. *Elizabeth's extreme Diſſimulation.*

*Daviſon* was the Inſtrument ſhe made uſe of without his knowing any thing of the Matter, to act this ſort of Comedy. A little before the Queen of *Scots* Sentence, he was made Secretary of State; and it is very likely he was put into that Poſt on purpoſe, that he might be drawn into the Snare, and made accountable *She draws* Daviſon *her Secretary into a Snare.*

1587. ble for *Mary*'s Death. All those Rumours beforementioned being spread Abroad, and the Queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to *Davison* a Writing signed with her own Hand, and sealed with her Signets, commanding him to draw up a Warrant under the Great-Seal for the Queen of *Scots* Execution. But withal, she enjoined him to keep the Warrant by him, and acquaint no Man therewith. The Lord Chancellor however must have been informed of it, unless she had taken the Great-Seal from him and given it to *Davison*, of which thing there has been Instances. Be this as it will, the next Day she sent *Davison* word by *Killegrew* not to draw the Warrant *. Whereupon *Davison* came to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already; at which she was angry, and blamed him for making such haste. The Warrant was dated the 1st of *February*, and directed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Cumberland*, to see the Queen of *Scots* executed in their Presence. Mean while, though the Queen seemed displeased with the Secretary for making too much haste, she left the Warrant in his Hands, without telling him what he was to do with it. This puzzled him extremely, since by her contrary Proceedings with respect to the Warrant, she had left him in the Dark as to her Intention. In this Uncertainty he resolved to impart what was done to one of the Privy-Council, who was of Opinion that the Rest of the Counsellors should be informed of the Matter, that nothing might be done rashly, and *Davison* fell into the Snare. Whereupon the Council being met, it was unanimously resolved to put the Warrant in Execution, though nothing was easier than to let the Queen know the Perplexity they were under. To that end the Warrant was given to *Beale*, who took care to acquaint the four Lords with it to whom it was addressed,

* *Rapin* says, the Queen sent *Davison* word to hasten the Warrant. But it is a Mistake, for *Camden* says the Queen changed her Mind, and sent to him not to draw it. *Camden*,

addreſſed, and ſet out for *Fotheringhay* with two Executioners. Surely it is very hard to believe, that a Score of Privy-Counſellors (among whom were the Queen's Miniſters, and thoſe ſhe moſt truſted) would have undertaken to order the Warrant to be executed unknown to her, had they not been perſuaded that in ſo doing they conformed themſelves to her Will. Eſpecially as *Daviſon* had communicated the Secret to them, purely becauſe of the Uncertainty he was in concerning the Queen's Intention*. 1587.

After *Beale*'s Departure, the Queen told *Daviſon* ſhe had changed her Mind. This ſhould have been as it were a Thunder-bolt againſt the Council, who had ſent to have Execution done by their own Authority, and yet no care was taken to call *Beale* back, though there was ten Days ſpace between his Departure and *Mary*'s Execution. But what is ſtill more ſtrange, is that during theſe Seven Days, though the Queen had declared that her Mind was altered, not one of her Counſellors or Miniſters thought of informing her of what was paſſed. This is a clear Evidence that it was very well known ſhe did not deſire to be acquainted with it.

*The Queen of* Scots *is beheaded.*

However this may be, the four Lords appointed to ſee Execution done, being come to *Fotheringhay*, admoniſhed the Queen of *Scots* forthwith to prepare for Death, and on the Morrow, being the 8th of *February*, they ſaw her Head cut off. I ſhall not relate here all the Circumſtances of this Tragedy. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that ſhe died with great Reſolution, and in an inviolable Attachment to her Religion. The Earl of *Kent* having told her, *that her Life would be the Death of the Proteſtant Religion in* England, ſhe rejoiced, and ſaid, that ſhe was condemned as guilty of plotting againſt the Queen of *England*'s Life; and yet the Earl of *Kent* had juſt told her that ſhe was to die for her Religion, wherein ſhe

* *Camden* ſays, *Daviſon* perſuaded the Council that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed.

1587. ſhe gloried. If *Camden* is to be credited, ſhe proteſted ſhe knew nothing of *Babington*'s Practices, and that her Secretaries were ſuborned to witneſs againſt her *.

Elizabeth expreſſes great Grief at it.

The News of *Mary*'s Execution being brought to *Elizabeth*, ſhe appeared extremely concerned at it. Sighs, Tears, Lamentation and Mourning were the Signs ſhe gave of her Grief, which ſeemed immoderate.

* When the Earls had told her to prepare for Death, ſhe deſired that ſhe might have a Conference with her Almoner, Confeſſor, and *Melvil* the Maſter of the Houſhold. But they would not allow her *Confeſſor* to come near her, but recommended to her the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborough*, whom ſhe refuſing, the Earl of *Kent*, out of his Zeal to the Reformed Religion, ſaid to her the Words above-mentioned. After they were gone ſhe ordered Supper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more time to diſpoſe of her Concernments. She ſupped temperately as ſhe uſed to do. Towards the End of Supper ſhe drank to all her Servants, who pledged her in order upon their Knees, begging Pardon for their Neglect of Duty, as ſhe alſo did of them. After Supper ſhe peruſed her *Will*, and wrote down the Names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed her Goods and Jewels. At her wonted time ſhe went to Bed, ſlept ſome Hours, and then awaking ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer. The fatal Day being come, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as ſhe was wont to do upon *Feſtival* Days, and calling her Servants together commanded her *Will* to be read, and then retired into her Oratory, where ſhe ſtayed till *Thomas Andrews* the *Sheriff* acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. She appeared with a compoſed Countenance and chearful Look; her Head was covered with a Veil hanging down to the Ground, her *Beads* hanging at her Girdle with a *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch ſhe was received by the Earls, where ſpeaking a ſhort Speech to *Melvil*, who bewailed his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the woeful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Miſtreſs, ſhe bade him farewel; and turning to the Earls, deſired that her Servants might ſtand by her at her Death. Then two Earls and the Sheriffs going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, at the upper End of the Hall, on which was placed a Chair, a Cuſhion, and a Block covered with Black Cloath. As ſoon as ſhe was ſat down, *Beale* read the Warrant, which done, the Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech to her concerning her Life paſt, preſent and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himſelf, for ſhe was reſolved to die in the *Catholick* Religion. Then they appointed the *Dean* to pray: After which the Executioner having asked her Forgiveneſs, her Women took off her upper Garments, and covering her Face with a Handkerchief, ſhe laid down her Head on the Block, which was ſevered from her Body at two Strokes. She was buried in a Royal Manner in the *Cathedral* of *Peterborough* where ſhe now lies.

rate. She drove the Privy-Counſellors from her Preſence, and commanded them to be examined in *the Star-Chamber*, and *Daviſon* to be tried for his Life for his Diſobedience. A few Days after ſhe ſent the following Letter to the King of *Scotland* by *Robert Cary*. 1587.

My Deareſt BROTHER,

*I Would to God thou kneweſt (but not that thou felteſt) the incomparable Grief my Mind is perplexed with, upon this lamentable Accident, which is happened contrary to my Meaning and Intention, which, ſince my Pen trembles to mention it, you ſhall fully underſtand by this my Kinſman (a). I requeſt you, that as God and many others can witneſs my Innocence in this Matter, ſo you will alſo believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it. I am not ſo faint-hearted, that for Terror I ſhould fear to do the Thing that is juſt, or to own it when it is once done; no, I am not ſo baſe and ignobly minded. But as it is no princely Part, with feigned Words to conceal and diſguiſe the real Meaning of the Heart; ſo will I never diſſemble my Actions, but make them appear in their true and proper Colours. Perſuade yourſelf this for Truth, that as I know this has happened deſervedly on her Part, ſo if I had intended it, I would not have laid it upon others; but I will never charge my ſelf with that which I had not ſo much as a Thought of. Other Matters you ſhall underſtand by the Bearer of this Letter. As for me, I would have you believe there is not any which loves you more dearly, or takes more care for the Good of you and your Affairs. If any Man would perſuade you to the contrary, you may conclude he favours others more than you. God preſerve you long in Health and Safety.*

Whilſt *Cary* was upon the Road, *Daviſon* was cited into the *Star-Chamber*, to anſwer to the Accuſation of Contempt and Diſobedience entered againſt him. Daviſon *is tried*,

The

(a) He was Kin to her by *Ann Bullen* her Mother.

1587. *His Accuſation and Reply.* The Accuſation ran, That he had contemned the Queen's Orders, broke his Oath of Allegiance, and neglected his Duty: That the Queen never intended (for Reaſons beſt known to herſelf) that the Queen of *Scots*, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, had however, for preventing of Dangers, commanded a Warrant for her Execution to be drawn up, and committed it to his Truſt and Secrecy: But that he forgetting his Duty, had acquainted the Council therewith, and put it in Execution unknown to the Queen.

*Daviſon* anſwered, That he was extremely ſorry to find himſelf accuſed of Contempt towards the Queen, who had loaded him with Favours: That he choſe rather to confeſs himſelf guilty of the Crimes he was charged with, than conteſt with her Majeſty, ſince he could not vindicate himſelf without failing in the Reſpect and Duty he owed her. He proteſted however, that he had offended wholly out of Ignorance, being perſuaded he had done nothing contrary to the Queen's Will and Pleaſure. He affirmed, that when the Queen blamed him for making ſuch haſte to get the Warrant ready, ſhe gave ſome Intimation, but no expreſs Command, that he ſhould keep it ſecret; neither did he believe that he was guilty of the Breach of his Truſt, by communicating it only to the Council. As to his being accuſed of not recalling the Warrant after ſhe had told him ſhe had changed her Mind, he proteſted it was the Opinion of the whole Council that it ſhould be put in Execution out of Hand, leaſt the Queen or State ſhould receive any hurt by too long a Delay.

After he had done ſpeaking, the Queen's Council preſſed him with his own Confeſſion, and with what the Lord Treaſurer had teſtified, that doubting whether the Queen had abſolutely conſented to have Execution done, *Daviſon* affirmed it was her Intention. Then *Daviſon*, with Tears running down his Cheeks, prayed the Queen's learned Council not to urge the Matter any farther, but remember that he would not

not conteſt with the Queen, to whoſe Conſcience and his Judges Cenſure he entirely ſubmitted himſelf. After that were made ſeveral Speeches, ſome whereof tended to aggravate the Offence of the Accuſed, and others to ſhow that he had acted only inconſiderately and imprudently *. In ſhort, he was condemned to be fined in Ten Thouſand Pounds, and impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure. The Lord *Lumley*, in his Speech on this Occaſion, was not ſatisfied with blaming *Daviſon*, but accuſing chiefly the whole Council, he ſaid, Never was there ſuch a Contempt againſt a Prince heard or read of, that Privy-Counſellors, in the Queen's Palace, and when they had free Acceſs to her, ſhould undertake ſuch a Thing without her Advice or Knowledge, proteſting, that if his own Son were guilty of the like Fault, he would be the firſt to condemn him. But it was not the Queen's Intent to puniſh the Counſellors, who very likely had acted only by her private Orders. And therefore to avoid the like Reproaches to thoſe vented by the Lord *Lumley* againſt them, the Lord Privy-Seal told the Aſſembly, that although the Queen being juſtly offended with her Council, had left them to a ſtrict Examination; yet now being ſenſible that they had tranſgreſſed purely out of exceſſive Zeal for her and the State, ſhe forgave them. Thus *Daviſon* was the only Sacrifice, though the Council was more to blame than he, ſuppoſing he had acted contrary to the Queen's Intention. *Daviſon* was ſhut up a long time in Priſon, without being able to obtain any other Favour than ſome Preſents of Money which the Queen ſent him now and then to relieve his Wants. 1587.

*Camden*

* The Commiſſioners, being Thirteen in Number, made each a Speech, wherein they owned, that Sentence was juſtly pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*, but that *Daviſon* deſerved to be puniſhed for acting without the Queen's Advice and Conſent. *Camden.*

1587. Davison's Apology written by himself.

*Camden*, whose aim was not to vindicate *Elizabeth* in any Thing relating to the Queen of *Scots*, inserted in his *Annals* an Apology, which *Davison* being in Prison sent himself to Secretary *Walsingham*, and leaves his Readers to give their Judgment about it, without making himself any Remarks. The Apology was worded in the following manner.

" The Queen, after the Departure of the *French* " and *Scotch* Ambassadors, of her own accord com- " manded me do deliver her the Warrant for execu- " ting the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*: When " I had delivered it, she readily signed it with her " own Hand: When she had so done, she command- " ed it to be sealed with the Great-Seal of *England*; " and in jesting manner said, *Go tell all this to* Wal- " singham, *who is now sick*; *although I fear he will dye* " *for Sorrow when he hears it.* She added also the " Reasons of her deferring it so long; namely, lest " she might seem to have been violently or maliciously " drawn thereto, whereas in the mean Time she " was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover " she blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that they had not " eased her of this Care, and wished that *Walsingham* " would feel their Pulses touching this Matter.

" The next Day after the Warrant was under the " Great-Seal, she commanded me by *Killegrew*, that " it should be done: and when I had informed her " that it was done already, she found Fault with such " great haste; telling me that in the Judgment of " some wise Men, another Course might be taken. " I answered, that the Course which was just, was " always best and safest. But fearing lest she would " lay the Fault upon me, (as she had laid the put- " ting of the Duke of *Norfolk* to Death upon the " Lord *Burleigh*,) I acquainted *Hatton* with the whole " Matter, protesting that I would not plunge my " self any deeper in so great a Business. He pre- " sently imparted it to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the " Lord *Burleigh* to the rest of the Council; who all

" consented

" conſented to have the Execution haſtened, and e- 1587.
" very one of them vowed to bear an equal ſhare in
" the Blame, and ſent *Beal* away with the Warrant
" and Letters. The third Day after, when by a
" Dream which ſhe told of the Queen of *Scots*
" Death, I perceive that ſhe wavered in her Reſolu-
" tion, I aſked her whether ſhe had changed her
" Mind? She anſwered, No; but another Courſe
" (ſaid ſhe,) might have been deviſed: and withal
" ſhe aſked me, whether I had received any Anſwer
" from *Powlet*? Whoſe Letter when I had ſhowed
" her, wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that
" which ſtood not with Honour and Juſtice; ſhe
" waxing angry, accuſed him and others (who had
" bound themſelves by the *Aſſociation*) of Perjury
" and Breach of their Vow, as thoſe that had pro-
" miſed great Matters for their Princes Safety, but
" would perform nothing. Yet there are *(ſaid ſhe,)*
" who will do it for my Sake. But I ſhowed her
" how diſhonourable and unjuſt a Thing this would
" be; and withal into how great Danger ſhe would
" bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by it. For if ſhe appro-
" ved the Fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both
" Danger and Diſhonour, not without Cenſure of
" Injuſtice; and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would ut-
" terly undo Men of great Deſert, and their whole
" Poſterity. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light
" Check the ſame Day that the Queen of *Scots* was
" executed, becauſe ſhe was not yet put to Death ".

If this Apology be true, one cannot deſire a more convincing Proof of *Elizabeth*'s Diſſimulation. The Point in Hand, was not the Death of *Mary*, that was already determined, but the manner of her Death. It appears by the Writing above-mentioned, that *Elizabeth* would have been glad that the Queen of *Scot*'s two Keepers would have made her away, to the end ſhe might have been able to clear herſelf, which ſhe would not have failed to do, by putting them both to Death. There remains but one Scruple about this

1587. Matter, which is, that we have this from *Camden* only, whose Testimony cannot be well depended upon.

*The King of Scotland shows at first a great deal of Resentment.*

The King of *Scotland* having received the News of the Queen his Mother's tragical End, showed a very lively Resentment at the same. His first Thoughts prompted him to Vengeance. The States of *Scotland*, who were then assembled, promised him their Assistance, and there were not wanting some about him, who perswaded him to join with the Pope, *France* and *Spain*, in order to revenge so great an Affront. Others advised him not to break with *England*, lest he should hazard upon the doubtful Chance of War, his undoubted Title to the Crown of that Kingdom; and the rather as the *English* only wanted perhaps a Pretense to hinder a *Scotch* Prince from ascending the Throne of *England*, which therefore he ought to take Care not to furnish them with. Some were of Opinion that he should declare openly for neither of the two Religions, but keep himself always in a readiness to make the best of the Events which Time should produce. *Cary* arriving shortly after, the King refused him Audience, and it was not without great Difficulty that he was brought to receive *Elizabeth*'s Letter. We find however in *Melvil's Memoirs*, that some Lords of the Court of *Scotland* had sent Word into *England*, that whenever Queen *Mary* should be put to Death, the King her Son would not resent it very highly, and accordingly *Melvil* affirms, he quickly forgot it. When *Elizabeth* heard that King *James*'s Grief began to abate, she set some of those whom she most trusted, to represent to him,

P. 173.

P. 175.

*Representations made to him.*

" That as Matters then stood with *Scotland*, there was " no room to expect that a War with *England* could " be successful: If he pretended to rely on foreign " Aid, his Mother's sad Experience might teach " him how uncertain that was. The King of *France* " would be so far from countenancing him, that it " was his Interest to hinder the two Kingdoms of " *Great-Britain* from being united under one and the " same Dominion. Nay, he would oppose to the

" utmost

" utmoſt of his Power, the Succeſs of his Arms, for 1587.
" fear he ſhould afterwards aſſiſt the Duke of *Guiſe*,
" who aſpired to the Crown. The King of *Spain* in
" pretending to aid him, would only ſerve himſelf,
" by reaſon of his ill-grounded Claim to the Crown
" of *England*, as deſcended from the *Houſe* of *Lan-*
" *caſter*. Even the Queen his Mother had made a
" *Will* the Night before her Death, whereby ſhe ex-
" cluded him from the Succeſſion, in caſe he perſe-
" vered in the *Proteſtant* Religion, and nominated
" *Philip* II for her Heir; which *Will* was ſent into
" *Spain*. He was then to expect no Aſſiſtance from
" *Philip*, but rather to look upon him as an Enemy.
" In a Word, if he went to War with *Elizabeth*, and
" the Parliament ſhould paſs an *Act* againſt him, he
" ran the riſk of being excluded for ever from a no-
" ble Inheritance, which he could not fail of enjoy-
" ing, provided he would but ſit down in quiet ".
To all theſe Arguments it was further added,
" That *Elizabeth* had an Affection for him, and be-
" ſides, would think herſelf bound in Honour and
" Duty to repair the Mother's Wrongs, by leaving
" her Crown to the Son, in caſe he gave her no Oc-
" caſion to do otherwiſe ". Theſe Repreſentations
had their Effect. *James* found it for his Intereſt to *His Grief is eaſed.*
keep fair with *Elizabeth*, and that added to the Sen-
tence given againſt *Daviſon*, which was ſent him, ſti-
fled his Reſentment to ſuch a Degree, that he ſhowed
no farther Marks of it.

Mean while *Elizabeth* hearing the King of *Spain* *The Queen ſends a Fleet againſt Spain.* Camden.
was making great Preparations to invade *England*,
ſent *Drake* with a good Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Spain*,
with Orders to burn all the *Spaniſh* Ships he ſhould
meet. This Admiral's firſt Expedition was to the
Port of *Gibraltar* *, where he burnt above a Hun-
dred Veſſels laden with Victuals and Ammunition,
and a large *Galeon* called the *Raguſe*, which was full

* To *Cadiz* with four Men of War. *Camden.*

1587. of rich Merchandize. Then returning to *Cape St. Vincent*, he did great Damage to the Inhabitants along the Coaſt; after which he came to the Mouth of the *Tagus*, where he in vain provoked the Marquiſs of *Santa Cruce*, by plundering and burning the Ships he found there. When he had nothing more to do, he ſet Sail towards the *Azores*, and lighting in the way upon a rich *Carack* called the *St. Philip*, as ſhe was coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*, took her *. The Proviſions and Stores which the *Spaniards* loſt at *Gibraltar*, the taking of the *Galeon* and *Carack*, and the reſt of the Damages they ſuſtained, obliged *Philip* to defer till next Year the Expedition he had projected againſt *England*. Whilſt *Drake* was acting in *Europe* againſt *Spain*, *Cavendiſh* was doing the ſame in *America*, having entered the *South-Sea* by the *Streights* of *Magellan*. He plundered without Oppoſition the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, and did the *Spaniards* a world of Damage in thoſe Parts.

*The States of the United Provinces complain of the Earl of* Leiceſter. Grotius.

I left about the end of the laſt Year the Earl of *Leiceſter* returning into *England*, after having ſet on foot his Project to become Sovereign of the *United Provinces*, by cheriſhing Trouble and Diſcord. Before his Departure, the *States* began to perceive his Deſigns, and the Orders he left when he went away, and which the Officers who were his Creatures punctually executed, fully confirmed them in their Suſpicions. For which reaſon they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Elizabeth* to complain of him: but his Credit, and the Queen of *Scots* Buſineſs, which the Court was then taken up with, hindered the Ambaſſadors from being ſo ſpeedily diſpatched as they deſired. It even happened in this Interval that *Stanley* and *York*, who held of the Earl of *Leiceſter* the Governments of *Deventer*,

* The *Engliſh* ſo fully underſtood by the Merchants Papers the rich Value of the *Indian* Merchandizes, and the manner of trading in the *Eaſtern* World, that they afterwards ſet up a gainful Trade and Traffick, eſtabliſhing a Company of *Eaſt-Indian* Merchants. *Camden.*

*venter*, and a Fort near *Zutphen*, delivered up theſe two Places to the Duke of *Parma*. So the *States* no longer truſting that General, gave the Command of their Army to Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, ſecond Son of the late Prince of *Orange*. They did likewiſe ſome other Things which plainly enough ſhowed that having diſcovered the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Deſigns, they would not ſuffer him to put them in Practice. In the mean while, the Duke of *Parma* beſieging *Sluys*, the Earl came back from *England* to make him raiſe the Siege; but he had not the good Fortune to ſucceed. At laſt finding he was every where miſtruſted, he took the Reſolution to execute by Force the Project he had formed. To that End, he would have made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places at once, in the Heart of the Country, that he might keep the reſt under. But his Deſign to ſurprize *Leyden* being diſcovered in Seaſon, all Correſpondence between him and the *States* was entirely broke off. Whereupon the Queen was obliged to call him home, and ſend in his Room the Lord *Willoughby*, but with no other Authority than the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops. Then the *States* conſtituted Count *Maurice* their Captain-General.

1587.

*The Earl attempts to become Maſter of ſeveral Places.*

*He is recalled.*

Mean Time the King of *Spain*, ever intent upon the Project of invading *England*, continued to make extraordinary Preparations. This Project was formed after the Queen of *Scots* had been perſwaded to make over to him her Right to *England*, as being the only way to reſtore there the *Catholick*-Religion. According to the received Maxim of the Church of *Rome*, that a *Heretick* is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a Crown, *Philip* II thought he might juſtly claim that of *England*, as being the next *Catholick* Prince deſcended from the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. But that the Reader may the better know the Ground of his Pretenſions, it will be proper to caſt an Eye upon his Genealogy, which ſhows that he was ſprung from the two Daughters of *John* of *Ghent* Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son to *Edward* III. Upon this Deſcent then,

Philip II *prepares to invade* England.

*Ground of his Title to* England.

1587. and upon the Queen of *Scots Conveyance* and *Will*, he had formed the Project of conquering *England*. *Elizabeth*, not being ignorant of it, took on her Part all poſſible Care to be in a Poſture of Defenſe, and both of them coloured their reſpective Preparations with divers Pretenſes. To amuſe *Elizabeth*, *Philip* ſent and propoſed her being Mediatrix, to make Peace between him and the revolted Provinces of the *Netherlands*. *Elizabeth* was perfectly acquainted with *Philip*'s Aim, and to amuſe him in her turn, ſhe accepted the Mediation, in hopes that the Negotiation would afford her more Time to be prepared. She propoſed therefore to the *States* a Peace with *Spain*, hinting to them that they could not refuſe to enter into Treaty, without incurring the Blame of continuing the War out of pure Obſtinacy. She promiſed them moreover to have their Intereſt as much at Heart as her own. But the *States* flatly refuſed to treat, knowing by frequent Experience, that ſuch Negotiations were always fatal to them. Nevertheleſs ſhe ſent Plenipotentiaries into *Flanders*, imagining the *States* would be forced to ſtand to what ſhe ſhould ſettle for them with *Spain*, as ſhe had given to underſtand. Three Months paſſed over before they could agree upon the Place where the Conferences ſhould be held. *Elizabeth* required as Preliminary Articles, a General Pardon for the Confederates; that the Towns of the *Netherlands* ſhould enjoy all their antient Privileges; that the old Alliance between *England* and *Spain* ſhould be renewed; that ſome good Fund ſhould be aſſigned to her for the Payment of what was due to her from the *States*, and that the Troops on both Sides ſhould be diſbanded. As to Religion, the *Spaniards* demanded that it ſhould be entirely as the King pleaſed, ſince he did not hinder *Elizabeth* from ſettling it in her Dominions juſt as ſhe thought fit. *Elizabeth* did not inſiſt much upon this Article, whether ſhe believed that every Sovereign had a Right to impoſe a Religion upon his People, or whether in order to amuſe the *Spaniard*, ſhe feigned

*He tries to amuſe* Elizabeth.

*Negotiation for a Peace between the* Netherlands *and* Spain. Grotius.

ed to give way that ſhe might not obſtruct a Negotiation, the Continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her. Be this as it will, ſhe went ſo far as to be ſatisfied that the Exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion ſhould be tolerated two Years only in the *United Provinces*. As for the Places ſhe had in her Poſſeſſion, ſhe refuſed not to reſtore them, provided ſhe were paid what was owing to her. Upon theſe mutual Demands, the *Spaniards* took Care to delay the Concluſion of the Preliminary Articles, imagining that the hopes of a ſpeedy Peace would prevent *Elizabeth* from preparing for her Defence againſt their Attacks. They refuſed to enter into any Agreement with reſpect to Religion, and as for the Charge *Elizabeth* had been at to ſupport the Confederates, they pretended it was to be ſet againſt the Expenſe ſhe had put their King to. At length, the Preparations which were making againſt *England* in all the Ports of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, became ſo publick, that this ſham Negotiation broke off without any Fruit, after having laſted till the Month of *March* the next Year. 1587.

I have already mentioned *Philip*'s Pretenſions to *England* and *Ireland*. *Ferdinand the Catholick* his Great-Grandfather had not ſo plauſible a Claim to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre* which he ſeized, and which ſtill are Part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. But over and above theſe Pretenſions, *Philip* made the moſt of another Thing, very proper to impoſe upon the World. And that was, a great Zeal for the Reſtoration of the *Catholick* Religion in the three Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*. By that he had perſwaded Pope *Sixtus* V to come into the Project, the Execution whereof would be as well Glorious as Advantageous to both, but of which *Philip* was to bear the whole Charge. As for *Sixtus*, he had nothing to contribute on his Part, but what the Popes were wont to ſupply on ſuch Occaſions, namely, *Vows*, *Prayers*, and *Anathemas*. In order therefore to countenance the King of *Spain*'s Undertaking, the Pope thunder-

*The Pope ſides with* Philip.

Bull *of* Sixtus V *againſt* Elizabeth.

1587. ed out against *Elizabeth* a *Bull*, absolving her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the first that should seize them. This was the King of *Spain*, who was now ready to make an Advantage of the Pope's kind Offer.

*The* Invincible Armada. He had prepared in *Portugal*, at *Naples* and in *Sicily*, a Fleet which was called beforehand the *Invincible Armada*. It consisted of one Hundred and fifty great Ships, on Board which were embarked nineteen Thousand Men, and 2630 Pieces of Cannon *. It was to be commanded by the Marquis *De Santa Cruce*; but this Admiral dying whilst the Fleet was getting ready, the Duke of *Medina-celi* was appointed in his Room. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Parma* had caused an Army of Thirty Thousand Men to advance towards the Coast of the *Low-Countries*, and prepared great Numbers of Vessels to transport them, in order to join the *Spanish* Fleet, and make a Descent in *England*. The Project was to station the Fleet at the Mouth of the *Thames* to assist the Troops who were to march directly to *London*. *Elizabeth*, who wanted not good Spies, having timely notice of these vast Preparations, provided for the Defense of her Kingdom with great Care and Diligence. She fitted out a considerable Fleet, which was however inferior to that of *Spain*, both in the Number and Largeness of the Ships, and gave the Command to *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* [High-Admiral of *England*, and] very expert in Sea-Affairs. He had for Vice-Admirals,

*Elizabeth's Preparations.*

* The *Spaniard*, the more to advance his Glory, and terrify his Enemies, published an Account of this Fleet in *Spanish*, *Latin*, *French* and *Dutch*. The *Spanish* Book soon came into the Hands of the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, in divers Places whereof *Strype* saw Notes added by that Lord soon after the Defeat. From this Book he has inserted a brief Account of the *Spanish Armada*, in his Appendix of Original Papers, N. LI. The Sum whereof is this, that there were in all 130 Ships of 57868 Tuns, 19295 Soldiers, and 8450 Mariners. 2088 Slaves, and 2630 great Brass Pieces of all sorts, besides 20 *Caravels* for the Service of the Army, and 10 *Salves* with six Oars apiece. *Strype*.

mirals, *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher*, all three the beſt Sea-Officers then in the World. On the other Hand, *Henry Seymour* [Second] Son of the late Duke of *Somerſet*, lay upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, with forty Sail *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from joining the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Moreover *Elizabeth* had in *England* an Army of forty Thouſand Men, whereof three Thouſand, under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, were poſted near the *Thames*-Mouth. The reſt were near the Queen's Perſon, ready to march where it ſhould be deemed neceſſary *. Beſides this, there was in each County a Body of *Militia* well armed, under Leaders who had Orders to join one another as Occaſion ſhould require. It is certain there are no Train'd-Bands in the World more proper for a bold Action than thoſe of *England*. So in caſe the *Spaniards* had landed, they would have met with their Match. The Sea-Ports were fortified as much as the Time would permit, and Signals were every where appointed to ſhow the Places where the Troops were to march. In ſhort, it was reſolved that if the *Spaniards* made a Deſcent, the Country round about them ſhould be laid waſte, that they might have nothing to ſubſiſt upon but what they brought from their Fleet *1. This was the Courſe *Francis* I. took in *Provence* againſt *Charles* V, with Succeſs that anſwered his Expectations. Theſe Meaſures being taken, the Enemy was expected with an uncommon Alacrity, though one would think that 1587. on

* For the Land-Service there were diſpoſed along the *Southern* Coaſts 20000 Men Beſides which, two Armies were raiſed of choice well-diſciplined Men, the one under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, conſiſting of 1000 Horſe, and 22000 Foot, which encamped at *Tilbury*; the other under the Leading of the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of 34000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to guard the Queen's Perſon. *Camden*.

*1 *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, excellent Soldiers, were made choice of to conſult about the beſt way of managing the War at Land. *Camden*.

1587. on such an Occasion every Body should be in the greatest Consternation.

1588. *The Q's Perplexities.* Mean while *Elizabeth* was not without Uneasiness. The Hour she had all along dreaded was at length come. Her Crown lay at Stake, and she was to defend it without the Assistance of any Ally. This she had always endeavoured to prevent, ever since the Beginning of her Reign, by all the Artifices her Policy could suggest, by fomenting the Troubles of *Scotland*, by making an Alliance with *France*, by feigning to marry the Duke of *Anjou*, by assisting the *Huguenots* of *France*, and the Male-contents of the *Netherlands*, and finally by making away with the Queen of *Scots*. She had succeeded hitherto, and though surrounded with Enemies had found means to cut them out Work at Home, and prevent them from directly invading *England*. But the Time was now come that her Right must be exposed to the chance of War. Though she was generally beloved by her Subjects, She was not ignorant that there were many disaffected Persons in the Kingdom, and especially among the *Catholicks*. Nay, she had reason to fear they were well-wishers to the King of *Spain*, and favoured his Invasion. On the other Side, she was not easy in regard to *Ireland*, because of the Religion of the *Irish*, and the Friends which the Pope and *Philip* II had there. But she was under a still greater Concern on Account of *Scotland*. She had just put King *James*'s Mother to Death by the Hand of the Executioner, and if that Prince should be transported with the Desire of Revenge, he could never have a fairer Opportunity, since it was in his Power to favour the Descent of the *Spaniards*, in one Extremity of the Kingdom, by making a Diversion in the other. In a Word, if she could not hinder the *Spaniards* from landing in *England*, she must necessarily resolve to run the Hazard of a Battle, the Country not being at all proper to prolong the War. All this was more than enough to inspire her with a just Dread, which however she very carefully concealed. If ever she

ſhe diſcovered her Addreſs, it was on this important Occaſion. So far was ſhe from ſhowing the leaſt faintheartedneſs, that ſhe encouraged her People by her Looks, her Reſolution, her affable way, which made them think ſhe was troubled only for their Sakes, and that as for herſelf, ſhe was not at all apprehenſive of the Danger. Mean while ſhe looked to every Thing with a wonderful Prudence, and a Preſence of Mind which is rarely to be found in the greateſt Men, and which gained her the Admiration and Praiſes of all the World. Some adviſed her to put to Death, or ſend beyond Sea the chief of the *Catholicks*. But ſhe thought it would be diſcovering too much Fear, beſides, that it would have been great Injuſtice to puniſh Men upon bare Suſpicions. She contented herſelf with cauſing ſome to be taken up and put into Cuſtody, telling them however that it was only by way of Precaution, which inſtead of doing them harm, would ſcreen them from the Violence of their Enemies. 1588.

As for *Ireland*, ſhe diſpatched Orders to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, who was then Lord-Deputy, plainly chalking out to him what he ſhould do to hinder the *Iriſh* from riſing. But above all Things, ſhe took Care to careſs the King of *Scotland*, and to put him in hopes of an ample Acknowledgment, if on this Occaſion he ſtood firm to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*. She repreſented to him, that in reſpect to *England*, he was to conſider the King of *Spain* as a dangerous Competitor, and that the Loſs of one of the Realms of *Great-Britain*, would not fail of being attended with the Loſs of the other. But her Uneaſineſs with regard to *Scotland* was not long-liv'd, ſince ſhe had quickly the Satisfaction to hear that *James* knowing perfectly his own Intereſt, had no manner of Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*, but ſtood upon his Guard for fear of being invaded himſelf.

*She careſſes the King of* Scotland. Camden.

The

1488. *Expedition of the* Spaniſh *Fleet.* Camden.

The Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſailed out of the *Tagus* with the *Invincible Armada* on the 3d of *June*, and ſteered his Courſe towards the *North*. A few Days after, a Storm ariſing diſperſed the Ships ſo as they could not join again till they came to the *Groyne*. This Accident occaſioned the ſpreading a Report all over *Europe*, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was entirely deſtroyed. *Walſingham* himſelf, Secretary of State, thought his Intelligence ſo good, that he writ to the Lord-Admiral *Howard*, to ſend Home four of the largeſt Ships, there being nothing more to be feared this Year. But the Admiral anſwered, he could not think of parting with the four Ships, though he ſhould be obliged to keep them at his own Charge, till he had more certain Advice. The better to know the Truth, he took the Advantage of a *North*-Wind and ſailed with all his Fleet towards the Coaſts of *Spain*, with Deſign to compleat the Deſtruction of the Enemy's Fleet, which was repreſented to him as quite diſabled. But when he came near *Spain*, he heard the Fleet had not ſuffered ſo much Damage as they would have made him to believe. At the ſame Time the Wind turning about to the *South*, he ſailed back to his Station at the Mouth of the *Channel*, for fear with the ſame Wind the Enemy's Fleet might approach *England*.

But it was the 12th of *July* firſt before the *Spaniards* departed from the *Groyne*, and two Days after the Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſent a Yacht to notify the ſame to the Duke of *Parma*, that he might be in a readineſs to join him. On the 19th the *Spaniſh* Fleet entered the *Channel*, and the 20th appeared in ſight of the *Engliſh*, who let them paſs by in order to follow them before the Wind. *Camden* has inſerted in his *Annals* a Journal of what paſſed in the *Channel* till the *Spaniards* retired to the *North*. I don't think it very neceſſary to copy this ſame Journal, which beſides is ſomething obſcure, and gives but an imperfect Notion of the Bravery and Conduct of the *Engliſh*. It will ſuffice to ſay in a Word, that whilſt the *Spa-*

*niards* were in *the Channel*, the *Engliſh* kept cloſe to them, and even took ſome of their Ships. Of this Number were a Galeon commanded by *Don Pedro de Valdis*, who was ſent to *Dartmouth*, and a Ship of *Biſcay*, on board whereof was the King's Treaſure: but the *Spaniards* had taken out the Money, the Ship having been ſet on fire. 1588.

The 24th of *July*, the Wind being at *North*, the Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſtood towards the *Engliſh* Fleet. There was that Day a pretty ſharp Engagement, wherein the *Spaniards*, though much ſuperior in Number of Ships, got no Advantage at all. The Unwieldineſs of their Ships, and the Agility and Nimbleneſs of the *Engliſh*, made it eaſy for theſe laſt to ſtand *off* or *on* as they ſaw fit, and ſo to ballance the Odds their Enemies had of them. The Tryal the *Spaniards* made on this Occaſion of the Valour of the *Engliſh*, and their Skill in Sea-Engagements began doubtleſs to give them quite another Notion of their Enterprize than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſent Meſſengers every Day to preſs the Duke of *Parma* to put to Sea with his Army. But that was not practicable by reaſon of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships which were advantageouſly ſtationed to hinder his coming out. It was neceſſary for the *Spaniards* to approach the Coaſts of *Flanders*, in order to compel them to retire. But on the 27th in the Evening they were got no farther than off *Calais*, where they came to an Anchor, being followed by the *Engliſh* who lay within Cannon Shot. Here the *Engliſh* Fleet was joined by a good Number of Ships, not only of the Queen's but of divers private Perſons, who had fitted out ſeveral at their own Expence *. And now the Fleet conſiſted of One Hundred and Forty Ships of War,

* Amongſt others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brooke*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality. *Camden*.

1588. War, ſmall indeed in compariſon of the *Spaniſh* ones; but however, having the Advantage of moving more eaſily, and retiring into the Ports of *England* in caſe of Neceſſity. The Duke of *Parma*, who was to ſail out of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, was ſtill earneſtly ſollicited by the Duke of *Medina-Celi* to put to Sea, and make a Deſcent in *England* as it had been reſolved. But beſides that the Ships which waited his coming out were not yet withdrawn, notwithſtanding the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh Armada*, abundance of his Mariners had deſerted, and his Fleet was ill-provided with Victuals. In ſhort, he could not or would not embark.

Whilſt the *Spaniards* lay before *Calais*, the *Engliſh* Admiral ſent [in the Night] Eight Fire-Ships amongſt their Fleet. This Sight ſtruck them with ſuch a Terror, that inſtantly cutting their Cables, they put to Sea to avoid the impending Danger. In this Confuſion the Admiral-Galeaſs, commanded by *Hugo de Moncada*, having loſt her Rudder, floated up and down till the next Day, when ſhe was taken by the *Engliſh* after a ſharp Engagement, wherein *Moncada* was ſlain. Though the *Spaniſh* Admiral had ordered every Ship to return to her Station as ſoon as the Danger ſhould be over; and though he made a Signal for that purpoſe, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So the Fleet remain'd diſperſed, ſome of the Ships being driven to the *North*, and others upon the Shallows of *Flanders*, where they were in great danger. They had not only to guard againſt the Sands, but alſo againſt the *Engliſh*, who played upon them with their Cannon ſo, as that Day ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships were diſabled, and the Galeon called St. *Matthew*, fell into the Hands of the *Zelanders*. At laſt, a *North-Weſt* Wind having driven the Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Zeland*, where they were very like to be loſt, the *Engliſh* gave over the Chace, for fear of being expoſed to the ſame Danger. Luckily for the *Spaniards* the Wind turned to the *South-Weſt* very ſeaſonably, and freed them from their Diſtreſs.

But now, perceiving the Impoſſibility of executing their Project, they reſolved to return Home by ſailing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the rather as ſome of their Ships had already ſteered that Courſe. The *Engliſh* Admiral ſeeing them ſtand to the *Northward*, left part of his Fleet to have an Eye upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and gave them Chace, though at a little Diſtance, till they were gone paſt *Edinburgh-Frith*. The Courſe they ſteered gave ſome Suſpicion that they were ſure of a Retreat in the Ports of *Scotland*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador who was then at King *James*'s Court, made him large Offers, and even paſſed his Word for ſome Things which he had not Power to promiſe, and which were never made good *. 1588.

Mean while the *Spaniſh* Fleet continuing their Courſe, ſuſtained ſome farther Damage by contrary Winds, which cauſed ſeveral of their Ships to be caſt away on the Coaſts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Seven Hundred Soldiers and Mariners, who had eſcaped to Land in the King of *Scotland*'s Dominions, were ſent over to the Duke of *Parma* with *Elizabeth*'s Conſent. But thoſe who were Shipwrecked in *Ireland*, and caſt Aſhore, were all put to the Sword, or periſhed by the Hands of the Executioner, the Lord-Deputy, by whoſe Orders it was done, fearing they would ſide with the Rebels. At leaſt this was the Pretence made uſe of to excuſe this Barbarity *1.

*Philip*

* *Aſhby* the Queen's Ambaſſador in *Scotland* made King *James* the following Offers; namely, the Title of a Duke in *England*, a yearly Penſion of 3000 Pounds, a Guard to be maintained at the Queen's Charge, and ſome other Matters; whether (ſays *Camden*) of his own Head, or by command of others, I cannot tell. *Camden*.

*1 Of the *Spaniſh Armada* were taken and deſtroyed in *July* and *Auguſt* 15 Great Ships, and 4791 Men, in the Fight between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Navies in *the Channel*: And on the Coaſt of *Ireland* in *September*, 17 Ships and 5394 Men. In all 32 Ships and 10185 Men. See *Strype*'s Appendix, *Numb*. LIII. Upon the Diſappearance of this mighty Fleet the following Writing was faſtned up

1588. *Philip* II received the News of the ill Succeſs of his Fleet with an heroic Patience. He had ſpent Three Years in preparing this *Armada* at an incredible Expence, and when he heard of the Miſchance which had befallen it ſo contrary to his Expectation, he thanked God it was no worſe *.

*Philip bears his Misfortune patiently.*

*The Queen returns God Thanks.*

Upon the Retreat of this ſo formidable a Fleet, *England* was filled with an univerſal Joy. *Elizabeth* ordered publick Thankſgiving for this Deliverance to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and went herſelf to St. *Paul*'s in great Solemnity to perform the ſame Duty. After that, ſhe conferred on the Lord-Admiral a yearly Revenue, as a Reward for the Service he had done his Country, and beſtowed Penſions on thoſe that were wounded. For the reſt, their Rewards conſiſted more in Words than in Deeds.

*King James remains firm to the Intereſt of England.*

Sir *Robert Sidney*, who had been ſent into *Scotland* before the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, when the Queen was afraid King *James* would think of being revenged, returned home when the Danger was over. He reported that the King of *Scotland* had teſtified his ſincere Attachment to the Intereſt of *England* and the *Proteſtant* Religion, and had told him, *That he looked for no other Favour from the* Spaniard *than what* Polyphemus *promiſed* Ulyſſes, *namely, that he ſhould be devoured the laſt.*

*Death of the Earl of Leiceſter.*

On the 14th of *December* died the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a Man little deſerving his Greatneſs, if moſt of the Hiſtorians

up to *Paſquil* at *Rome*: *Pontificem mille annorum Indulgentias largiturum eſſe, de plenitudinis poteſtatis ſuæ, ſiquis certò ſibi indicaverit, quid ſit factum de claſſe Hiſpanicâ: Quò* abierit: *in cœlumne ſublatâ: an ad Tartara detruſa: vel in aera alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo mari fluctuat.* Strype.

* This is *Camden*'s Account. But according to *Anthony Coppley*, a fugitive Gentleman in thoſe Times, when the News was brought to *Philip* being at *Maſs*, "He ſwore (after *Maſs* was over) that "he would waſte and conſume his Crown even to the Value of "a Candleſtick (which he pointed to ſtanding upon the Altar) "but either he would utterly ruin her Majeſty and *England*, or "elſe himſelf and all *Spain* become tributary to her". *Strype.*

Hiſtorians are to be credited. His Death drew Tears from the Queen, who nevertheleſs ordered his Goods to be ſold at a publick Sale, for payment of the Sums ſhe had lent him*. 1588.

*Affairs of the Low-Countries.*

After the *Spaniſh* Fleet had left the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Parma* ſeeing the Enterprize fallen to the Ground, beſieged *Bergenopſoom*, where was an *Engliſh* Governour with a Garriſon almoſt all of the ſame Nation. This Siege acquired the Governour great Reputation, who by a gallant Defence conſtrained the Duke at length to raiſe the Siege*.

*Affairs of France.*

This ſame Year ſo memorable for *England* was no leſs ſo for *France*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, grown more powerful than the King, came to *Paris* in the Month of *May*, and by the Favour of the People, whoſe Idol he was, put the King under a Neceſſity of departing thence, having firſt ſeen the furious Populace chaining the Streets, and preparing to attack his Perſon in *the Louvre*. This is what was called *The Barricadoes of Paris*. This inſolent Action was followed by an Agreement which the King was forced to make with the Heads of *the League*, whereby he put ſeveral Places into their Hands. But in the Month of *December* following, *Henry* perceiving he was undone if he did not make away with the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brother the Cardinal, cauſed them both to be aſſaſſinated at *Blois*, where the States of the Kingdom were aſſembled. Thus he freed himſelf from a preſent Danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this Deed made *the League* and the City of *Paris* openly declare againſt him.

* *Robert Dudley* fifth Son of *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, died the 4th of *September* at *Cornbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, in his way to *Kenelworth*, from whence he was carried to *Warwick* and there interred. *Dugdale.*

*: The Lord *Willoughby* General of the *Engliſh*, (who had made Sir *William Drury* Governour, though the Queen by her Letters had given the Place to *Morgan*) to reward military Valour, knighted Sir *Francis Vere*, who now began to grow famous. Sir *Thomas Knolles*, Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and Sir *John Pooly*, for their courageous Behaviour. *Camden.*

1588. *Affairs of* Scotland. Melvil.

As for *Scotland*, all was very quiet there during the whole Year 1588. As long as the King had about him ſuch Miniſters and Counſellors only as were attached to the Intereſt of *England*, he generally led an eaſy and peaceable Life. So the only thing that troubled him this Year was his Marriage, which he could not bring about, though himſelf was very deſirous to ſucceed. *Melvil* inſinuates, that Chancellor *Maitland*, who then managed that Prince's Affairs, was bribed by *Elizabeth*: That ſhe gave Penſions to moſt of the Counſellors of *Scotland*, and that her Aim was to hinder the King from marrying. He had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen* to treat about his Marriage with the eldeſt Daughter of *Frederick* II; but by the Artifice of his Miniſters, the Ambaſſadors *Power* was ſo limited, that it was impoſſible for them to finiſh Matters. On the other Hand, whilſt this Match was negotiating, one *Du Bard (a)* * a *French* Poet, Servant of the King of *Navarre*, came to *Edinburgh* under colour of paying his Reſpects to the King, who had expreſſed ſome Eſteem for his Works, and propoſed, as of his own Head, the King's Marriage with *Catharine* his Maſter's Siſter. He ſaid ſo many fine Things of this Lady, that the King, by the Advice of his Council, ſent the Lord *Tungland*, *Melvil*'s Brother, into *France* to ſee her, on pretenſe of negotiating ſome Affair with the King her Brother. The King of *Denmark* hearing of it, and ſeeing moreover the ſlender *Power* the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors had, believed he was mocked, and gave his Daughter to the Duke of *Brunſwick*. *Melvil* aſcribes, not without great likelihood, this whole Affair to *Elizabeth*, and affirms, it was ſhe that informed the King of *Denmark* of the Lord *Tungland*'s being ſent to the Court of *Navarre*.

Shortly

(*a*) As this Name is thus writ in *Melvil*'s *Memoirs*, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to ſuſpect it ſhould be *Du Bartas*, a famous Poet who was indeed ſent to *Scotland* by the King of *Navarre*, though one cannot be ſure it was this very Year. *Thuanus*, Tom. V. p. 100.

* The Name in *Melvil* is *Du Bartus*.

Shortly after, in the Beginning of the Year 1589, was diſcovered in *Scotland* a Conſpiracy againſt the King, hatched by the Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Bothwel*, natural Son of *James* V *. Their Deſign was to become Maſters of the King's Perſon, and compel him to reſtore the *Catholick* Religion in *Scotland*. It is ſaid, they were ſtirred up by Emiſſaries from *Spain*. The King prevented the Execution of the Plot by his Diligence. He purſued the Earl of *Huntley* who had taken up Arms, till at laſt he conſtrained him to yield at Diſcretion. As for the Earl of *Bothwel* he withdrew to his own Houſe, where he meditated new Projects which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. I return to the Affairs of *England*.

1589. *Plot in* Scotland *diſcovered.* Camden.

*Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, eldeſt Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been Three Years a Priſoner in *the Tower*, was at laſt brought to his Tryal before his *Peers*, being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the Queen and State. *Camden* makes appear he was convicted at moſt but of being diſaffected to the Government, and too much attached to the *Catholick* Religion. He was however condemned to die: but the Queen gave him his Life *1.

*Tryal of the Earl of* Arundel. *The Queen ſpares his Life.*

*Elizabeth* enjoyed now a Tranquillity, the like whereof ſhe had never ſeen ſince the Beginning of her Reign. The Queen of *Scotland* was no longer in the World; and the King her Son, in Expectation of one Day ſucceeding *Elizabeth*, ſtifled his Reſentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical Death of his Mother. The King of *Spain* was hardly able to make a freſh Attempt upon *England*, ſince the unfortunate Succeſs of his *Invincible Armada*. The Affairs of the *United-Provinces* began to be reſtored, by the Valour and prudent Conduct of Count *Maurice*; and thoſe of *France* were in ſuch a Situation,

*Peaceable State of* Elizabeth.

* *Bothwel* was Son of *John* Prior of *Coldingham*, Baſe Son of *James* V. *Camden.*

* *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made Lord *High-Steward* of *England* for this purpoſe. *Camden.*

1589. that *England* had nothing to fear from that Quarter. The Duke of *Guiſe*, *Elizabeth*'s great Enemy, was dead; his Son in Priſon, and the Duke of *Mayenne* wholly bent upon revenging the Death of his Brothers. As for *Sixtus* V, though very capable of forming vaſt Projects, he could not execute them without the Aid of ſome *Catholick* Potentate, and the King of *Spain*, who was the only one he could depend upon, was wholly engroſſed with the Thoughts of taking Advantage of the Troubles of *France*. As for the *Engliſh Catholicks*, there was no likelihood of their ſtirring, at a Time when they could not expect any foreign Aſſiſtance.

*She ſends a Fleet againſt* Spain.

In this proſperous State, *Elizabeth* having nothing to fear either at Home or Abroad, had a mind to let the *Spaniard* ſee the *Engliſh* knew how to attack as well as defend. But as ſhe was exceeding frugal, and as an Undertaking againſt *Spain* could not but be very expenſive, ſhe ordered Matters ſo, that *Drake* and *Norris* took upon them to be at the Charge, in hopes of making themſelves amends by the Booty they ſhould meet with. So ſhe only found them a few Ships of War, and granted them Leave to raiſe Soldiers and Sailors for the Expedition. *Drake* had already tried the *Spaniards* in *America* and in *the Channel*, and was convinced they were more formidable at a Diſtance than near at Hand. Wherefore joining with *Norris* and ſome other private Perſons, they fitted out a Fleet and embarked Eleven Thouſand Soldiers and Mariners *. The *Hollanders* having alſo added ſome Ships, the Fleet conſiſted of Fourſcore Sail of all ſorts. *Drake* commanded at Sea, and *Norris* was General of the Land-Forces. They took along with them *Don Antonio*, who ſtiled himſelf *King of Portugal*, and hoped, by the Help of the *Engliſh*, to be put in Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, where he pretended to have many Friends.

They

* 11000 Soldiers and 1500 Mariners. *Camden.*

1589. *The Expedition.* Camden.

They ſail'd from *Plymouth* the 5th of *April*, and ſoon after arrived at the *Groyne*, and landing their Troops, they aſſaulted the Lower-Town and carried it by Storm. Then they beſieged the Upper-Town. But *Norris* having Advice that the *Condè di Andrada* was approaching with a Body of Troops to relieve the Place, ſuddenly rais'd the Siege to go and meet him, and the *Spaniſh Condé* thinking proper to retire, he purſued him, and overtaking him ſlew Three Thouſand of his Men. This done, he burnt ſeveral Villages, and without beginning the Siege again, re-embarked his Troops. The main Deſign of the *Engliſh* was to exert themſelves chiefly againſt *Portugal.*

Whilſt they were ſailing towards the Coaſts of that Kingdom, they fell in with the Earl of *Eſſex*, who joined the Fleet with ſome Ships he had fitted out at his own Charge, and unknown to the Queen. The ſecond Day after they arrived at *Penicha*, a little Town of *Portugal*, and taking it, they reſtored it to *Don Antonio.* From hence *Norris* marched by Land to *Lisbon*, *Drake* promiſing to follow with the Fleet up the *Tagus.* The Army marched ſixty Miles without any Oppoſition, and encamping before *Lisbon* took the Suburbs of St. *Catharine.* But as *Drake* performed not what he promiſed, and as the Army wanted Cannon and Ammunition, it was reſolved in a Council of War to retire. This Reſolution was taken, becauſe there was no appearance that the *Portugueze* were inclined to revolt againſt *Philip*, as *Don Antonio* had vainly expected, and alſo becauſe there was no News of the Succours which he had boaſted of from the King of *Morocco.* The Army marching towards the Mouth of the *Tagus* met *Drake*, who had taken the Town of *Caſcais*, and who excuſed himſelf from the Impoſſibility of performing his Promiſe. Some Days after the Caſtle of *Caſcais* ſurrendring, it was blown up with Gun-powder; and to make themſelves amends for the Charges of the Expedition, the *Engliſh* ſeized ſixty Veſſels laden with Corn

*The* Engliſh *ſeize* 60 *Ships belonging to the* Hans-Towns.

1589. Corn belonging to the *Hans-Towns*. Then they went and took *Vigo*, which was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and firing the Town returned to *England*. This Expedition did some Damage to the King of *Spain*; but it was of no Benefit to *Elizabeth*, and the Booty was not sufficient to pay for the fitting out the Fleet. Besides this, above Six Thousand Men perished by Sickness. The only Advantage the *English* reaped by it was, that they were convinced more and more of the Weakness of the *Spaniards* in their own Country.

*They complain to the Queen. The Court's Answer.*

The *Hans-Towns* made a great Noise on account of the seizing their Ships in the *Tagus*; and sent Ambassadors to the Queen to make their Complaint. They were told in the first Place, That in the Patent granted them by *Edward* I, it was expressly provided, they should not carry any Merchandize into the Dominions of the professed and open Enemies of *England*. Secondly, That a Neutrality must so be made use of, that in helping one of the Parties the other should not be damaged; and that it was a Thing well known, that both Provisions and Ammunition carried to one of the warring Powers were contraband Goods, liable to Seizure. In the third Place, They could not justly complain of the taking their Vessels, since the Queen had warned them not to import any Provisions to *Spain* and *Portugal*, unless they would run the Risk of their being seized by the *English*.

*Affairs of France. Mezerai.*

This Affair was of little Moment: but what passed in *France* this very Year was much more considerable. The Step *Henry* III had taken in dispatching out of the World the Duke of *Guise*, served only to throw him into greater Streights. His Swearing again to *the League* in the Presence of the States before he dismissed them signified nothing. The *Leaguers*, as they could not any longer trust to his Promises and Oaths, almost entirely alienated the whole Kingdom from him. Hence he saw himself under a Necessity to call in the King of *Navarre* and the *Huguenots* to his Assistance, and join with them against *the League*.

It is a Thing very remarkable, that this Prince, who had ſworn to extirpate the *Huguenots*, and ſolemnly declared he would not keep his word with them in caſe he ſhould ever be obliged to make them any Promiſe, ſcarce found any other but his *Hugenot*-Subjects in whom he could confide. The Forces brought him by the King of *Navarre*, and Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, Two Thouſand *Landſquenets*, with ſome *Horſe* which came in Seaſon, enabled him to beſiege or block up *Paris* with an Army Thirty-eight Thouſand ſtrong. But juſt as he ſaw himſelf upon the Point of compelling the *Pariſians* to return to their Duty, *James Clement* a Jacobin Fryar ſtabbed him in the Belly with a Dagger, of which Wound he died two Days after. Before he expired, he nominated for his Succeſſor the King of *Navarre*, Head of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, who took the Name of *Henry* IV. 1589. Henry III *is aſſaſſinated.* Henry IV *ſucceeds.*

The *League* refuſed to acknowledge the new King. Nay, he ſaw himſelf deſerted by ſeveral great Men who had ſided with the deceaſed King; and in order to retain part of the *Catholick* Nobility, he was obliged to promiſe them, that he would within ſuch a Time be inſtructed in the Principles of the *Romiſh* Religion; that is, he would turn *Catholick:* for that was the Meaning put upon theſe Words. Mean while, he had neither Men nor Money; the *Swiſs* and *Germans* who had ſerved *Henry* III threatning to leave him, unleſs he would pay them their Arrears, which he was not able to do. In this Extremity he had recourſe to *Elizabeth*, who generouſly promiſed him both Men and Money. Till the Arrival of theſe Succours he ſtood his Ground againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had drove him into *Normandy*, and even attacked him at *Argues*, but without Succeſs. *Henry* thought himſelf in ſuch Danger, that he would have taken the Advice which ſome gave him, to fly into *England*, if the Marſhal *de Biron* had not perſuaded him againſt it. At laſt, the *Engliſh* Supplies arrived, conſiſting of Four Thouſand Men, under

1589. the Command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, and Twenty-two Thouſand Pound *Sterling* in Gold. By the Help of this Reinforcement he was in Condition to approach *Paris*, and take one of the Suburbs of that City. But the Duke of *Mayenne* having thrown in his Army he was forced to retire. Mean while, the Duke of *Mayenne* had cauſed the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed King, and himſelf had aſſumed the Title of *Lieutenant-General of the Crown of* France. *Henry* leaving the Country about *Paris*, returned into *Normandy*, where he reduced ſome Places to his Obedience, which done he ſent home the *Engliſh* Forces.

*The King of* Scotland's *Marriage*, Melvil.

Though the King of *Denmark* had given his eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, the King of *Scotland* perſiſted in his Deſign to match into his Family, and demanded his ſecond Daughter. *Frederick* granted his Requeſt, but upon Condition that he ſhould cauſe her to be demanded by a ſolemn Embaſſy before the firſt Day of *May*. But he died in the Interim, leaving his Succeſſor under Age. This did not hinder *James* from thinking ſeriouſly of his Marriage with the Princeſs *Ann* the new King's Siſter. But when he mov'd in Council the ſending an Embaſſy to *Copenhagen*, he was told, he would run the Risk of breaking with the Queen of *England*, if he married without conſulting her. The Authors of this Advice knew very well *Elizabeth* would raiſe Obſtacles to the Marriage. And indeed, in her Anſwer to the King, ſhe tried to make him ſenſible of ſundry Inconveniencies in eſpouſing the Princeſs of *Denmark*; and to divert him from it, ſhe propoſed to him *Catharine*, Siſter to the King of *Navarre*, who was not yet come to the Crown of *France*, promiſing to ſerve him in the Affair to the utmoſt of her Power. *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer being laid before the Council, there was not one Privy-Counſellor but what declared againſt the *Daniſh* Match. *James* was ſo vexed to be thus contradicted, that by the Help of a truſty Servant he managed it ſo, that the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*

*burgh* riſe up in Arms and threatned to tear the Chancellor and Privy-Counſellors in pieces, if the King's Marriage with the Princeſs of *Denmark* was not concluded. Theſe Threats terrifying the Council, Ambaſſadors were appointed out of Hand to treat about the Marriage. But withal care was taken to inſert in their Inſtructions a Clauſe, which put them to a ſtand in the very Beginning of their Negotiation, and obliged them to ſend home the Lord *Dingual* to demand fuller *Powers*, or Leave to return. This Lord arriving at Court when the Chancellor was abſent, the King himſelf drew up the *Power* his Ambaſſadors required, by means of which the Marriage was ſoon concluded. Preſently after the new Queen was delivered to the Ambaſſadors to be conducted into *Scotland:* but a Storm ariſing whilſt ſhe was at Sea, drove her upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, where ſhe was forced to land. The Wind continued ſo long contrary, that *James*, very impatient to ſee his Bride, could not ſtay till it became fair. So, going on Board a ſmall Veſſel, he went to the Queen, and paſſed the whole Winter in *Norway* and *Denmark*, from whence he returned not to *Scotland* till *May* next Year, bringing his Queen along with him. 1589.

The Tranquillity *Elizabeth* enjoyed was liable to be diſturbed only from *Spain*. *France* was not in Condition to give her any Uneaſineſs; and the King of *Scotland* thought only of living in Peace, waiting for the noble Inheritance which was to come to him. *Philip* II then was the ſole Enemy *Elizabeth* had to fear. But to ſecure herſelf from all Surprize, ſhe took ſuch Precautions as were juſt and neceſſary, though they put her to a great Expence. She had always a good Fleet ready to put to Sea at the firſt Notice. The fortified Towns and Sea-Ports were likewiſe in good Condition, and theſe Things coſt her as much as if ſhe had been in actual War with *Spain*. But ſhe made up all by her frugal Management, laying out no Money but what was abſolutely neceſſary. 1590. Elizabeth *keeps in a Poſture of Defence againſt* Spain. Camden.

1590. neceſſary. This Frugality diſpleaſed abundance of the hungry Courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had been a little more liberal. But though ſhe knew ſhe was taxed with Avarice, ſhe thought not proper to alter her Conduct. Hereby ſhe avoided being troubleſom to the Parliament, and when ſhe wanted an extraordinary Aid, ſhe was ſure to meet with a ready Compliance in *the Houſe of Commons*, without any Murmurings among the People. This Advantage outweighed the Satisfaction of being called Liberal by her Courtiers. Beſides, ſhe was perſuaded that what was termed Avarice in her, was only good Œconomy. The Truth is, with the uſual Revenues of the Crown, ſhe found means to ſupply the Expences of her Houſhold, to keep up a Fleet, to pay the publick Debts, and aſſiſt her Neighbours in their Diſtreſs, which none of her Predeceſſors had ever done. On the contrary, moſt of them, by their ill-managed Bounties, had ruined their Subjects for the Pleaſure of enriching a ſmall Number of their Courtiers. Beſides, *Elizabeth* had a particular Reaſon to ſpare the Purſes of her Subjects, to the End ſhe might gain their Good-will, which was the ſtrongeſt Support of her Throne. Wherefore, one of the chief Objects of her Care was to ſet her Treaſury to rights: in order to be always able to withſtand the Attacks of her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. Her Inſpection in the Year 1590 into the *Cuſtoms*, in ſpite of the Endeavours that were uſed to divert her from it, occaſioned her raiſing them from Twelve Thouſand * Pounds a Year (at which Sum they were farmed by Sir *Thomas Smith*) to Forty-two Thouſand, and at laſt to Fifty Thouſand. But her great Frugality hindered her not from parting with her Money when it was neceſſary. Though, in the two foregoing Years ſhe had lent about Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns to the King of *France*, ſhe ſupplied him with Sixty Thouſand more, becauſe ſhe plainly ſaw of what Conſequence

* 14000. *Camden.*

quence the Ruin of that Prince might be to *England*. Moreover, the Garriſons of *the Brill* and *Fluſhing*, beſides the Three Thouſand Men which ſhe maintained in *the Low Countries*, coſt her every Year above Four Hundred Thouſand *Florins* *, becauſe ſhe was forced to advance the Money till the *States* ſhould be able to repay her. In a word, ſhe paid alſo conſiderable Penſions to ſeveral Perſons of the Court of *Scotland*, whoſe Buſineſs was to acquaint her with all that paſſed there, and to keep the King well-affected to *England*, as he had been for ſome time. 1590.

Whilſt *Elizabeth* enjoy'd ſome Tranquillity, *France* was in the mean time troubled with the Wars between the King and the League. In the Month of *March* the King gained the Battle of *Yvry* againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, after which he went and blocked up *Paris*, and even took the Suburbs. That great City was now reduced to Extremity, when the Duke of *Parma* arrived from the *Netherlands*, and conſtrained the King to raiſe the Blockade. That done, he returned without the King's being able to oblige him to fight. *Affairs of* France,

On the other Hand, in the Duke of *Parma*'s Abſence, Count *Maurice*, who had already taken *Breda* by Surprize, made ſome farther Progreſs, which helped to put the Affairs of the *United-Provinces* in a better Situation than they were before. *and of the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

This ſame Year the Duke of *Mercœur* of the Houſe of *Lorrain* became Maſter of the Province of *Bretagne* by the Help of the *Spaniards*, who took there *Hennebond* and *Blavet*. This Affair diſturbed *Elizabeth* very much, who did not care to have the *Spaniards* ſo near her, eſpecially as *Philip* II might lay Claim to *Bretagne* for his Daughter the Infanta *Iſabella*, whoſe Mother was Daughter to *Henry* II. *The Duke of* Mercœur *over-runs* Bretagne.

Sir

* She paid 125000 *Florins* every two Months. *i. e.* 750,000 yearly *Camden*.

1590. *Death of Walsingham.* Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary of State, who had long served the Queen with great Zeal and Ability, died this Year so poor, that he was buried privately * to save Charges. *Thomas Randolph*, whom I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in several Embassies, particularly in *Scotland*, departed this Life also soon after *Walsingham*.

1591. *Henry IV is in great Perplexity.* *Mezerai.* The Civil Wars of *France* were then the main Affair of *Europe*. It could no longer be doubted but *Philip* II was driving either at dismembring that Kingdom, or procuring it for his Daughter *Isabella*, Grand-daughter to *Henry* II, in spite of the *Salick Law*. *Sixtus* V favoured the Project to the utmost of his Power, under colour of hindering a *Heretick* from being acknowledged for King of *France*. If this Design was not executed, it must be wholly ascribed to the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Jealousy, who did not intend to work for others. Mean while *Henry* IV was in a very great Perplexity. The Forces of the *Huguenots* alone were not sufficient to enable him to overcome all the Obstacles he should meet with, since the Business in Hand was no less than the subduing all *France*, and the *Catholick* Nobles that were in his Army served him with no Good-will: Nay, they had set as the Terms of their Service his getting himself to be instructed, and in such a Manner that it should produce in him a Change of Religion. In this pressing Necessity he could not do without foreign Succours, and these Succours could be had only from *Germany* or *England*. It was visibly the Interest of *Elizabeth* and the *Protestant* Princes to support that Prince, that they might not see the King of *Spain*'s Power farther increased by the Acquisition of *France*. Nevertheless, it was no easy thing to persuade them, that they ought to employ all their Forces to maintain a War, of which *Henry* was to reap all the Benefit. They were very ready to supply him with Troops, but not to pay them. It was his Business to find

* By Night in St. *Paul*'s Church. *Camden.*

find means to be at that Charge. *Elizabeth* plainly perceived of what Conſequence it would be to her to preſerve *France:* but ſhe expected that the Succours ſhe ſhould give the King ſhould be employed in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Maritime Provinces of *Bretagne*, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, for that was what moſt nearly concerned her. It was the King's Intereſt, on the contrary, to expel his Enemies from the Center of the Kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the Borders, and the rather becauſe he ſhould thereby put *Elizabeth* under a continual Neceſſity of aſſiſting him. But however, in order to have Aid from *England*, he muſt promiſe to do what *Elizabeth* required. They agreed therefore upon a Treaty, whereby *Elizabeth* engaged to ſend Three Thouſand Men into *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, to hinder the *Spaniards* from getting footing in thoſe two Provinces, on Condition ſhe ſhould be re-paid within a Year * all the Charge ſhe ſhould be at in raiſing and keeping the Troops. *Henry* agreed to every Thing, that the Negotiation might not be delayed, though he was fully convinced it would not be in his Power to perform his Promiſe by the Time appointed. Preſently after, the Three Thouſand *Engliſh* went over, part into *Bretagne* under the Conduct of *Norris*, and part into *Picardy* under the Command of Sir *Roger Williams*.

1591.

*Elizabeth engages to aid him.* Camden.

*Three Thouſand* Engliſhmen *are ſent into* France.

At the ſame time *Henry* had negotiated in *Germany* a Levy of Eleven Thouſand Men, by means of the Elector of *Brandenburg* and *Caſimire* Prince Palatine. But this Supply not being ſufficient, he ſent and demanded a ſecond from *Elizabeth*; and to obtain it the more eaſily, he gave her to underſtand that with this Re-inforcement he ſhould be in Condition to undertake the Siege of *Roan*. *Elizabeth*'s great Deſire to ſee the Maritime Towns of *France* out of the Hands of the *Leaguers*, made her fall into the Snare. She made therefore with *Henry* a new Treaty, whereby ſhe engaged to ſupply him with Four Thouſand Men

*Elizabeth ſends a farther Aid of* 4000 *Men under the Earl of* Eſſex.

* Provided the Enemy were diſpoſſeſſed by that Time. *Camden.*

1591. Men more, and to pay them for two Months, imagining that would be long enough for the Siege of *Roan*. When these Supplies were ready, she gave the Command to the Earl of *Essex*, a young Nobleman who had much of her Favour, and for whom 'twas believed she felt something more than a bare Esteem, though she was then Fifty-eight Years of Age. The Earl of *Essex*, greedy of Glory, departed from *England* full of hopes to signalize himself at the Siege of *Roan*: But at his Arrival in *France*, he found that the Siege had not been so much as thought of: That the King was employed in besieging *Noyon*, and intended to send the *English* Troops into *Champagne*.

*The Earl returns into* England

Whereupon he returned into *England*, having first given the King his Word and Honour to come back and join him as soon as the Siege of *Roan* should be taken in Hand. He left his Troops however in *France*, under the Command of *Williams*.

*The Queen complains of* Henry's *Proceedings.*

*Elizabeth* was touched to the Quick at being thus made a Cully of. She writ to *Henry*, that since he had broke his Word, he might for the future look to himself without her, and that she designed to call Home all her Troops, unless he performed out of Hand what he had promised. *Elizabeth*'s Letter put *Henry* to a great stand. He had certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to return into *France*, and in such a Juncture, the recalling of the *English* Forces could never have happened more unseasonably. He was forced therefore in order to satisfy *Elizabeth*, to cause *Roan* to be invested by the Marshal of *Biron*. But he took a fresh Occasion from thence to demand of *Elizabeth* a farther Aid of five Thousand Men, on Pretence that the Troops she had already sent were extremely diminished by Sickness and Desertion. At the same Time the Earl of *Essex*, knowing *Roan* was invested, set out in order to be at the Siege, contrary to the Queen's express Orders, taking it for granted that since he had given the King his Word, nothing could free him from his Engagements. This put *Elizabeth* out of Humour so with

*He causes* Roan *to be invested.*

*The Earl of* Essex *goes to the Siege against the Queen's Order.*

the King and the Earl, that ſhe returned a very rough Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſador, who preſſed her about the five Thouſand Men the King his Maſter demanded, and gave him no Hopes of obtaining them. At the ſame Time ſhe diſpatched *Leyton*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Uncle, with an expreſs Order to return forthwith, if he had not a Mind to be entirely out of Favour. Mean while *Henry* hearing the Duke of *Parma* was gone from *Bruſſels* about the End of the Month of *November*, repaired to his Army before *Roan* to carry on the Siege, hoping to take the City before the Duke of *Parma*'s Arrival. Shortly after he ſent *Du Pleſſis Mornay* to *Elizabeth*, to ſee to obtain the Supply he required. 1591.

Henry comes to the Siege and demands a farther Aid. He ſends Du Pleſſis, who can obtain nothing.

*Du Pleſſis*, in Company with the Ambaſſador in Ordinary, being admitted to Audience, and having told the Queen his Buſineſs, ſhe roundly anſwered him, that ſhe would not be the *French* King's Cully: Neither would ſhe for the future concern herſelf any more in his Affairs, nor was he to expect any other Aſſiſtance from her than her Prayers: That he had demanded a ſpeedy Aid for the Siege of *Roan*, which ſhe had made haſte to ſend him; but inſtead of executing the Treaty they had made together, he had loſt his Time before *Noyon*, and ſuffered the *Engliſh* Troops to dwindle away whilſt he was warring in *Champagne*: That he had let the Duke of *Parma* have four Months to make Preparations, and then ſent to her to demand a ſpeedy Supply, which there would have been no need of, had Things been done in Time. To this ſhe added great Threats againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſaying, he would have it thought that he ruled *England*, but that nothing was more falſe, and ſhe would make him the moſt pitiful Fellow in the Kingdom: That inſtead of ſending freſh Troops into *France*, ſhe was determined to call Home thoſe that were there already. Then pretending to be out of order, ſhe deſired the Ambaſſadors to be contented with this ſhort Audience, hardly giving *Du Pleſſis* Time to Anſwer a Word to the Complaint ſhe had made.

DuPleſſis's *Memoirs.*

1591. made. But he had taken Care beforehand and prepared a Memorial which he would have presented to her, but she bid him give it to the Lord-Treasurer. In short, *Du Plessis* returned Home without obtaining any Thing, and the Earl of *Essex* was forced to go back to *England*, where he found means to appease the Queen. Mean while the Duke of *Parma* having entered *France*, and being joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the young Duke of *Guise*, who had escaped out of Prison, raised the Siege of *Roan*. *Henry* easily perceived by *Elizabeth*'s Behaviour, she would not suffer herself to be amused by his Artifices, and for fear of losing so necessary an Assistance, he laboured so effectually to be reconciled with her, that at last she sent him two Thousand fresh Men: But it was not till after the raising of the Siege.

*Essex returns to England, and the Duke of Parma raises the Siege of Roan.* Mezerai.

*Thomas Howard's fruitless Expedition* Camden.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the late Duke of *Norfolk*'s second Son, was gone with six Men of War to the *Azores*, to wait for the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet Home-ward bound from *America*. Having stayed six Months in the Isle of *Flores*, he was himself very nearly surprized by *Alphonso Bassano*, who was sent to Convoy Home the Fleet with fifty three Ships of War. He had the good luck to escape the Danger, but one of his Ships that was not speedy enough, was taken by the *Spaniards* after a sharp Engagement *. The *English* made themselves ample amends for this Loss by divers Prizes, and particularly by taking a Ship richly laden bound for the *West-Indies*; on board which 'tis said, they found Two and Twenty Thousand *Indulgences* for the *Spaniards* of *America*.

*Two Proclamations*

This same Year the Queen issued out two *Proclamations*; the first prohibited the carrying any warlike Stores

* Sir *Richard Greenvil* in the Vice-Admiral called the *Revenge*, out of a rash piece of Bravery, would not let his Men sail, and being pent up between the Island and the *Spanish* Fleet, resolutely attempted to break through. But was taken after a hot Fight of 15 Hours. He himself was slain. *Camden*.

Stores or Proviſions into the King of *Spain*'s Dominions. The ſecond, which was publiſhed in *October*, expreſsly forbid the harbouring any Perſon who ſhould come from the *Engliſh* Seminaries at *Rome* or *Rheims*, or from a Third which the King of *Spain* had lately founded at *Valladolid*. 1591.

The War which was carrying on in *France* made *Elizabeth* continually uneaſy, becauſe the *Spaniards* had got footing in *Bretagne*, from whence they might with eaſe make ſome Attempt upon *England*. *Henry* knowing full well her extreme Deſire to diſlodge them from that Poſt, demanded a farther Aid to carry the War into that Province. Though *Elizabeth* had already experienced that ſhe could not much rely upon his Word, becauſe it was not always in his Power to make War where he pleaſed, ſhe concluded with him however a new Treaty to this Effect: That ſhe ſhould furniſh him with four Thouſand Men, ſome Pieces of Ordnance, and a certain quantity of Ammunition: That he ſhould add to the *Engliſh* Troops four Thouſand *Foot*, and a Thouſand *Horſe*, and this Army ſhould be employed to recover *Bretagne*: That he ſhould within a Year repay all her Charges: That he ſhould not make Peace with the *Leaguers* till they ſhould engage to aſſiſt him in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom: That *England* ſhould be expreſsly included in the Peace he ſhould make with *Spain*. *Elizabeth* fairly performed her Engagement, and ſent four Thouſand Men into *Bretagne*, under the Command of *Norris* *. But *Henry*, inſtead of joining his Troops with the *Engliſh*, and warring in *Bretagne*, ordered them to ſerve in *Normandy*, whether he was hardeſt put to it in thoſe Parts, or had made the Treaty only to amuſe the Queen. However that was, *Elizabeth* reſented it very highly to be again deceived; ſhe often writ to the King, complaining of his Proceedings; but it was to no Purpoſe. In her Anger, ſhe

1592. *New Treaty with* Henry IV. Camden.

Henry *deceives* Elizabeth, *who reſents it highly.*

* Who had been called Home to inform the Queen of the State of Affairs in *Bretagne*, Camden.

1591. was just going to call Home all her Troops: But having Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to make a third Expedition into *France*, she sacrificed her Resentment to the good of that Kingdom, which was in some Measure her own. Indeed the Duke of *Parma* was upon the Point of entering *France*; but Death, which seized him at the same Time, freed *Henry* as well as *Elizabeth* from the Uneasiness he gave them.

*Affairs of* Scotland. Camden. Melvil.

*Scotland* was then disturbed by the Earl of *Bothwel*, who made this Year a fresh Attempt to become Master of the King's Person: But as his Design was discovered before he could put it in Execution, he was forced to fly into *England*. *Elizabeth* being informed of it, writ to the King, that she would cause those who had harboured the fugitive Earl to be severely punished. And yet when *James* sent and required her to deliver him up pursuant to their Treaty, she evaded his Demand, being well pleased to keep that Prince always in a sort of Uneasiness which should oblige him to have a regard for her.

*Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Expedition* Camden.

The Riches which the *Spanish* Fleets brought from the *East* and *West-Indies*, were continual Baits for the *English*, who attempted almost every Year to take them. Sir *Walter Raleigh* putting to Sea this Year with that Design, with fifteen Sail, met near the *Azores* a *Carack* with five Decks, one Hundred and Sixty-five Foot long, most richly laden, which he took without much Difficulty. This Prize made him some amends for the Charges he had been at in fitting out his Fleet. But the contrary Winds hindered him from executing a more important Enterprize which he had projected against *America*.

*The Thames dryed up.*

There was a sort of Prodigy this Summer at *London*; the *Thames* was so dried up, and the Channel so shallow, that a Man might ride over it near *London*-Bridge *.

The

* On the 5th of *September*.

The Parliament meeting in the Month of *February* 1593, paſſed an *Act* which threw into a great Perplexity, not only the *Catholicks*, but even ſuch of the *Proteſtants* who differed in certain Points from the Church of *England*, and were called *Puritans*. By this *Act*, thoſe who neglected to be preſent at *Divine Service*, as eſtabliſhed by *Law*, were liable to certain Penalties *, and ſo not only could a Man be any longer a *Roman-Catholick* with Impunity, but even a *Proteſtant*, unleſs he conformed to the *Church of England*. Thus in ſome Meaſure were renewed the Days of *Henry* VIII, when it was unlawful to depart never ſo little from the Religion of the Sovereign, with this Difference only, that under *Elizabeth* the Penalty was not Death, as in the Reign of her Father. Nevertheleſs there was in this laſt *Act* ſomething more hard than in thoſe made in the Time of *Henry* VIII. That Prince, abſolute as he was, contented himſelf with puniſhing ſuch as by ſome Overt-Act oppoſed the eſtabliſhed Religion: But by this new *Statute*, the Subjects were obliged to make open Profeſſion of the Religion of the Church of *England*. *Elizabeth* exaſperated againſt the *Catholicks*, who had made frequent Attempts upon her Crown and even her Life, would have been very glad ſhe could have cleared the Kingdom of them. On the other Hand, ſhe could not endure the *Puritans*, looking upon them as obſtinate People,

1592. Statute *againſt the* Non-conformiſts.

* The *Act* ran, That if any Perſon above the Age of ſixteen Years, ſhall refuſe to repair to ſome Church, or forbear to do the ſame for the ſpace of a Month,——ſhall be committed to Priſon, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize till they ſhall conform——and make ſuch open Submiſſion and Declaration of their Conformity, as by this *Act* is appointed. The Offenders againſt this *Statute* who refuſed to make the *Submiſſion*, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majeſty's Licenſe, under the Penalty of ſuffering as *Felons*, without Benefit of the Clergy. There was an *Act* made alſo againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, by which they were confined within 5 Miles of their reſpective Dwellings, on forfeiture of all their Goods and Chattels, together with Lands, during Life. By another *Act* all the *Abby-Lands* are confirmed to the Crown and Grantees.

1593. who for very trifling Reasons bred a *Schism* in the *Protestant*-Church. Whilst she had any Thing to fear from the Queen of *Scots*, *France*, and *Spain*, in a Word, as long as her Affairs remained in a sort of Uncertainty, she let the *Puritans* alone, for fear of uniting them in the same Interest with the *Catholicks*. But no sooner was she out of all Danger, but she lent an Ear to the Suggestions of the *Clergy*, who represented the *Puritans* to her as seditious Persons who rebelled against the Laws, and by their Disobedience shook the Foundations of the Government. This was not the only Time, nor is *England* the only State where Disobedience in Point of Religion has been confounded with Rebellion against the Sovereign. There is scarce a *Christian State* wherein the prevailing *Sect* will suffer the least Division, or that any should swerve ever so little from the established Opinions, no not even in private. Shall I venture to say it? 'Tis the *Clergy* chiefly who support this strange Principle of *Non-Toleration*, so little agreeable to *Christian Charity*. The Severity which from henceforward began to be exercised in *England* against the *Non-conformists*, brought forth terrible Effects in the following Reigns, and occasioned Troubles and Factions which remain to this Day, and of which perhaps there will be no End these many Years.

*Unusual Subsidy granted to the Queen.*

The same Parliament taking into Consideration the great Charge the Queen had been at, as well to defend the Kingdom against the *Spanish* Invasion, as to assist the *French* King and the *United-Provinces*, granted her a very considerable Aid of Money. But it was inserted in the *Act*, that so large and unusual a Sum, granted to a most excellent Queen, who made so good use of the Publick Money, should not be drawn into a Precedent *. The Queen coming to the *House* to give the Royal Assent to this *Act*, made a fine Speech, wherein she forgot not to extol her

*She thanks the Parliament.*

Love

* The *Clergy* advanced two whole *Subsidies*, and the Laity Three together with six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* to be paid at a certain Time.

Love for her Subjects, and her Attachment for the *Proteſtant*-Religion. She ſpoke in lofty Terms of the Bravery of the *Engliſh*, and ſhowed how formidable they were to all the Nations in *Europe* *. No Body knew better than ſhe how to win the Love of her People, by expreſſing an uncommon Value and Affection for them. 1593.

*Suſpicions againſt the King of* Scotland.

Amidſt all the Occaſions the Queen had to congratulate herſelf upon her good Fortune, ſhe ſtill felt ſome Uneaſineſs with reſpect to what paſſed in *Scotland*. King *James* began to ſuffer himſelf to be ruled by ſuſpicious Perſons, and the Queen received Advice from thence, that the *Spaniards* aſſiſted by the *Catholicks*, were contriving ſome dangerous Plot, and that the Earls of *Huntley*, *Angus*, and *Errol*, gave them Countenance. She heard farther, that the King acted not with the Vigour neceſſary to prevent their Deſigns, and thereby gave Room to ſuſpect he himſelf was ſomething inclined to Innovations. She did not place entire Confidence in that Prince. Beſides, his ſuffering himſelf to be always guided by thoſe whom he entruſted with the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, ſhe was afraid he had been inſpired with the deſire to Revenge the Queen his Mother's Death, and that his Proteſtations of being ever attached to her Intereſt were only with intent to amuſe her. For which Reaſon ſhe ſent the Lord *Borough* to give him Advice, and to deſire him to inform her of all he knew concerning the Plots of the *Spaniards* and *Catholicks*. She wiſhed moreover that he would ſhow himſelf a little more ſevere to thoſe who endeavoured to ſtir up Troubles in *Scotland*, and that he would admit to his Council none but Perſons of unſuſpected Loyalty. To this *James* anſwered, he would do what the Queen deſired, as far as his own Intereſt, and the Laws of the Land would allow. But withal he gave the Ambaſſador to underſtand, that his Revenues

*The Queen ſends an Ambaſſador to him.*

*The King's Anſwer.*

* She made this Speech the laſt Day of the *Seſſion*. *April* 10. 1593.

1593. being extremely diminiſhed, he expected the Queen ſhould furniſh him with the Means to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the publick Peace. He farther required that ſhe ſhould deliver up the Earl of *Bothwel*, who had twice attempted upon his Life, and even ſent *Robert Melvil* to *Elizabeth* to demand him expreſsly. But ſhe refuſed to give him up, and only baniſhed him out of *England*, as ſhe was bound by the Treaty of League ſhe had made with the King.

*Elizabeth refuſes to give up* Bothwel.

*Affairs of* Scotland. Melvil.

*Bothwel* not being able to ſtay any longer in *England*, returned into *Scotland*, and withdrew to his own Houſe. Shortly after his Party increaſed to ſuch a Degree, by Accidents which it is needleſs to mention here, that he had the boldneſs to come into the King's Preſence, under Colour of begging his Pardon. *James* was ſurprized to ſee him, but he was much more ſo when he perceived that his whole Court, except ſome of his Miniſters, were *Bothwel*'s Friends. He ſaw himſelf therefore forced as it were to grant him a Pardon, upon Condition that he ſhould depart the Kingdom, and not return unleſs he were recalled. *Bothwel* accepted the Condition, and went and concealed himſelf on the Borders of *England*. But at his going away, he left ſo ſtrong a Party in the Court, that the King was conſtrained in the End to diſmiſs the Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, and others whom he moſt truſted. *Bothwel* was ready to make Advantage of theſe Changes; but the King broke his Meaſures, by declaring to the States that he was compelled to pardon him, and by deſiring their Aid to free him from the Yoke he was under. The States declaring for the King, he recalled his Miniſters, and *Bothwel*'s Friends were driven from the Court.

*The People of* Scotland *ſuſpect the King of inclining to the* Catholicks.

In this ſame Aſſembly of the States, an Ordinance was made for ſupporting the *Proteſtant*-Religion as eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*. But as the King and his Council were ſuſpected of favouring the Plots of the *Catholicks*, this Ordinance was not deemed ſtrong enough by the People, who thought that in ſuch a Juncture the

the States ſhould have taken more vigorous Reſolutions. However this may be, the King's Obſtinacy in keeping in the Miniſtry and about his Perſon, Men who ſeemed to have no Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, gave room to ſuſpect that ſome dangerous Plot was contriving for its Deſtruction. 1593.

*Henry continues to deceive Elizabeth.*

What paſſed in *France* made *Elizabeth* no leſs Uneaſy than the King of *Scotland*'s Inconſtancy. General *Norris* was ſtill in *Bretagne* with the *Engliſh* Troops. He had been promiſed a Place in that Province for a Retreat, and that the Duke *d' Aumont* and *Fr. Eſpinay* of St. *Luke* ſhould come and join him; but he was left there a long while without being thought of. At laſt *Eſpinay* being arrived, they made together ſome little Conqueſts too inconſiderable to requite *Elizabeth* for the Maintainance of her Troops, which coſt her weekly three Thouſand [two Hundred] Pounds *Sterling*. Thus, inſtead of making uſe of the *Engliſh* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Bretagne*, *Henry* employed them only to keep his Enemies in Awe, and hinder them from making greater Progreſs, whilſt he managed Matters elſewhere. *Elizabeth* ſeeing herſelf thus impoſed upon, would have called Home her Troops; but the Marſhal *d' Aumont* perſwaded her to let them ſtay longer, and even to ſend over freſh Supplies, upon the hopes he gave her that the King would very ſoon uſe his utmoſt endeavour to reduce that Province.

*He changes his Religion.*

The Queen's Vexation at *Henry*'s Proceedings was nothing in Compariſon with her Concern, when ſhe heard that he was going to change his Religion. At the firſt News thereof ſhe diſpatched away *Thomas Wilks* to diſſwade him if poſſible from that Deſign: But at his Arrival *Wilks* found the Thing was already done. However, *Henry* thought proper to inform him of the Reaſons of his Change, that he might acquaint the Queen his Miſtreſs with them. All he ſaid upon this Occaſion tended to this (*a*), that he had

(*a*) The King's whole Diſcourſe to *Wilks* is to be ſeen in *Camden*'s *Annals*.

1593. changed his Religion againſt his Will, and after deferring it as long as poſſible: But that being at laſt convinced he ſhould never be fixed in his Throne, whilſt a *Proteſtant*, he had determined to embrace the *Catholick* Religion. That is, in other Words, having put his Conſcience in the Scale againſt his Crown, he had given it for the latter. After ſo expreſs a Declaration of the Inſincerity of his Converſion, it is no Wonder that *Elizabeth* ſhould loſe much of the Eſteem ſhe had for him, and that the Pope and *Leaguers* ſhould not look upon him as a true *Catholick*; or rather it is ſtrange they ſhould after all take up with an outward Appearance. *Morley* the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, having told *Elizabeth* the Subſtance of what the King ſaid to *Wilks*, ſhe writ the King the following Lines.

Elizabeth's *Letter to* Henry IV. Camden.

*IT is hardly poſſible to expreſs the extreme Grief and Diſſatisfaction which has ſeized me upon* Morley's *Repreſentation of Things. Good God! What a miſerable World do we live in? Could I ever have thought, Sir, that any ſecular Conſideration could have prevailed with you to diſcard a juſt Senſe of God and his Fear? Or can you ever reaſonably expect that Providence will grant this Change of yours a happy Iſſue? Or could you entertain a Jealouſy that the gracious Being, who had ſo long ſupported and preſerved you, would fail and abandon you at laſt? It is, believe me, a dangerons Experiment,* to do Evil that Good may come. *But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better Inclination, even the Spirit of a ſound Mind. In the mean Time I ſhall not ceaſe to recommend your Caſe to God in my daily Prayers, and earneſtly to beſeech him that* Eſau's *Hands may not pollute the Bleſſing and Birth-right of* Jacob. *The Promiſe you make of a ſacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive my ſelf to have deſired, and even earned at a vaſt Expence: But I had not mattered that, had you ſtill kept yourſelf the Son of the ſame Father. From henceforth I cannot look on my ſelf as your Siſter, in reſpect to our common Father, for I muſt and ſhall*

*always pay a much greater regard to Nature than Choice in that Relation: As I may appeal to God, whom I beseech to recover you into the Path of a safer and sounder Judgment.*

1593.

Your Sister after the Old-fashioned way. As for the New I have nothing to do with it.

*ELIZABETH.*

*Henry gives the Queen Reasons to complain of him.*

The Affair just mentioned was not the only Business *Wilks* had with the King of *France*. He had Orders to complain in the Queen's Name, that the late Treaty was not put in Execution, and that the delay of *d' Aumont*'s Arrival had put the Queen to a vast Expence. *Henry* threw all the Blame on the Marshal, and positively promised to march himself into *Bretagne*, as soon as the Truce for that Province should be expired. He added, that in the mean while he would advise with his Council about the Place of Refuge for the *English* Troops. But all this was nothing but Words. The King's Intent was not to employ his Forces against *Bretagne*, before he had reduced the rest of *France*, but only to make use of the *English* Troops to keep the Duke of *Mercœur* at a Bay, for fear when he had made himself absolute Master of *Bretagne*, he should assist the Duke of *Mayenne*. Still less did he intend to give a Place of Refuge to the *English* in that Province, lest he should find it a hard Matter to dislodge them. These Things troubled the Queen exceedingly, and certainly had she aided *Henry* only from a Motive of Friendship and Generosity, as she would fain have made him believe, she would never have born with such Infringments of the Treaties. But it was manifestly her Interest to oppose the King of *Spain*'s Designs, who had a Mind to become Master of *France*, under

1593. under Pretenſe of maintaining the *Catholick* Religion. *Henry* for his Part, perfectly knew *Elizabeth*'s Policy, and for that Reaſon gave her only good Words, well knowing ſhe was concerned to aſſiſt him. At length, the King of *Spain* preparing to exert his utmoſt to ſupport the *League* which was falling to decay, ſince the King's turning *Catholick*, *Elizabeth* readily made a League Offenſive and Defenſive with *Henry*, how great Reaſon ſoever ſhe might have to complain of him. This League was concluded and ſigned at *Melun* in the Month of *October*, and among other Articles it was agreed, that Peace ſhould not be made without a mutual Conſent.

*League Offenſive and Defenſive between Henry and Elizabeth.*

*Heſquet is hanged.* Camden.

About this Time it was diſcovered in *England* that one *Heſquet* had been ſent by ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, to perſwade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* to take the Title of King, as Great-Grandſon to *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* VII *. When he propoſed this to the Earl, *Heſquet* added, that he might rely upon the Aſſiſtance of *Philip* II, but in Caſe he refuſed to do what was propoſed, or did not keep the Thing ſecret, he might depend upon it, he ſhould not live long. The Earl of *Derby* fearing a Snare was laid for him, informed againſt *Heſquet*, who was taken and hanged. But he died himſelf four Months after, by a ſtrange Poiſon which made him vomit himſelf to Death *1. His Gentleman of the Horſe was ſuſpected of the Deed, becauſe he rid away the firſt Day of his Lord's Illneſs. The *Engliſh* Fugitives fancied there were ſuch Numbers of Malecontents in *England*, that ſome great Man's declaring againſt the Queen was enough to

*Death of the Earl of Derby.*

* *Henry Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Father of this *Ferdinand*, died juſt before.

*1 He died in the very Flower of his Youth. There was found in his Chamber an Image of Wax, with Hairs thruſt through the Belly of it, of the ſame Colour with his own, which was thought to be placed there on purpoſe to avoid the Suſpicion of his being poiſoned. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *William*, who had afterwards a famous Tryal with *Ferdinand*'s three Daughters, for the Dominion of the *Iſle of Man*. Camden.

to ſtir up all the People to rebel. This is not the only time that in the like Junctures Fugitives have flattered themſelves with ſuch vain Hopes. 1593.

The Death of the Duke of *Parma* had not entirely put a Stop to the Expedition which the *Spaniards* deſigned againſt *France*. Their Army had entred *Picardy* and taken *Noyon*, and then returned back into the *Low-Countries*. After the Death of the Duke of *Parma*, the Count *de Fuentes* and *D. Diego d'Ibarra* were at the Head of the Council, till there ſhould be a new Governour. While the Adminiſtration of Affairs reſted in their Hands, they were inceſſantly buſy to excite Troubles in *Scotland*, by giving hopes to the Catholicks of a powerful Aſſiſtance from the King of *Spain*. Their Project was to ſend over a *Spaniſh* Army into *Scotland*, to make away Queen *Elizabeth* by Aſſaſſination or Poiſon, and then to invade *England* with their Army from *Scotland*, which the general Conſternation for her Death would render leſs difficult. To execute their Deſign upon *Elizabeth*, *Roderigo Lopez* a *Jew*, and two *Portugueſe* were made Choice of. The firſt, who was the Queen's Phyſician, had engaged to poiſon her for a Sum of Fifty Thouſand Crowns. This Plot being diſcovered, the Three Accomplices confeſſed that they had been corrupted by the Count *de Fuentes*, and *D. Diego d'Ibarra*, to undertake ſo execrable a Deſign. *Lopez* nevertheleſs pleaded in excuſe for his Guilt that his Intention was only to draw Money from the King of *Spain*, and that he had even made a Preſent to the Queen of ſome Jewels received from that Prince. But as he had given no Intimation of the Plot, his Excuſe was not admitted. At the Gallows it came into his Head to ſay, *That he loved the Queen as well as Jeſus Chriſt*. This made it clear that he was not unjuſtly condemned.

*The* Low-Countries *governed by the Count* de Fuentes, *and* D. Diego d'Ibarra. Grotius.

1594. *They form Conſpiracies againſt the Queen of* England, Camden. *and ſuborn Perſons to poiſon her.*

*The Conſpirators diſcovered,*

*and executed.*

The Day after theſe three Wretches were executed, a fourth, named *Patrick Cullen*, an *Iriſh* Fencing-Maſter, who had been ſent from the *Low-Countries* on the ſame Deſign, underwent the ſame Fate. *Edmund*

*Other Perſons engaged to kill the Queen.*

1594. *mund York* and *Richard Williams* were likewiſe arreſted as Perſons ſuborned by *Ibarra* in the ſame Crime, and others were diſcovered who had engaged to burn the Navy. *Elizabeth* on this Occaſion writ to the Archduke *Erneſt*, who had been appointed Governour of the *Low-Countries*, to demand of him the Puniſhment of the Authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the King of *Spain* from all Suſpicion, the beſt way would be for him to deliver up all the fugitive *Engliſh* who were in his Dominions, or at leaſt thoſe who had any hand in theſe Conſpiracies *. But as ſhe foreſaw that *Antonio Perez*, who had aimed to excite Troubles in *Arragon*, and was then in *England*, might likewiſe be demanded, ſhe told the Archduke in her Letter, that the King of *France* had ſent him to his Ambaſſador at *London*, without her knowing any thing before-hand, and that he had never been aſſiſted by her: All this was to no purpoſe. On the other Hand, *Perez* was received by the Earl of *Eſſex* into his own Houſe, that he might learn from him the Secrets of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

*She complains of it to the Archduke, but has no redreſs.*

**Henry IV *makes himſelf Maſter of* Paris.** It was not only in *England* that the *Spaniards* had the Mortification to ſee their Projects diſconcerted: In *France* likewiſe their Affairs were in a bad Situation, ſince the Time that *Henry* had embraced the Catholick Religion. The Cities and Great Men who had engaged in *the League*, returned in Crowds to the Obedience of the King, and the People had one general and avowed Deſign to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. The 22d of *March* the City of *Paris* was ſurrendered to the King by Count *Briſſac*, and the Duke of *Feria*, who was within, ſaw himſelf obliged to take a Safe-Conduct from the King, to retire with his *Spaniſh* Troops to the Army, under the Duke of *Guiſe*. It was then only that *Henry* in earneſt reſolved to drive the *Spaniards* from *Bretagne*, who were in Poſſeſſion of a great many Places in that Province. The

***War in* Bretagne.** *Camden.*

*Marſhal*

* Viz. *Hugh Owen*, *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Holt* the Jeſuit, *Giffard* and *Worthington*, &c.

*Marſhal d'Aumont* having been entruſted with the Management of this War, made good uſe of the *Engliſh* Troops, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves with that Bravery, that the Queen was obliged to write to *Norris*, not to be ſo laviſh of the Blood of her Subjects. *Martin Forbiſher*, a famous Sailor, was killed at a Siege in this War. Some time after the Queen recalled *Norris*, to ſend him to the Wars in *Ireland*. 1594.

*Eliza-beth's Uneaſineſs with relation to Scotland.*

The Affairs of *Scotland* gave *Elizabeth* everlaſting Uneaſineſs. She had Intimations from thence, that the *Spaniſh* Faction was powerful at Court; that ſomething was contriving againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion; and that the King ſeemed to incline to the *Popiſh* Party. This filling the Queen with Suſpicions, ſhe reſolved to ſend the Lord *Zouch* into *Scotland*, as well to come at the Truth, as to fortify the Adherents to the *Engliſh* Party, and to give King *James* an inſight into his own Intereſts. This Ambaſſador repreſented to the King from his Miſtreſs, that the late Act of the *States* was altogether incapable to reſtrain the Inſolence of the *Roman-Catholicks*, who affected to make an open Shew of their Religion, and held an almoſt avowed Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*. *James* returned for Anſwer, That he would proceed againſt the *Catholicks* by the eſtabliſhed Laws: That if they refuſed a Submiſſion to the Laws, he would perſecute them with the Sword, provided the Queen, who had an equal Concern with himſelf, would contribute towards the Expences of the War. The Ambaſſador, not at all ſatisfied with this Anſwer, preſſed him with great Earneſtneſs to procure other Laws againſt the Catholicks more ſevere than thoſe which were then in force. To this *James*, with ſome Heat, replied, That the Queen had nothing to do to command him, nor did it belong to her to preſcribe in what manner he ſhould govern his Kingdom. After which he demanded *Bothwel*, who had withdrawn himſelf into *England*.

*She ſends an Ambaſſador to that King.*

*His Anſwer.*

*A ſecond more reſolute than the firſt.*

But

1594. *Affairs of* Scotland. Camden. Melvil.

But *Elizabeth* was very far from giving him this Satisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that *Bothwel* was enabled to enter *Scotland* at the Head of Four Hundred Men, with whom he surprized the Town of *Leith*. He afterwards published a *Manifesto*, importing, That Persons dangerous to the Church and State, having by some Artifice procured an Admission into the Council, gave Occasion by their Conduct, to believe that they were carrying on Designs against the *Evangelical* Religion: That for some time the *Romish* Priests had been seen running from Village to Village, and celebrating the *Mass* in the most publick Manner: That they used all Endeavours to animate the People against the *English*, in order to kindle a War between the two Nations, which must prove fatal to *Scotland*: That to give a Check to these dangerous Conspiracies, he had, with the Concurrence of divers Lords and Gentlemen, taken Arms to drive these pernicious Counsellors out of the Kingdom, or to bring them to account for their Actions: That the Thing was the more urgent, as the *Spaniards* were upon the Point of invading the Kingdom: That for these Reasons he exhorted the *Scots* to join with him, in order to prevent greater Mischiefs, and to bring the King to favour so just a Design. He writ to the same Purport to the General *Synod* of the *Kirk* assembled at *Dunbar*, and to the *English* Ambassadors. When one considers the Relation between *Bothwel*'s Manifesto, and the Lord *Zouche*'s Representation to the King, one cannot avoid suspecting that *Elizabeth* had a Hand in this Undertaking.

In the mean time the King having assembled some Forces, put himself in a Posture to oppose the Designs of *Bothwel*, who declined not however to meet him. But the Rebel, from some Disadvantage in the first Engagement, and finding himself not supported, was seized with Fear, and retired to the Frontiers. *Elizabeth* hearing of it, forbad his Reception in her Kingdom. This Step was very agreeable

ble to the *Scotch* King, who was afraid that ſhe would take it in her Head to ſupport him. Although *Bothwel*'s Undertaking ſucceeded not, it had nevertheleſs a good Effect. *James* perceived by it the Danger he might incur by a Breach with *Elizabeth*, and therefore he came at laſt to a Reſolution to change his Conduct, in the Fear of his ſacrificing the Crown of *England* to his vain Projects. He therefore aſſembled the *States*, and prevailed to have the *Catholick* Lords, who had notoriouſly diſtinguiſhed their Zeal for the *Spaniſh* King, baniſhed the Kingdom. They made ſome Efforts to ſtand their Ground, but were at laſt obliged to obey. Then the *States* enacted new Laws againſt the *Catholicks*, and even entred into an Aſſociation like that made in *England* ſome Years before. A Perſon named *Graham Feintry*, a zealous Partizan of *Spain*, endeavouring to excite new Troubles, was put to Death. 1594. James *changes his Conduct.*

The King of *Scotland*'s Change, and the Vigour he exerted on this Occaſion, put an end to the Hopes which the *Catholicks* had entertained of engaging him in their Intereſt. They therefore formed new Projects to place the Crown of *England* upon the Head of ſome Perſon devoted to their own Religion, or at leaſt not over-zealous for the *Proteſtant*. The *Engliſh Catholicks* caſt their Eyes upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, who, they had obſerved, by no means approved of the Laws made againſt them. But the *Engliſh* Fugitives in the *Low-Countries* were for the *Infanta Iſabella*, Daughter of *Philip* II; they even publiſhed a *Genealogy*, to ſhew, that the King of *Scotland* being a *Heretick*, the Crown was devolved to the King of *Spain*, from whence they inferred that he had Power to diſpoſe of it in favour of his Daughter: Nor was this a bare Project founded only upon the Paſſion of the *Engliſh Catholicks*. It is certain that *Philip*, notwithſtanding all the Difficulties he had upon his Hands ſince the King of *France* had declared War againſt him, propoſed to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to procure for his Daughter the Crown offered her by the *Engliſh* 1595. *Projects to place the Crown of* England *upon the Head of the* Infanta *of* Spain Camden. *Philip's Preparation to ſecond them.*

1595. *Tyrone's Rebellion in Ireland.*

*liſh* Fugitives. The Fame of his Preparations had already reached all over *Europe*, and produced troubleſome Effects in *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Tyrone* had entred into Rebellion, encouraged by the Promiſe of Succours from the King of *Spain*. This obliged *Elizabeth* to prepare on her Side to defend her Dominions, and to ſend a ſtrong Supply of Troops to *Norris* now in *Ireland*.

I have ſaid before, that *Henry* IV had declared War againſt *Spain* not without a great Error on his part, if it could have been avoided, conſidering the miſerable Situation of his Affairs. But *Philip* II, by the continual and powerful Support he gave to *the League*, had ſufficiently declared War againſt *Henry*, though he pretended all along that this War was not entred into againſt *France*, but for its Advantage. However that was, *Henry* found himſelf under a Neceſſity of maintaining a War againſt *Spain*, and therefore believed it would turn to better Account to fall upon *Philip* directly, than only to ſtand upon the Defenſive. But as *France* was then exhauſted both of Men and Money, it was not eaſy for him to put himſelf in Condition to ſupport the War ſingly, and come off with Honour. He had therefore recourſe to *Elizabeth*, as to his laſt Refuge in his preſſing Neceſſities. And, probably, he had not made an open Breach with *Spain*, had he not fed his Hopes with a powerful Aſſiſtance from *England*. To that End he writ to the Queen, that her recalling *Norris* and the Forces under him had broke all his Meaſures; that on the contrary, he had expected ſtill greater Succours from her, ſince he had declared War againſt *Spain*. *Elizabeth* anſwered, That ſhe commended his Reſolution to attack the King of *Spain* in his own Dominions: That this was a good Expedient to keep the War from his own Doors, and had, upon trial, happily ſucceeded with herſelf: That as to her Troops recalled out of *Bretagne*, he could not with Juſtice complain of it, ſince they had not only remained there longer than the Treaty obliged; but even, notwithſtanding

*Henry* IV *demands Succours from* England. *She anſwers him with Complaints, and refuſes his Requeſt.*

ſtanding the manifeſt Breach of that Treaty, and the Violation of his own Word: That he had poſitively promiſed to ſurrender the Town of *Morlaix* as ſoon as taken into the Hands of the *Engliſh* for a Place of Refuge: But that this very Place, taken with the Expence of *Engliſh* Blood, had been denied to the juſt Expectation of the *Engliſh*, by a fraudulent Capitulation of the *Marſhal d' Aumont*, to have none but *Catholicks* admitted into it: That it ought not to ſurprize him that ſhe was unwilling to be his *Dupe* any longer, ſince ſhe could rely neither on his Promiſes nor his Treaties: That beſides ſhe had need of her Forces in *Ireland*, where ſhe had Grounds to fear a general Revolt. It is certain that *Henry* had not behaved to *Elizabeth* ſo as to encourage her to grant him any great Aſſiſtance. It was likewiſe only her fear, that *Spain* might make Advantage of the Weakneſs of *France*, which kept her in any Meaſure fixed to the Intereſts of *Henry*, for whom ſhe had no longer her former Eſteem and Regard. It may be ſaid alſo, that from the time he had mounted the Throne of *France*, he had taken no one ſtep tending to preſerve *Elizabeth*'s Friendſhip. 1595.

*The Queen and King of the* Scots *heartily united.* Camden.

The Queen in the preſent Situation of her Affairs, not being able to rely much on the King of *France*'s Friendſhip, and looking upon all the Charge ſhe had been at on his Account as thrown away, came to a Reſolution of preſerving her own Forces and Treaſures for the more neceſſary Security of her own Dominions, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by *Philip*. Her fear for *England* was, properly ſpeaking, only from the Side of *Scotland*: But the News ſhe received of the Change in King *James* delivered her from that uneaſy Apprehenſion. That Prince perceiving *Philip*'s Aims were as much upon *Scotland* as *England*, diſcovered at laſt that the beſt way to break his Meaſures was to live in Union with *Elizabeth*. Therefore to ſhow that his Deſign was to preſerve this Union, he iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere Penalties, his Subjects on the Frontiers to do any

1595. Injury to the *English*; and the Queen put forth another much to the same Purpose. From this time he lived with *Elizabeth* in a good Understanding; which nothing was capable to disturb, being sensible that this was the way to ascend one Day the Throne of *England*.

*York and Williams executed.*

*Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who had been arrested the Year before, being tried and convicted of a Design to murder the Queen, were executed in the Month of *February*. They confessed that *Ibarra* had promised them Forty Thousand *Florins*, on Condition that they executed what they had undertaken.

Henry IV *is in a great strait.* Mezerai. Camden.

*Henry* IV after his Declaration of War with *Spain*, formed a Design of penetrating into the *Low-Countries*, and of making considerable Conquests: but he was soon sensible of the Weakness of his Measures. In the Month of *April* 1595, *Ferdinand de Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, came into *Franch-Compte* at the Head of an Army of Eighteen Thousand Men, and threatned the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. This put *Henry* under a Necessity of going himself into that Country, and carrying with him the best Part of his Army. While he was thus employed in *Burgundy*, the Count *de Fuentes*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, after the Death of the Archduke *Ernest*, entred *Picardy*, and became Master of *Catelet*. Then he laid Siege to *Dourlens*, beat the *French*, who came to its Relief, and took the Town by Storm. *Henry*, as soon as he received this mortifying News, sent *Chevalier* immediately into *England* to demand a Supply of Forces for the Defence of *Picardy*, pursuant to the Treaty made with the Queen. In the Instructions given to his Envoy, he ordered him to take care that this Supply should be ready in a Fortnight after the Date: but it had cost *Chevalier* Twelve Days to finish his Voyage. The Queen answered, that she would not fail to send over a Body of Troops as soon as they could be got ready to guard *Calais*, *Dieppe* and *Boulogne*. Indeed the only Motive to the Treaty made with *Henry* was her care to prevent the *Spaniards* from becoming

*He demands Aid of* Elizabeth.

becoming Maſters of thoſe Maritime Places: But ſhe had never meant to engage in the Defence of the Towns of *Picardy* diſtant from the Sea, for which ſhe had little Concern. This was by no means what the King required, who had no thought of putting the *Engliſh* into theſe Places. He inſiſted, that without any Diſtinction the Queen ſhould ſend him a Body of Troops to help him to drive the *Spaniards* out of the whole Province. At the ſame time the Deputies of the Province of *Bretagne* arrived at *London* to demand Succours of the Queen, without ſpecifying either the Number wanted, or what they were to do, and without any Offer of a Place of Refuge: The Queen rejected this Demand with the greateſt Scorn. 1595.

*Progreſs of the* Spaniſh *Conqueſts in* France.

The *Spaniards*, after they had taken *Dourlens*, laid Siege to *Cambray*, and became Maſters of that important Place. *Henry* ſeeing himſelf thus ſtraitned, ſent *Lomenié*, Secretary of State, to *Elizabeth*, to demand of her a ſpeedy and powerful Aid. He flattered himſelf that by entring into a League with *Elizabeth*, he had engaged her to make War with *Spain* in the Kingdom of *France*, ſo that in his Opinion ſhe was obliged to ſend him Forces and Money whenever he ſhould have occaſion, though the Treaty contained no ſuch Thing. But *Elizabeth* had no ſuch Intention, being unwilling to ſend her Forces into *France* at a time when her own Dominions were in danger; or to make a War with *Spain*, in which all the Profit ſhould remain to *Henry*, and the Loſs to her. Therefore ſhe let the Ambaſſador know that ſhe could not comply with his Maſter's Demand. *Lomenié*, vexed with the ill Succeſs of his Negotiation, ſpoke to her with a great deal of Haughtineſs, and accuſed her to her Face of being the Cauſe that *Cambray* was loſt, by her having not ſent the Supplies into *Picardy* which had been demanded. He added, that ſhe ſeemed to rejoice at the Misfortunes of *France*, but ſhe might ſoon have Occaſion to repent of her Conduct, which might reduce her to the Neceſſity of making Peace with *Spain* on the moſt diſadvanta-

Henry *ſends* Lomenié *into* England.

*who threatens the Queen.*

1559. geous Terms *. These Menaces, and the haughty Air with which they were pronounced were very displeasing to *Elizabeth*. Nevertheless as the Affairs of *Henry* were then in a very bad Condition, she thought it not proper to deprive him of all hopes of Assistance another Time. She answered *Lomenié* however in a way suitable to her Dignity, but with less harshness than she would have shewn at another Juncture. And when he demanded a second Audience, her Answer was, that she would acquaint the King of *France* by her Ambassador at that Court, with the Reasons she had to keep both her Troops and Money.

Elizabeth *cold to the Interest of* Henry.

This Refusal of *Elizabeth*'s very much offended *Henry*'s Council, in which the *Leaguers* had already too great an Influence. Several advised him to make a separate Peace with *Spain*, without including *England*, since he could hope for no Assistance from *Elizabeth*. To hear them talk one would have thought that she had been obliged to send Forces to *Henry* whenever they were demanded, and that upon a failure she violated her Engagements. This without doubt was what the *French* promised themselves from the League, being confident that they should be able to manage her as they pleased; but that Expectation being disappointed, it put them out of Humour with her. Besides this Council being for the most part composed of the declared Enemies of the *Protestant* Religion, and of whom some had been the most zealous *Leaguers*, considered *Elizabeth* not as a Friend whom they were to regard hereafter, but as one who was to serve a present Occasion, and from whom they should draw all possible Advantages. It was not without Reason that *Elizabeth* distrusted the King of *France*, who, to obtain his Absolution from the Pope, had submitted to Compliances beneath the Dignity of a King, and to Obligations which aimed at the ruin of the *Protestants*, whom by such Behaviour

* According to *Camden*, *Lomenié* said, she would by her conduct oblige the King of *France* to make Peace with *Spain*.

our he ſhowed that he no longer conſidered as his Friends. It was therefore by no means proper for her to aſſiſt powerfully a Friend who was only ſo in Name. Wherefore ſhe left him to manage his Matters as well as he could, without giving herſelf much Trouble about them. Beſides, ſhe had nothing to hope from him but a bare Diverſion to the Arms of *Spain*, which in all Appearance would laſt no longer than the Intereſt of *France* required. *Henry*'s Conduct gave her no room to expect any Thing beyond this, ſince he had ſuffered the *Spaniards* to continue unmoleſted in *Bretagne*, though her Fears came chiefly from that Quarter. And in effect in *July* this Year the *Spaniards* who had got footing in *Bretagne*, made a Deſcent in *Cornwall*, and burnt ſome Villages *. Though this Expedition was inconſiderable, it however obliged *Elizabeth* to be upon her Guard, and let her ſee the Neceſſity of diſlodging a common Enemy from that Province. But *France* acted from other Views than thoſe which were for the Intereſt of *England*. 1595.

*The* Spaniards *make a Deſcent upon* England.

*Henry* did not complain of *Elizabeth* only after the loſs of *Cambray*: He accuſed likewiſe the *States* of the *United Provinces* of a Breach in the Alliance made with him, in ſuffering a Town of that Importance to be taken from him, and threatened to make a ſeparate Peace. The *States*, ſenſible how neceſſary the War between *France* and *Spain* was to their Affairs, appeaſed the King with a pretence of a round Sum of Money, two Regiments, and a conſiderable Quantity of Corn.

Henry *complains of the* States; Camden.

*who ſend him Money and Troops.*

This Step of the *States* gave Occaſion to *Elizabeth* to tell them, that ſince they had Money to lend to the King of *France*, they were doubtleſs in a Condition to pay their Debts, and therefore ſhe required to

Elizabeth *demands of them a Payment of her Debts*

* They burnt St. *Paul*'s Church, which ſtood alone in the Fields, beſides *Mouſe-Hole*, *Neulin* and *Penſans*, three poor Fiſher-Towns, without taking or killing one Man. Theſe were the only *Spaniards* that ever ſet Foot in *England* as Enemies. *Camden*.

1595. be reimburſed the Charges ſhe had been at upon their Account. Then ſhe added, that unleſs immediate Satisfaction were made by a diſcharge of part of the Debt, and an Aſſurance of the remainder within a limited Time, ſhe would take proper Meaſures to do herſelf Juſtice. The *States* thus preſſed, had recourſe to Prayers and Submiſſions to appeaſe her. They repreſented to her that the State of their Affairs denied them a Power of giving her Satisfaction. But as Excuſes ſignified little, they urged the Treaty made with her, by which they were not obliged to a Payment of her Debt till the War was ended. She replied to this, that when ſhe aſſiſted them their Condition was to be pitied, and that it was her Bounty and Generoſity to them to require only a reimburſement after the Peace, becauſe there was then no Appearance of their being able to make it before. But that ſince they were rich enough to lend Money to the King of *France*, it was evident they were able to pay her. That therefore the Article inſiſted on in the Treaty ought naturally to be thus explained, *That they ſhould not be in a Condition to repay her before the Concluſion of the War.* On this Subject the Conteſts and Diſputes were carried to a Height: But at laſt the Buſineſs was made up for a Time on theſe Conditions: That the *States* ſhould engage for the future to pay the *Engliſh* Forces in their Service, and join the *Engliſh* Navy with a certain Number of their own Ships, in Caſe the Queen ſhould be attacked by the *Spaniards.*

*The Differences accommodated for a Time.*

*Complaints of the* Hanſe-*Towns.*

*Elizabeth* had ſtill another Difficulty to ſtruggle with, ariſing from the Complaints of the *Hanſe*-Towns, to the *Diet* of the Empire, that their Corn was taken from them in *Portugal* by the *Engliſh*, and the Priviledges in *England* denied, which had been granted to them by *Edward* III. This Affair having been more warmly puſhed ſome Years afterwards, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it in another Place.

This

1595. *Sir* Walter Raleigh *goes upon a ſecond Voyage into* America. Camden.

This Year Sir *Walter Raleigh* made a ſecond Expedition into *America* at his own Charge, from which he drew no great Advantage, The Queen likewiſe fitted out Twenty-ſix Ships to carry the War into that Country, under the Command of *Drake* and *Hawkins*. But as the *Spaniards* had taken all neceſſary Precautions, the *Engliſh* Admirals performed nothing memorable. Both of them died in this Expedition.

*Affairs of* Ireland.

I have ſaid before that *Norris* was diſpatched into *Ireland* to command the Forces againſt the Rebels, at the Head of which was the Earl of *Tyrone*. The Jealouſy which aroſe between that General and the Lord *Ruſſel* the Lieutenant, was the Reaſon that the *Engliſh* made no greater Progreſs in that Kingdom. The Earl of *Tyrone* even obtained a Truce, upon his giving hopes that he would lay down his Arms, and ſubmit to the Queen. But this was only a Feint to gain Time for the peaceable Arrival of the Succours promiſed him from *Spain*. The War continued for ſome Years; but I have no Deſign to give a particular Account of the *Iriſh* Affairs, which require a ſeparate Hiſtory. Beſides the manner in which Hiſtorians deliver them is ſo confuſed, and the *Iriſh* Names as well of Perſons as Places are ſo barbarous and hard to be remembered, that it is difficult to form any diſtinct and clear Idea of this War.

1596. *Succeſs of the* Spaniſh *Arms in* France. Mezerai.

Whatever Reſolution had made *Elizabeth* to concern herſelf no more with the Affairs of *France*, ſhe ſaw herſelf however conſtrained to take other Meaſures, by reaſon of the great Succeſs of the *Spaniſh* Arms in that Kingdom. Cardinal *Albret* of *Auſtria*, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Erneſt* in the Government of the *Low-Countries*, arrived there in the Beginning of the Year 1596. He immediately made great Preparations as if he had a Deſign to relieve *La Fere*, which had been for ſome Time blockaded by the *French* King, and at laſt beſieged in form. But ſuddenly after ſome Succours thrown into the Town, the Archduke marched to *Calais* and laid Siege to it. It was a Place

1596. which once had a Reputation for Strength, but was ſunk of late, whether from the Change which had been made in the way of beſieging Towns, or that it had been neglected, ſince it was recovered to *France*.

Henry *demands Aſſiſtance of* Elizabeth. Camden.

*Henry* alarmed with the News of this Siege, diſpatched *Sancy* out of Hand into *England* to demand Succours. The *Marſhal de Bouillon* followed him cloſe, and ſo preſſed the Queen that ſhe ordered eight Thouſand Men to be got ready under the Leading of the Earl of *Eſſex*. But ſhe demanded, in Caſe the Siege was raiſed by the *Engliſh*, to have the Town put immediately into their Hands, ſince it was in effect loſt to *France*. The *Marſhal* and *Sancy* evaded this Demand, by ſaying that they had no Power to treat upon that Subject, well-knowing that at the worſt the King had rather ſee the Place in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, than reſtored back to the *Engliſh*. Wherefore under Pretence that the Relief of *Calais* was too preſſing to allow Time for the Diſcuſſion of that Propoſal, they managed ſo well that the Queen gave Orders for the Imbarkation of the Troops. But at the ſame Time News came that the Place was taken, and had held out but twelve Days. The Archduke made himſelf Maſter of *Ardres* with the ſame Eaſe. This was the ſixth Place taken from *France* by the *Spaniards*, within the compaſs of one Year. The Succours deſigned for *Calais* having not been ready Time enough, the new-levelled Troops were diſmiſſed: But the Queen lent a Sum of Money to *Henry* on the Security of his two Ambaſſadors.

Calais *taken by the* Spaniards.

In the mean Time the Queen having notice that the King of *Spain* was making Preparations to invade *England* and *Ireland*, reſolved to be beforehand with him. For this Purpoſe ſhe fitted out a Fleet of one Hundred and fifty Sail, among which were two and twenty *Dutch* Ships *, and put ſeven Thouſand Men on Board it. She gave the Command to *Charles Howard*

Elizabeth *ſends a Fleet againſt* Spain.

* The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of 150 Ships, beſides the *Dutch*, 6360 Soldiers, with 1000 Volunteers, and 6772 Sailors.

*Howard* as Admiral, and the Earl of *Eſſex* was appointed to command the Land Forces. 1566.

*Expedition of the Engliſh to Cadiz.* *Camden.*

The Fleet ſailed from *Plymouth* in the Beginning of *June*, keeping at a diſtance from the Coaſt of *France* and *Spain*, to avoid giving an Alarm to the *Spaniards*, the Commanders deſigning to ſurprize *Cadiz*. It was with great Joy that they learned from the Maſter of an *Iriſh* Veſſel ſailing from that Port, that every Thing there was in the greateſt Security: That the Garriſon was but meanly provided with Forces, the Harbour full of Ships, both of War and Merchant-men, Galleons, Gallies, and other Veſſels loaden for the *Indies*. This News raiſing their Hopes, they arrived the 20th of *June* on the *Weſt*-Side of the Iſle of *Cadiz*, and on their Approach the *Spaniſh* Ships retired towards the *Puntal*. The Day following the *Engliſh* fell upon them with great Reſolution, but met with ſo warm a Reception, that the Fight laſted from break of Day till Noon. At laſt the *Spaniards* deſpairing to make a longer Defenſe, reſolved to ſink their Ships, and eſcape to Shore. Their Admiral Ship called St. *Philip* was burnt to Aſhes, with two others near her, the *Spaniards* themſelves ſetting it on Fire to prevent its falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The St. *Matthew* and St. *Andrew* were taken, and moſt of the Ships ran aſhore.

While this Engagement laſted at Sea, the Earl of *Eſſex* with 800 Men made a Deſcent at *Puntal*, and marched right to *Cadiz*. Three or four Hunderd Paces from the City he met with a Body of 500 *Spaniards*, who on ſight of him retired into the Town, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that the *Engliſh* were very near entring Pell-mell with them. The Conſternation was ſo great in the Town, that before any Thing could be thought of for its Security, the *Engliſh* had Time to force the Gate and throw themſelves into the Town. Though they found ſome Reſiſtance in the Streets, yet in little leſs than half an Hour they made themſelves Maſter of the Market-Place. Then the Garriſon and Inhabitants retired in-

1596. to the Caſtle and Town-Houſe, but the ſame or the following Day were obliged to ſurrender. The Capitulation was, that they ſhould have their Lives on payment of ſeventy Thouſand Ducats, for which four principal Citizens were given in Hoſtage *. The Town being thus in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, the Earl of *Eſſex* turned out all the Inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board the Fleet a great Quantity of Silver, Ammunition, and other valuable Things, beſides what the Soldiers had plundered.

On the other Hand, Admiral *Howard* ſent Sir *Walter Raleigh* to burn the Merchants-Ships lying at *Port-Real*. The Admiral was offered two Millions of Ducats for their Ranſom. But he rejected the Offer, ſaying, that he came to burn the Ships and not to ranſom them. In the mean Time the Duke of *Medina* found a way to unload ſome of theſe Ships, and to fire others to prevent the *Engliſh* from receiving any Benefit from their Riches. Beſides the Merchant-Men, the King of *Spain* loſt two Galleons, taken by the *Engliſh* with more than a Hundred braſs Guns, thirteen Men of War, eleven Ships loaded for the *Indies*, and thirteen others, without reckoning the Proviſions which had been made for the intended Expedition againſt *England*. The *Engliſh* eſtimated his Loſs at twenty Millions of Ducats.

The Earl of *Eſſex* propoſed in a Council of War to keep *Cadiz*, and offered himſelf to ſtay there, provided they would leave him [400 Men and] three Months Proviſion. But his Advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his Plunder to *England*. Wherefore the Fleet ſet Sail after the Town had been burnt with ſome adjacent Villages. While the Fleet was under Sail a *North* Wind ariſing, the Earl of *Eſſex* propoſed the ſailing to the *Azores*; but

* The *Spaniards* were to pay 520,000 Ducats, and to give 40 Hoſtages. No *Engliſhman* of note, except Sir *John Wingfield*, was killed. *Camden*.

but he was not heard, ſuch was the fear every Man had of loſing what he had got. 1596.

*Mortification given to the Earl of* Eſſex.

The Queen received theſe brave Men with great Marks of Eſteem, and expreſſed her Acknowledgment of the Services they had done her. But the Earl of *Eſſex* met with a Mortification on his Arrival at Court, in that having before his Departure, recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley* for Secretary of State, the Queen, without regarding his Recommendation, had conferred that Poſt on Sir *Robert Cecil* the Lord-Treaſurer's Son, who was not his Friend. Some Days after he had another Cauſe of Vexation, in ſeeing *Francis Vere* made Governour of the *Brille*, though he had ſtrongly ſollicited for another Perſon. This let him ſee that his Credit was in the decline, and the Uneaſineſs which that Reflection gave him, threw him into extravagant Projects which coſt him his Life.

Elizabeth *demands Payment of the* States. Grotius.

The King of *Spain* having now for ſome time been unable to purſue his Deſigns againſt *England*, *Elizabeth* renewed her Applications to the *States* of the *United Provinces* for payment of her Arrears. The *States*, in excuſe of themſelves alledged the Reaſons before given, which were no better received. The Queen ſaid, that it was highly unjuſt to refer the Payment of her Debt to a Peace which the *States* might defer as long as they pleaſed. That beſides the Treaty which ſhe had made with them contained in expreſs Terms, That the War ſhould continue no longer than ſhe ſaw convenient. But the *States* pretended that this Article had been inſerted in the Treaty only to do Honour to her. This Diſpute held till the Report of new Preparations in *Spain* for an Invaſion of *England* prevailed with the Queen to drop by Degrees her Sollicitations. The Truth is, the *States* unwillingneſs to pay, proceeded not ſo much from their Inability, as their Deſire to keep her always fixed to their Intereſt by this ſort of Obligation. On the other Hand, the Queen did not make theſe preſſing Inſtances from any want of Money, but becauſe ſhe would

1596. would not have her payment depend upon the Succeſs of the Affairs of her Debtors. They were then in a Condition to pay, but ſhe knew not what Alterations Time might produce.

*A new Treaty between* France *and* England. Camden. Mezerai.

When the *Marſhal de Bouillon* was ſent into *England* to demand Aid, he had made ſome Propoſals towards a cloſer Union between the Crowns of *France* and *England*. But the King of *France* had neglected this Affair, becauſe he ſaw *Elizabeth* upon her Guard, and unwilling to furniſh him with either Men or Money, but upon good Grounds. Nevertheleſs the Deſigns and Preparations of the King of *Spain* becoming now the publick Talk, *Henry* believed that *Elizabeth* would drop ſomething of her Pretenſions, and that he might treat with her upon better Terms. Thus perſwaded he diſpatched the *Marſhal de Bouillon* and *Sancy* into *England* to negotiate with the Queen a League Offenſive and Defenſive. The Treaty was immediately concluded from the fear which the Queen had, that the bad State of the King's Affairs might force him upon a ſeparate Peace with *Spain*. The principal Articles of this League were, That the Queen ſhould furniſh 4000 Men for the Defenſe of *Picardy* and *Normandy*: That the King of *France* ſhould furniſh the like Number for the Defence of *England*, in Caſe of an Invaſion, on Condition that his Men ſhould not be employed in any Service at a greater Diſtance than Twenty-five Leagues from the Sea. That neither of the two Crowns ſhould make Peace without the Conſent of the other. By a ſecret Article it was agreed, that *Elizabeth* ſhould this Year furniſh no more than two Thouſand Men. It is very probable that *Elizabeth* concluded this League with *France* in the ſole View of keeping *Henry* engaged in the *Spaniſh* War by the Means of the Succours ſhe was to ſend him. But there is no likelihood that ſhe expected a like Aſſiſtance in her Need, becauſe *Henry* could not himſelf be without the Succours of *England*. On the other Hand, *Henry* well knowing that Intereſt was the only

*Articles of it.*

ly Motive which drew *Elizabeth* into this League, made no ſcruple to purſue the ſame Motive in uſing the Queen's Aſſiſtance, till he could with Honour diſengage himſelf from the War with *Spain*, which he had ſo unadviſedly undertaken. There are few Leagues which have not the like Foundation. Wherefore it is commonly ſeen, that they are of no long continuance, when the Intereſt of one of the Parties begins to change. The *States* of the *United-Provinces* entred into this League with an Addition of ſome Articles which only concerned them. But the Jealouſy which *Elizabeth* had of their being more attached to *France* than to her, retarded ſome time the Execution of their Treaty. She pretended that ſhe ought not to come into it as Sovereigns, but as aſſociated Towns which had put themſelves under her Protection. But the King of *France* prevailed with her to deſiſt from this Pretenſion. 1596.

*The States are received into it.*

*Phillp* II was drove to deſpair by this Diſappointment from *Elizabeth*, and his Incapacity to defend his own Dominions, who had, his whole Life, been ſo greedy of thoſe of others. Wherefore being neither able to bring himſelf to a Reſolution of giving over his Projects, nor of leaving to *Elizabeth* the Satisfaction of enjoying the happy Succeſs of her own Arms, he reſolved to make another Effort, not only for a Revenge upon *Elizabeth*, but even for the Conqueſt of *England*. Though he had received great Damage from the *Engliſh*, yet as it had fallen only upon one of the Places where he made his Preparations, he believed himſelf ſtill in a Condition to purſue his Pretenſions. He therefore aſſembled all the Veſſels he had left, freighted a great many foreign Ships, and by this means was able to put a formidable Fleet to Sea, at a time when *Elizabeth* believed him incapable to do any thing againſt her. This Fleet ſailed from *Lisbon* to take on Board the Land-Forces at *Fariola*, and then ſteered directly for *England*. But a violent Storm ariſing in the midſt of the Voyage, ſeveral of the Ships were loſt, and the reſt ſo diſperſed, that

*The King of* Spain *makes a ſtrong Effort to conquer* England. Camden.

*His Fleet diſperſed by a Tempeſt.*

1596. that the Fleet was rendered unſerviceable for this Year. So *Elizabeth* had the Satisfaction to hear they were unable to hurt her, before ſhe knew any thing of their ſailing. This however obliged her, in order to prevent being expoſed again to the like Danger, to fortify well all the Places where the *Spaniards* could moſt eaſily have made a Deſcent, if Heaven had not blaſted their Projects.

1597. *Battle of* Turnhout *in the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

In the Beginning of the Year 1597, during a moſt ſevere Winter, Prince *Maurice* gained a Battle againſt the *Spaniards* at *Turnhout*. But on the other Side, in the Month of *March*, *Hernand Telles Portocarrero*, Governour of *Dourlens*, found means to ſurprize *Amiens*. This Accident diſturbed the ſecret Negotiations of Peace which were carrying on by the Mediation of the Pope, between *Henry* and *Philip*. This Treaty was far advanced without *Elizabeth*'s knowing any thing of the matter, notwithſtanding that ſo lately made with her by *Henry*, of which the principal Article was, that no Peace ſhould be made without the mutual Conſent of the contracting Parties.

*The* Spaniards *ſurprize* Amiens. Mezerai.

Philip *forms Projects againſt* Ireland. Camden.

*Philip* II relying on a ſeparate Peace with *France*, had reſolved to make one Effort againſt *Ireland*, where he had ſome Friends, and even made ready a Fleet to execute his Deſign. The Advice which the Queen received of it made her reſolve to be beforehand with him, as ſhe had often been with Succeſs.

*The Queen ſends a Fleet againſt* Spain.

For this purpoſe ſhe equipped a Fleet of Sixſcore Veſſels, with Six Thouſand Men on Board, and gave the Command to the Earl of *Eſſex*. The Earl's Project was to ſail to the *Groyne*, and deſtroy the Armament preparing there, then to wait at the Iſles of the *Azores* for the *Spaniſh* Fleet returning from the *Indies*. But contrary Winds, Tempeſts, and a Quarrel betwixt the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* broke all theſe Meaſures, and the Fleet ſailed back to *England*, without doing any thing of Conſequence. It is needleſs therefore to be more particular concerning an Expedition from which *Elizabeth* received but little Advantage. I ſhall only ſay, that

*which returns without having done any thing of Moment.*

at

at the very time the *Engliſh* were upon their Return, the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *Fariola* were ſteering the ſame Courſe, in order to make a Deſcent upon *Cornwal*. But a Tempeſt from the *North* ſo diſperſed the two Fleets, that they could not ſo much as get Sight of one another. 1597.

*The Earl of* Eſſex *in ill humour againſt the Court.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* being returned to Court about the End of *October*, met with a new Subject of Diſcontent. The Queen had created *Thomas Howard* the Admiral *Earl of Nottingham*, and had inſerted in his *Patent* that this Creation was in acknowledgment of his Services performed for his Country in 1587 againſt the Fleet of *Spain*, and afterwards in taking the Town of *Cadiz* in Conjunction with the Earl of *Eſſex*. This *Patent* offended the Earl, who thought himſelf affronted by the Queen in her aſcribing any Part of the Merit of taking *Cadiz* to the Admiral. Beſides by this Creation the new Earl of *Nottingham* was to take Place of him by an Act of *Henry* VIII, which gave the Precedence to the Lord *High-Steward*, the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Lord *Preſident*, the Lord *Privy-Seal*, the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *High-Conſtable*, the *Earl-Marſhal*, the Lord *High-Admiral*, [ who are called *the great Officers* of the Crown ] before all the *Peers* of equal Degree *. But the Queen to mitigate his Reſentment, created him *Earl-Marſhal* of *England*, which preſerved to him his Precedence of the Lord High-Admiral.

*The Diſpute of the* Hans-Towns *revived.* Camden.

I have ſaid before, that the *Hans-Towns* had laid great Complaints before the *Diet* of the Empire, on account of the Corn taken from them in *Portugal*, and their Privileges loſt in *England*. *Elizabeth* ſent an Ambaſſador to the *Diet*, to anſwer to theſe Accuſations. That Miniſter repreſented, that the ill Uſe which the *Hans-Towns* had made of their Privileges,

* The *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, Preſident of the Council, Privy-Seal, being Barons, ſit above Dukes in Parliament. The Reſt of the great Officers ſit after the *Privy-Seal* above all of their Degree only.

1597. leges, had caused them to be vacated by an *Act* of Parliament in the Reign of *Edward* VI: That afterwards *Mary* had for a time suspended the Execution of that *Act*; but that at last, even in her time, those Privileges had been entirely abolished, for which he assigned divers Reasons before remembred in the Reign of *Edward*. That as to the Complaint of their Ships being seized in *Portugal*, their Ships were loaded with Provisions for the *Spaniards*, and by the Law of Arms the *English* had a Right to seize Provisions which were carrying to the Enemy, and even to confiscate the Ships which nevertheless they had returned back to the Proprietors. This Affair seemed to have been laid asleep, no more being heard of it for two Years, when on a sudden the Emperour, at the Sollicitation of the *Hans-Towns*, prohibited to the *English* Merchants, called the *Adventurers*, all Commerce with the Empire. This obliged the Queen on her Side to prohibit the Commerce of the *Hans-Towns* in *England*.

Henry *demands Succours of* Elizabeth.

In the mean time the King of *France* saw himself in great Difficulties from the *Spaniards* being Masters of *Amiens*, whence they could make Incursions to the Gates of *Paris*. He resolved therefore to recover this Place, cost what it would, and formed the Siege about the End of *May*. At the same time he summoned Queen *Elizabeth* to send the Four Thousand Men stipulated by the Treaty. The Queen answered, That she was ready to send the Forces, but left it to him to provide for their Subsistence, because her Expences in equipping a Fleet, and supporting her Army in *Ireland*, rendred her unable to pay them whilst they should be in the King's Service. Troops without Money were no agreeable Present to *Henry*, who found his Treasures very much exhausted. Wherefore to bring *Elizabeth* to his Measures, he ordered her to be told that it had been in his Power to make a Peace which was offered him, with the Restoration of all his Places, *Calais* and *Ardres* excepted, if he would have separated himself from *England*. He would have

*Her Answer.*

Henry *threatens to make a Peace without her.*

Mezerai.

have had her believe, that it was upon this ſingle Conſideration that he had refuſed a ſeparate Peace, though, in truth, the Surprize of *Amiens* was the Cauſe why the Negotiation was broke off, which he would never have entred upon without her Participation, if he had retained any regard for her. However that be, the Queen, as yet ignorant of this Secret, told him by her Ambaſſador, that ſhe could never believe that ſo great a Prince as he would violate a ſolemn Treaty ſo lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal Oaths. She prayed him to look into the Treaty, where he would find this Article in expreſs Terms: *The Queen of* England *ſhall ſend to* France *this Year Four Thouſand Foot for the Service of the King during the Space of Six Months: They ſhall likewiſe ſerve him during the ſame time in ſucceeding Years, if the State of the Queen of* England's *Affairs ſhall allow it, without any Damage to herſelf, which ſhall be referred to the Conſcience and Word of the ſaid Queen.* It was therefore manifeſt that the Treaty was not violated by her, inaſmuch as ſhe offered to ſend thoſe Forces, provided he would engage to maintain them. All this aimed at the Mark which probably *Henry* propoſed, which was, that *Elizabeth* inſtead of Forces ſhould ſupply him with a Sum of Money. When the queſtion was, what Security was to be given for Repayment, *Henry* offered to reſign her *Calais*, provided ſhe would engage to recover that Place within ſuch a time with her own Forces. This was drawing her in to make a Diverſion more advantageous to *France* than the Four Thouſand Men which he demanded. It was even uncertain whether the Town could be taken within the Time to be propoſed, which probably would have been very ſhort. But this was a Snare which *Elizabeth* was not to be taken in, and the leſs ſo, becauſe ſhe knew very well that the King of *France* would more willingly ſee *Calais* in the Hands of the *Spaniards* than in thoſe of *England*. But the retaking of *Amiens*, which ſurrendred in *September*, finiſhed this Diſpute.

1597

*She juſtifies her Conduct from the Words of the Treaty.*

1597. Henry *negotiates a Peace with* Spain *without the Participation of* Elizabeth. Camden.

The Surrender of *Amiens* renew'd the Negotiations between *France* and *Spain*, which had been interrupted. *Henry*'s Behaviour on this Occasion was little suitable to the Services he had received from *Elizabeth* in his most pressing Exigencies. He put off acquainting her with the Necessity he was under of making a Peace, till he had privately settled the principal Articles. He was of Opinion, probably, that as *Elizabeth* had only her own Interest in view from the League made with him, he might likewise in his Turn consider no Advantages besides his own. Such a Principle allows a Man to violate any Alliance without any Scruple. Nevertheless, he had not transacted this Affair with so much Secrecy, but that *Elizabeth* had notice of the Steps he was taking. It was for this Reason that she called a Parliament to ask a Supply in this Conjuncture, in giving them to understand she was upon the Point of being deserted by her Ally, though he still continued to flatter her that he would make no Peace without her. The Parliament, sensible of the Danger the Nation was in of an immediate Invasion, voted an extraordinary Supply, on Condition that this should be made no Precedent for the future *.

*The Parliament grants a large Supply.*

1598. Henry *makes a Peace without his Allies.*

*Elizabeth* was not ignorant that *Henry* was negotiating a Peace with *Spain*; but she knew not that the Peace was in a manner concluded, as he had desired her to send Ambassadors to concert with him the Points on which they were to treat. She sent accordingly *Wilks*, *Cecil* and *Herbert*. The first died on his Arrival at *Paris*. The two others went to the King at *Angiers*, to know of him upon what Foot the Negotiation stood with *Spain*. *Henry* gave a general Answer, to signify to them that he had need of Peace, and that the Welfare of his People, preferable with him to all other Considerations, absolutely required it. *Cecil* answered, That the Queen his Mistress desired it no less, but wanted to know upon what

* The *Clergy* gave Three *Subsidies*, and the *Laity* the same, with six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. Camden.

what Foot it was propoſed by the King of *Spain*, and whether the *States* of the *United Provinces* were to be included in it. The King then ſaid, that the King of *Spain* offered to ſurrender back all the Places taken from him, and even *Calais* itſelf; that this Offer could not be rejected without expoſing his Kingdom to utter Ruin. He added, that it ſhould not be long before he would bring the King of *Spain* to offer Conditions honourable to the Queen and the *States* of the *United-Provinces*. 1597. Camden. Grotius.

This was ſufficient to let the Ambaſſadors know that the Peace between *France* and *England* was already concluded, without any care taken by *Henry* about the Intereſt of his Allies. *Elizabeth*, as ſoon as ſhe was informed, ordered her Ambaſſadors to make their Complaints to the King; and *Thoſe* from the *States* received likewiſe from their Maſters the ſame Inſtructions. But *Henry* avoided the hearing Reproaches which muſt have been very mortifying to him, by naming Commiſſioners to treat with the Ambaſſadors, inſtead of granting the Audience which they demanded. Theſe Commiſſioners and the Ambaſſadors being met, *Oldenbarnevelt*, one of the *States* Ambaſſadors, ſpoke boldly of the Inſincerity with which the King had treated his Maſters. He adjured the King, though abſent, to declare in his Conſcience if he thought it an Action becoming a Prince to ſeparate from his Allies without any Cauſe. Afterwards, to confound the *French* Commiſſioners, he read aloud the Treaty of the League, and ended with theſe Words, *That ſome Kings preferred their private Intereſts to their Alliances; but that this often turned to their own Confuſion: for when Princes have parted with their Faith and Honour, it is in vain to think of ſupporting themſelves by mere Power.* The Chancellor, who was one of the Commiſſioners, anſwered the Ambaſſadors, that what he ſaid deſerved Regard, and ſhould be reported to the King. But that *France* in plain Terms could not ſubſiſt without a Peace. *They complain to no purpoſe.*

1597. *Cecil* ſpoke next, and ſaid, That being impowered only to treat of a General Peace, ſince the *States* of the *United-Provinces* were not to be included in the Treaty the King was making with *Spain*, he could proceed no farther. Then after a Juſtification of the Conduct of the Queen his Miſtreſs, and great Freedom taken with that of the *French* King, he demanded time to inform the Queen of what had been tranſacted. But his Demand being eluded, he prayed the Commiſſioners to remind the King of the Oath which he had taken before God and Man. He concluded with ſaying, that the Queen expected to be reimburſed the Sums which ſhe had lent to the King in his preſſing Neceſſities. All that the Ambaſſadors alledged ſignified nothing, ſince the Peace between *France* and *Spain* was already concluded, and nothing wanted but the Formality of having it publickly ſigned by Plenipotentiaries who were to meet at *Vervins*.

Elizabeth *enraged.*

*Elizabeth* was exceedingly provoked with the *French* King's Proceedings, and the more ſo, becauſe ſhe could ſee no other Cauſe which could oblige him to negotiate a Peace without her Knowledge, than the Deſire to do a Pleaſure to the Pope and the King of *Spain*. It is certain that *Henry* might have come out of this Affair with ſome Appearance of Honeſty, if he had but ſhewed an Unwillingneſs to treat without his Allies, and then, upon ſuch Difficulties as might ariſe, alledged the Neceſſity he was under of making a Peace. But the taking this Step without any Communication with them, was a clear Evidence that the Intereſts of the King of *Spain* outweighed with him all thoſe of his antient Allies. This was indeed his Character. He was ſo impatient to ſee himſelf in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, that to compaſs his Ends, he made no ſcruple to ſacrifice his antient Friends who were incapable to hurt him, to his moſt mortal Enemies, who might ſtili create him Troubles. He had no Perſon about him who durſt blame his Conduct; but in *Elizabeth* he found one of equal Rank with himſelf, who did not think ſhe was obliged

obliged to treat him with ſuch Reſpect. She writ to him a Letter, in which, after other very unwelcome Freedoms, ſhe told him, *That if in temporal Concerns there could be ſuch a Thing as a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it was, doubtleſs, Ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantageous Terms from the King of* Spain, *he ought to own himſelf indebted for them to the Aſſiſtance which he had received from* England; *and that the Sacredneſs of Treaties, and the Faith of Alliances were never intended for Snares unleſs by the worſt of Men.* *Henry* was ſtung with theſe Reproaches; but as they admitted of no Reply, he choſe to take no notice of them. He excuſed himſelf upon the Urgency with which his Affairs called for Peace, endeavoured to perſuade *Elizabeth* that whereas he had hitherto been only a Burden to her, he would for the future ſtrive to give her Marks of his Acknowledgment, in procuring for her a Peace ſafe and honourable, and in a laſting Adherence to her Intereſts. Theſe were only Words, and the Queen regarded them accordingly. 1598. *Writes to him a Letter full of Reſentment.*

During theſe Tranſactions, ſome leſs important Articles, which had remained undecided, were finiſhed at *Vervins*. *Mezerai* acknowledges, that the Peace might have been concluded and ſigned in leſs than three Weeks, if *Henry* had not been willing to impoſe upon the Publick by a Shew of an Adherence to the Intereſts of his Allies. But all this tended to no other End, than to obtain for the Ambaſſadors of *England* and thoſe of the *States* an Admiſſion to the Conferences, but without any Declaration from him what it was that he intended in their favour. But *Philip*, who well knew how far he ſhould be ſollicited, remained always inflexible, and would never grant a Power to his Plenipotentiaries to treat either with thoſe of *England* or the *States*; at laſt, after *Henry* had done all that was poſſible to make himſelf appear innocent to the World, he gave Orders to his Plenipotentiaries to ſign the Treaty, promiſing nevertheleſs, as his laſt ſhift, to his Allies, that he would not ratify it till Forty Days after, as if that time had *He ſigns the Peace without his Allies.*

1598. been sufficient to make their Peace with the *Spaniard*, who even refused all Treaty with them. Nevertheless he exhorted them, whether seriously or otherwise, not to slip the Occasion which he had put into their Hands. This Peace was signed at *Vervins* the 2d of *May*, and ratified by *Henry* the 12th of *June*.

Elizabeth's *Reasons for continuing the War.* Grotius.

It was now incumbent upon the Queen and the *States* to take proper Measures to sustain the War against all the Forces of the King of *Spain*; and in order to this, *Elizabeth* dispatched *Francis Vere* to the *States* to know their Resolution. Nevertheless it was debated in Council whether it was more proper to make Peace, or continue the War. The Council being divided upon this Question, divers Reasons were alledged on both Sides. But the Queen, who knew perfectly her own Interests, made no difficulty to declare for War. She comprehended that in making a separate Peace, which had been easy for her to do, she would throw the *States* into a Necessity of putting themselves once more under the Yoak of *Spain*. In this case she foresaw that she should stand single without any Ally, and exposed to the Insults of *Philip*, who would never want Pretences to quarrel with her, and to resume his first Designs against *England*. Nay, it was to be feared that the King of *France*, incited by the Pope and a *Catholick* Council, where the antient *Leaguers* had but too much Influence, might suffer himself to be engaged in a Design to dethrone her. She was apprehensive besides that the King of *Scots* might be seduced by dazling Prospects and mighty Promises, to abandon the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion, in order to ascend the Throne of *England* sooner than he could otherwise hope. In a word, by deserting the *States* she saw herself exposed to the Danger of seeing the Storm fall upon her own Head, which she had all her Life endeavoured to turn upon her Neighbours. On the contrary, in supporting them she gave a Diversion to the *Spanish* Arms, and put it out of the Power of *Philip* to make any considerable Attempts upon *England*. Moreover, if by a vi-

a vigorous War ſhe could force him to a Peace without any Danger to the Liberty of the *States*; ſhe would by this ſecure Friends to herſelf who might be of great Service to her in Time of need. 1598.

Theſe were the Reaſons which determined the Queen to continue the War. But ſhe was very careful not to make any Diſcovery of her Intentions to the *States*. She rather ſhewed a great Inclination to Peace, pretending that ſhe was unable to carry on ſo burdenſom a War. She ſignified to them that her Intereſt were entirely unconcerned in the Diſpute, and that the hitherto impotent Efforts of *Philip* againſt *England*, let her clearly ſee that ſhe had no Danger to apprehend from him. The *States*, not in a Condition to diſſemble like her, becauſe their All was at Stake, were brought by her to an Acknowledgment, that the continuance of the War would be purely for the preſervation of their Liberty, and that therefore it would be neceſſary to come to a new Agreement upon that Foundation. In ſhort, by her Addreſs ſhe brought them to new Stipulations, and turned the whole Advantage to herſelf. The *States* choſe rather to ſubmit to her Terms than ſee themſelves reduced to the Neceſſity of making a Peace, which in this Conjuncture could not have been done, without the Loſs of their Liberty, their Religion, and the Fruits of thirty Years Labour to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. The Articles of this new Treaty were:

*A new Treaty between Elizabeth and the States.*

That the *States* ſhould give Security to *Elizabeth* for a Sum of eight Millions of *Florins*, to which all her Claims were limited.

*Articles of it.*

That the half of this Sum ſhould be diſcharged by Payments of three Hundred Thouſand *Florins* every Year, as long as the War ſhould continue. But that if there were any Thing behind of this Sum at the Concluſion of the War, the Annual Payments ſhould be only twenty Millions of *Florins*.

1598. That the Payment of the other half, and the Reſtitution of Places, now in the Queen's Hands, ſhould be amicably adjuſted after the Peace was made.

That for the Defenſe of *Fluſhing*, the *Brill*, and other Forts, the Queen ſhould furniſh eleven Hundred and fifty Men to be paid by the *States*, as an Allowance of five Thouſand one Hundred *Florins* every three Months, beſides Utenſils, and other Neceſſaries uſually ſupplied to Garriſons.

That for the future the Queen ſhould be diſcharged from her Engagement to furniſh the *States* with Auxiliary Forces, and that the *Engliſh* who now ſerved, or ſhould hereafter ſerve in the *Low-Countries*, ſhould be maintained at the Charge of the *States*, take an Oath to them, and obey the Orders of their Generals.

That by this Expedient the Authority of the *Engliſh* Deputy, ſtipulated in the former Treaty, would be aboliſhed, the Queen nevertheleſs reſerving to her ſelf a Power to put one Man into the Council of State.

That when the Queen ſhould be actually engaged in a War with the common Enemy, either Offenſive or Defenſive, the *States* ſhould be obliged to join her Navy with forty or fifty Ships of War, and to ſend to her five Thouſand *Foot*, and five Hundred *Horſe*.

It is eaſy to obſerve from this Treaty how well the Queen knew to make Advantage of the Conjuncture in which the *States* then were, and of their Fears of ſeeing themſelves forced to make a diſadvantageous Peace with *Spain*, though for Reaſons before given, ſhe had an Intereſt of her own in the Continuation of the War. Beſides, at the Time when this Treaty was negotiating, the Earl of *Tyrone* was very formidable in *Ireland*. In fine, the King of *Scotland* made an almoſt open demand to be declared preſumptive Heir to the Queen. He diſperſed every where written or printed Books, in which he pretended to prove that no Perſon whatever could deprive him of his Right.

*The Earl of* Tyrone *formidable in* Ireland.

*The King of* Scots *inſiſted to be declared Succeſſor to* Elizabeth. Camden.

A Letter was ſhewn to *Elizabeth* ſubſcribed with his own Hand, and addreſſed to the Pope. *Camden* ſays, that he had been ſurpriſed into this Letter; but that Author is too partial in whatſoever relates to King *James*, to deſerve entire Credit. Shortly after one *Edmund* * *Squire* was apprehended in *London* on an Information of his having undertaken to deſtroy the Queen by poiſoning the Pummel of her Saddle. All this makes it clear that ſhe had as much Occaſion of fear for herſelf as for the *States*, and that it was was her Intereſt to ſupport them, and procure for them a Peace which ſhould ſecure their Liberty. 1598. *He writes to the Pope.* *A Conſpiracy diſcovered againſt the Queen.*

The Death of *Philip* of *Spain*, which fell out in *September* this Year, removed a little the Uneaſineſs of *Elizabeth*. That Prince dyed at Seventy-two Years of Age, of which he had reigned Forty-two, in continual Troubles and Quarrels to enlarge the Bounds of his Monarchy. He caſt his ambitious Views upon *France*, *England*, and *Portugal*, and was only ſucceſsful in this laſt Project. But he loſt ſeven Provinces in the *Netherlands*, which were well worth the Kingdom he ſubdued. He died a dreadful Death, being devoured by Lice ſwarming from Ulcers with which he had been ſome Time afflicted: But he bore his Calamity with admirable Reſolution. Some Time before his Death he had aſſigned over the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* as a Portion to the *Infanta Iſabel* his Daughter, whom he had married to Archduke *Albert*. But the Conditions annexed to this Gift made it clear that he had no Intention to diſmember thoſe Provinces from the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. Beſides the Homage of them reſerved to himſelf, and a Power to keep Garriſons in the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Cambray*, he had ſtipulated the return of theſe Provinces to the Crown of *Spain* in default of Heirs deſcending from the Princeſs his Daughter, and it is even pretended that he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. *Philip* III his Son ſucceeded him. *Death of* Philip.

In

* *Edward.* Camden.

1598. *The Queen gives the Earl of Eſſex a Box on the Ear.* Camden.

In this Year a troubleſome Affair diſturbed the Peace of the *Engliſh* Court. The Queen aſking the Advice of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Admiral, concerning a fit Perſon to be ſent over Lieutenant to *Ireland*, diſcovered an Inclination for Sir *William Knolles*; but the Earl of *Eſſex*, though his Nephew, oppoſed it ſtoutly, with a view of having that Dignity conferred on Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a Mind to remove from the Court, becauſe he gave him ſome Jealouſy. He ſupported his Opinion with that Haughtineſs and Obſtinacy, that ſeeing the Queen immoveable in her own Sentiment, he turned his back upon her with ſuch an Air of Contempt, that provoked at his Inſolence ſhe gave him a Box on the Ear. He immediately laid his Hand upon his Sword, and being prevented from drawing it by the Admiral, he ſwore *That he neither could nor would put up ſo great an Indignity*; *nor could he have taken it from* Henry VIII *himſelf were he alive*, and immediately withdrew from Court. The Lord *Privy-Seal* following him to his Houſe, and laying before him the Folly of his Menaces, he grew ſtill more violent, and ſpoke of the Queen in very offenſive Language. But at laſt ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed upon by the Counſels of his Friends, the Queen gave him her Pardon. Few Perſons believed that there was any Sincerity on either Side in this Reconciliation, and the Earl's Friends were full of Apprehenſions for him.

*Death of Lord* Burleigh.

*William Cecil*, Baron *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treaſurer, and for many Years Prime Miniſter and Confident of the Queen dyed this Year in extreme old Age. The Lord *Buckhurſt* ſucceeded him in his Office of High-Treaſurer.

1599. *Affairs of* Ireland. Hiſt. of Ireland. Camden.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were in ſo ill a Situation, that either a timely Remedy was to be applied, or the Kingdom expoſed to the Hazard of being entirely loſt. The Advantages gained by the Earl of *Tyrone* over the *Engliſh*, had drawn the whole Province of *Munſter* into a Revolt. The Natives in every other Part of the Iſle were in the ſame Diſpoſition, flatter-

ing

ing themſelves that with the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and King of *Spain*, the Earl of *Tyrone* would be able to free them entirely from the *Engliſh* Yoke. The Queen informed of the State of the *Iriſh* Affairs, believed that no Time was to be loſt to recover that Kingdom to its Duty, and immediately cauſed it to be deliberated in a Council held in her Preſence, what way would be moſt likely to execute her Reſolution. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſpoke long upon this Subject, and condemned very much the Conduct of thoſe who had governed *Ireland*, who, he ſaid, amuſed themſelves with Trifles inſtead of acting directly againſt the Earl of *Tyrone*, to whom they ought to have given no Reſpite: That by Truces granted him from Time to Time he found leiſure to reſtore his Affairs: That at the ſame Time the Queen had been put to an unneceſſary Charge, ſince her Troops were no leſs payed during a Truce, than in the Time of War. This Opinion was pleaſing to the Queen, who loved not to throw away her Money without Occaſion. When it came to be debated who ſhould be ſent Lieutenant, the Majority of the Voices was for the Lord *Montjoy*. This was oppoſed by the Earl of *Eſſex*, becauſe that Lord had never commanded in Chief, and was too much addicted to Books; whereas the Affairs of *Ireland* required an active and a warlike General: He added, that to put a ſpeedy End to the War in *Ireland*, a General of Reputation, and at the ſame Time acceptable to the People, ought to be diſpatched thither. In a Word, he drew his own Picture ſo well, that he was choſen to the Employ. His Friends believed they did him a Pleaſure, and his Enemies hoped that this Poſt, and his Abſence from the Court, would afford them means to ruin him. 1599

*The Earl of* Eſſex *ſent Lieutenant.*

One knows not well what it was this Lord aſpired to. But for ſome Time he had made himſelf ſo popular, and had gained ſo far upon the People by his affable Deportment, that he was almoſt adored. Nothing more was wanted but to gain the Affection of the Military Part of the Nation; and in all Appear-

*A Remark upon his Conduct.*

ance

1599. ance it was with this view that he desired the Command in *Ireland*. But as he had Enemies intent upon his Ruin, it was upon this removal that they founded their hopes of Success against him. On the other Hand, his Friends in being too zealous to serve him did him a Diskindness. They affected to publish his Descent from the Royal *House* of *Scotland*, and from that of *England* by his Great-Grandmother, who numbered amongst her Ancestors *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, both Sons of *Edward* III. It was insinuated from this that it would be be better after the Demize of the Queen to place him upon the Throne than a foreign Prince. A Book was even dedicated to him in which the Author disputed the Claims of all the Pretenders to the Crown, except those of the *Infanta* of *Spain*. His Enemies, sensible that he was forming some dangerous Conspiracy, took Care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they every where, and on all Occasions heaped Praises upon him, extolled his Valour, his Prudence, his Firmness to the *Protestant* Interest, in order to engage him in Measures which more clearly discovered his Designs. He had a lively Wit, and a great many amiable Qualities; but he was too much intoxicated with his own Merit, and regarded the rest of the Nobility as very much his Inferiours. The Commission which constituted him Lieutenant of *Ireland*, invested him with a Power more ample and extensive than had ever been granted to his Predecessors. He had a Power to make War or Peace as he judged most Expedient, and even to pardon the Earl of *Tyrone* and his Accomplices, a Power never before granted to any Lord-Deputy. But it was inserted in this same Commission, that laying aside all other Affairs he should apply himself wholly to pursue and ruin the Earl of *Tyrone* chief of the Rebels. He had no Reason to complain of this Clause, because it was only the result of his own Proposal in Council.

*Friends and Enemies do him ill Offices.*

*His Character.*

*He is invested with great Power.*

About

About the end of *March* he ſailed for *Ireland* with an Army of 20000 *Foot*, and 1300 *Horſe*. The *Engliſh* had never before ſeen ſo formidable an Army in that Iſland. The Queen had made this great Effort purſuant to the Advice of the Earl of *Eſſex*, in hopes of finiſhing at once the Rebellion, and ending the War in one Campaign. On his Arrival he affected, whether by the Advice of his pretended Friends or of his own Head, to act directly contrary to his Inſtructions in his Commiſſion. He gave immediately the Command of the *Horſe* to his intimate Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, contrary to the Queen's expreſs Orders, who was offended with that Lord for having married without her Permiſſion. Then inſtead of marching againſt *Tyrone*, he turned his Arms againſt ſome Rebels in *Munſter*, whom he drove indeed into the Woods and Mountains, but with the loſs of a great many of his own Men. This Expedition, of little Importance, detained him in thoſe Parts till the End of *July*. In the mean Time the Queen informed of his Proceedings, writ to him in an angry Stile, and reproached him with acting contrary to Orders founded upon his own Advice, commanding him at the ſame Time to march into *Ulſter* againſt *Tyrone* himſelf. He excuſed himſelf, by ſaying that the Council of *Ireland*, which knew beſt the Affairs of that Kingdom, was of Opinion that he ought firſt to clear the Province of *Munſter*, and he promiſed poſitively to march with the firſt Opportunity againſt the Chief of the Rebels. But ſhortly after he writ to the Court, that ſome Rebel *Iriſh* had called him back to *Dublin*, whoſe Neighbourhood they infeſted, in order to chaſtize their Inſolence, which he effectually did. But after this ſecond Expedition his Army was ſo diminiſhed that he writ over for a Reinforcement, without which he ſaid he could be in no Condition to do any great Matters in *Ulſter*. He began however to march thither, but his Vanguard conſiſting of 1500 Men, under the Command of *Clifford*, fell into an Ambuſcade and was entirely defeated.

1599. *Acts in* Ireland *contrary to his own Advice.* Camden.

Though

1599. Though it was aſtoniſhing that with ſo fine an Army he had done nothing conſiderable, but on the contrary was reduced to the Neceſſity of demanding a Reinforcement, yet the Queen immediately ſent him ſome freſh Troops. But ſoon after he let the Court know that all he could do this Campaign would only be to poſt himſelf upon the Frontiers of *Ulſter* with Thirteen Hundred *Foot* and Three Hundred *Horſe*. On his Arrival in that Province the Earl of *Tyrone* propoſed a Conference, which he would not accept. Nevertheleſs, a few Days after, when the Armies drew near one another, *Tyrone* ſent to him an Officer named *Hagan*, to let him know that he was ready to ſubmit to the Queen, and deſired him to grant him a Conference on the Banks of a ſmall River, where they might confer together, each ſtaying on his own Side. The Earl of *Eſſex* conſented, and they talked together about an Hour, without any Witneſs of their Converſation. Two Hours after *Tyrone* demanded a ſecond Conference, in Preſence of ſome of the chief Officers of the two Armies. The Earl of *Eſſex* granted this Demand; and in this ſecond Conference it was agreed, that the next Day Commiſſioners for both Parties ſhould enter upon a Treaty of Peace. This Negotiation ended in a Treaty or Truce haſtily concluded. This Truce was to continue till *May* the next Year, with this Proviſo, that either Party ſhould be at Liberty to break it on notice to the other Fifteen Days before.

*Treats with Tyrone,*

*and grants him a Truce.*

*Is ſuſpected by the Queen.*

In the mean time the Queen having received the laſt Letter from the Earl of *Eſſex*, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear ſaying, that ſhe ſuſpected him of ill Deſigns. She was adviſed to recal him immediately: but ſhe feared to irritate him too much, whilſt he had a Power to do miſchief. Nevertheleſs, ſhe writ to him with great Paſſion, and reproached him with his Contempt of her Orders. This Letter wrought ſo upon him, that he came to a ſudden Reſolution of returning into *England* with the Flower of his Army, to take Revenge upon his Enemies,

*Writes to him in Anger.*

*He meditates a dangerous Deſign,*

Enemies, and flattered himſelf with a general Inſurrection in his Favour. But the Earl of *Southampton* diverted him from ſo dangerous a Reſolution. The Queen, informed of what he had intended, gave Countenance to a Report, that a Fleet was preparing in *Spain* to invade *England*, and under colour of this ſhe raiſed Six Thouſand Men. Sometime after ſhe made a new Augmentation to her Army, and gave the Command of it to the Admiral, who was no Friend to the Earl of *Eſſex*. But this Terror being diſſipated by Advices from *Ireland*, ſhe disbanded the greateſt Part of her Forces. 1599. *but is diverted.*

The News of what paſſed in *England* having convinced the Earl of *Eſſex* that the Queen was ſuſpicious of his Conduct, he took a haſty Reſolution to go and juſtify himſelf before her, without demanding her Permiſſion. He left *Ireland*, attended by the Earl of *Southampton* and ſeveral Officers, who on their Arrival in *England* diſperſed themſelves into different Places. He himſelf reſerved only ſix Men to attend him, and poſted with all ſpeed in order to be with the Queen before ſhe could have notice of his Arrival; but he found himſelf diſappointed in this Expectation. The Queen was then at her Palace of *Nonſuch*, Ten Miles diſtant from *London*. She received him without any ſenſible Alteration in her Looks, and with ſome Shew of Kindneſs: But after ſhe had made him ſome Reproaches on his irregular Conduct, ſhe commanded him to keep his Chamber till farther Orders. After that, being asked his Reaſons for making a a Truce with the Earl of *Tyrone*, which might at any time be broken at a Fortnight's Warning, whereas he was empowered to conclude a Peace. He anſwered, That the Earl of *Tyrone* was ſo extravagant in his Demands, that they could not with any Honour be granted; but that it was his Opinion that a Truce might bring him to more equitable Terms. This Anſwer gave no Satisfaction to the Queen, who was beſides provoked at his having left his Government without any Leave from her, and that in Company with *Comes into* England *without Leave.* *Defends himſelf ill.*

1599. with Men who were capable to give her great Jealousies of him. This occasioned his being confined at the House of the Lord-Keeper, to prevent his flying out into new Excesses.

*Is put under Arrest.*

*He makes his own Apology.*

In *Camden*'s *Annals* we meet with an Apology writ by the Earl himself, from which it appears that he made an ill Defence to the Accusation brought against him, for having neglected to fall upon the Earl of *Tyrone*, and employed his Army in Expeditions of little Consequence. He contented himself with saying, that he had put the *Irish* Affairs upon such a Foot, that, during his Nine Months Government, the *English* had sustained no Damage: But he was not intrusted with an Army of Twenty Thousand Men, to hold himself upon the Defensive. He says not one word in this Apology of his returning without Leave. As to the Persons who attended him, he says, that he had only brought six to Court, but is entirely silent concerning the Rest who accompanied him from *Ireland*. The Commission given to the Earl of *Southampton*, contrary to the Queen's express Prohibition, has likewise no Notice taken of it. The rest consisted wholly in Exclamations upon the Injustice done him by causeless Suspicions, and in magnifying his Father's Merits, those of a Brother killed in the Queen's Service, and his own. At the same time his Friends and Relations complained loudly of the Rigour with which he was treated, representing it as excessive. Some even formed a Design to rescue him by force, but he would not give his Consent to it.

*The Earl of* Tyrone *breaks the Truce.*

In the mean time the Earl of *Tyrone* hearing that the Earl of *Essex* was under an Arrest broke the Truce, and did great Mischief to the *English* Inhabitants in *Ireland*. He flattered himself with great Assistance from the King of *Spain* and the Pope, who had made him a Present of a counterfeit *Phœnix*'s Feather. In this Expectation he formed no less Design than that of driving the *English* entirely out of *Ireland*.

In

In the mean time the Partizans of the Earl of *Eſſex* were active to incite the People to an Inſurrection in his favour, repreſenting him as the moſt accompliſhed Nobleman that *England* had ever beheld ſince the Foundation of her Monarchy. At the ſame time they inveighed againſt the Miniſtry, not without ſpiteful Reflexions upon the Queen's Conduct, as if ſhe took no manner of Care of the *Iriſh* Affairs. This only did hurt to the Earl, and increaſed the Queen's Suſpicions againſt him. As ſhe had provoked him, ſhe eaſily perſuaded herſelf that he was meditating Revenge. She therefore in the Beginning of *October* aſſembled the Council in the *Star-Chamber*, where the Earl's Conduct was examined into, and unanimouſly condemned by all the Privy-Counſellors. Nothing more however was done againſt him, the Queen only deſiring to ſatisfy the People that it was not out of Humour or Caprice that he was put under Confinement. He remained therefore at the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, where he gave himſelf up to Devotion, ſpending his time in Prayer, and writing Letters to his Friends in ſo devout a Strain, that one might perceive he had bid adieu to all worldly Vanities.

1599. *The Friends of the Earl of* Eſſex *cabal in his Favour.*

*His Conduct examined before the Privy-Council.*

*Grows devout.*

In the cloſe of the Year the Archduke *Andrew*, Governour of the *Low-Countries* in his Brother *Albert*'s Abſence, who was gone into *Spain* to marry the *Infanta*, propoſed a Peace to Queen *Elizabeth*. She anſwered, that ſhe would come heartily into it, if the *States* of the *United-Provinces* might be included. This Propoſition ſtopped the Negotiation at once. The Queen ſuſpected that the Propoſal had been made only to amuſe her, till a Fleet then preparing in *Spain* ſhould be in a Readineſs to invade *England*. But this pretended Fleet, which gave her ſome Uneaſineſs, ended at laſt in a few Gallies, put to Sea by *Francis Spinola*, a *Genoeſe* in the King of *Spain*'s Service, and which he carried into the Harbour of *Sluice*.

*The Archduke tries to amuſe* Elizabeth,

1600. *The Earl of Tyrone's Progress in Ireland.*

The Earl of *Tyrone* made Advantage of the Disorder which the Earl of *Essex* had put the *Irish* Affairs into. He reduced the whole Province of *Ulster* to his Obedience, and flattered himself with the Hopes of becoming Master of the whole Kingdom. For his Encouragement Pope *Clement* VIII sent him a *Bull*, by which he granted to him and his Adherents *Indulgences*, as ample as had been granted to those who fought against the *Turks* for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*. But the Lord *Montjoy*, appointed Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of the Earl of *Essex*, found a Way to stop the Progress of the Rebels, and gave a mortifying Check to their Insolence.

*Lord Montjoy sent thither.*

*A fruitless Conference for a Peace.*

At the same time Archduke *Albert*, called also the *Cardinal Infant*, being returned from *Spain*, made new Proposals of a Peace to *Elizabeth*. *Henry* IV supported them with all his Interest, and succeeded so far, that the Queen sent Plenipotentiaries to *Bologne*, where the Peace was to be negotiated. But after the Ambassadors of the contending Crowns had been four Months in that City, they separated, without having once come together, by reason of a Dispute of Precedency between *England* and *Spain*. After great Debates on this Subject Queen *Elizabeth* had at last consented to an Equality, but the King of *Spain* would not quit his Pretensious. If the Plenipotentiaries had met, another Obstacle remained, which would never have been surmounted. This was, that the *Spaniards* were for a Peace or Truce with *England* exclusive of the *States*, to which *Elizabeth* doubtless would not have consented. Beside the King of *Spain* pretended to a Surrender of the Places which *Elizabeth* held of the *States* by way of Mortgage. The *Spanish* Ambassadors having sounded the *English* on these two Articles, and finding they should never accomplish their Aim, made use of this Pretence to break off the Negotiation.

*Battle of Newport.* *Grotius.* *Camden.*

The second Day of *July* Prince *Maurice* gained the famous Battle of *Newport* over the Archduke: The *English*, to the Number of Fifteen Hundred, under

the Leading of Sir *Francis Vere*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves glorioufly in this Engagement: but there was Eight Hundred left dead upon the Field of Battle. 1600.

*Briefs ſent to the* Engliſh *Catholicks by Pope* Clement.

*Elizabeth* being now Sixty Seven Years old, it was with extreme Vexation that the *Catholicks* ſaw the *Engliſh* Crown ready to drop upon the Head of a *Proteſtant* Prince. *Clement* VIII, to do what lay in his Power to prevent it, ſent two *Briefs* into *England*, one addreſſed to the *Romiſh* Clergy, and one to the People. In theſe *Briefs* he forbad them to acknowledge after the Death of *Elizabeth* any Prince who would not ſwear not only to the Toleration of their Religion, but even to the Maintenance and Support of it with all his Power. Theſe *Briefs* were privately conveyed into the Nation, and communicated but to very few, all being afraid of the Penalties enacted by Law.

*A Conſpiracy againſt the King of* Scots.

But at the ſame time ſome found out a way more ready and effectual to prevent the King of *Scots* aſcending the Throne of *England*. The *Ruthons*, Sons to Earl *Gowry* beheaded in 1584, conſpired againſt him, and inviting him to their Houſe on ſome Pretence or other, deſigned to murder him, but he eſcaped by a ſort of Miracle. The two *Ruthons* were killed in the Attempt, and their Accomplices condemned to Death. Afterwards by an *Act* of Parliament, all who bore the Name of *Ruthon* were obliged to quit it, that the very Name of that Family might be buried in Oblivion.

*The Earl of* Eſſex's *Story continued.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſtill under Arreſt at the Lord-Privy Seal's Houſe, where he cloſely applyed himſelf to his Devotion. He writ from time to time ſuch ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen, that he ſeemed to have loſt all Remembrance of that Haughtineſs which had been ſo prejudicial to him. At laſt the Queen, contented with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own Houſe under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Berkely*, who was to have an Eye over him. In all appearance he had been ſoon reſtored to Favour, the Queen having clearly diſco-

1600. vered her Sentiments on that Subject; but his Friends and Domesticks ruined him. They had made such Cabals amongst the People, that nothing was talked of but the Innocence of the Earl of *Essex*. Whereas the Queen pretended to have treated him with great Lenity and Moderation, they gave out that his Prosecution was unjust, and even his Life attempted on false Suggestions. *Elizabeth*, who was very nice in such a Point, and considered the Peoples Prejudices against her as a very great Unhappiness, resolved to make it appear that the Earl had more reason to praise her Moderation than to blame her Rigour. To this purpose she ordered him to be brought before the Privy-Council, to which she had added four Earls, two Barons, and four of the Judges. But she let the Commissioners know that it was not her Intention to condemn him to any dishonourable and infamous Punishment, as guilty of Treason or Treachery; but only to convince him of his having been faulty in his Allegiance to her, and of having slighted her Orders and Instructions, through an Excess of Vanity. The Queen's Design was to let the prejudiced People see, that the Earl of *Essex* deserved a heavier Chastisement than that of a few Months Imprisonment.

*Is brought to an Examination before the Privy-Council.*

*Articles of his Accusation.*

When he appeared before his Judges, he was first accused of his Contempt shewn to the Queen's Orders, in making the Earl of *Southampton* General of the *Horse*. Secondly, of his having made Knights contrary to the express Words of his Commission. Thirdly, of his having neglected to fall upon the Earl of *Tyrone*, though that was the End for which he was principally employed. Fourthly, of his having secretly conferred with that Rebel. Fifthly, of his having granted a Truce very prejudicial to the Queen's Affairs. Sixthly, of his having left his Government without vouchsafing to ask the Queen's Permission. Some Inferences were likewise made from disrespectful Expressions in his Apology, and certain dangerous Principles contained in a Book dedicated to him, about the deposing *Richard* II.

After

1600.

After he had heard the Articles of his Accuſation, he threw himſelf upon his Knees, and gave Thanks to God for all the Bleſſings he had received from his Goodneſs; he then acknowledged the Queen's great Favour to him, in not bringing him to Judgment in the *Star-Chamber*. He declared that he would neither excuſe his Faults in whole or in part, nor enter into any Conteſt with the Queen: He acknowledged his Guilt, but proteſted upon his Honour that his Heart had been always free from the leaſt Thought of Rebellion. Nevertheleſs, in the Proceſs of his Diſcourſe he began to urge ſome Excuſes on his own behalf. But the Lord-Keeper interrupted him, by reminding him that he had taken a good Way, but was now wandring from it: That in extenuating his own Crimes he likewiſe extenuated the Queen's Clemency; and laſtly, that a manifeſt Diſobedience was but a bad Proof of a good Intention. This was a good Office done him by the Lord-Keeper, to prevent his going on in his Juſtification. The Queen's Intention was not to have him tried with Rigour, but to make him ſenſible that he had been treated with more Lenity than he deſerved. His Confeſſion led him to the ſame End, whereas the Juſtification of his Crimes would have only obliged his Judges to have examined him with more Rigour. Therefore, whether he underſtood his own Intereſt himſelf, or had notice what he was to do from ſome private Hand, he held his Peace. After this the Commiſſioners, in a private Conſultation, were of Opinion that he ought to be removed from the Council-Board, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl-Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordnance, and committed to Priſon during the Queen's Pleaſure. His Office of Maſter of the Horſe was left untouched at the Queen's expreſs Command, who was unwilling to give him any Suſpicion that ſhe had entirely withdrawn her Confidence from him. She even ordered that the Sentence ſhould not be entered upon Record. The Earl received this Chaſtiſement with ſo much Humility, that the Queen, pleaſed

*He is declared guilty.*

*He is condemned to certain Penalties.*

1600. with his Behaviour, removed *Berkely* from him, and gave him full Liberty. But she ordered him to be told that he must be his own Keeper, and forbad him the Court.

*His Character.* For some Years the Queen had honoured the Earl of *Essex* with a particular Esteem and Affection. She had given him Marks of this on sundry Occasions, and particularly by the Posts, Employs and Commands which she had raised him to. This Distinction had so filled him with Pride, that he ascribed to his single Merit the extraordinary Favours, which were the pure Effects of the Queen's Inclination for him. To this were owing his Slights of the Queen, who had reason to expect a different Behaviour from him, whilst he vainly imagined that she could not do without him. In a word, he was a very bad Courtier. It is no wonder at all that so imprudent a Conduct lessened the Queen's Esteem for him, nevertheless it was still plain, from the Regard she had for him, that her Affection was not entirely extinguished. Her Design was only to humble that lofty Spirit, which seemed to vye with her, and she believed the Work was effected. It seemed that he himself was at last sensible that Humility was the only way to restore him to the same Degree of Favour he had once held, and that he had resolved to pursue it as the surest Road he had to walk in. Immediately after his Sentence, while he was preparing for his Retirement into the Country, he sent word to the Queen that he was very much grieved for having so highly offended her, and that he could enjoy no Rest till he had the Happiness of seeing those Eyes again which had once shined so propitiously on him: That in Expectation of that happy Moment he would, like another *Nebuchodonozor*, dwell with the Beasts of the Field, eat Grass, and be wet with the Dew of Heaven, till it should please her to have Pity on him. This Submission was very agreeable to the Queen. Nevertheless she answered, that she would no longer suffer herself to be amused with vain Promises, but that, as he had so long abused her

*He humbles himself.*

her Patience, ſhe would have ſome time to try his Humility. This was intimating clearly to him that with a little Patience he would be able to calm all her Reſentments, and it was in ſome meaſure directing him how to form his Conduct. But he was ſo imprudent as to receive no Advantage from this, but to ſuffer himſelf to be led by the intereſted Counſels of his Domeſticks, who adviſed him to petition the Queen for the Continuation of the Farm of the ſweet Wines, which had been hitherto very profitable to him. The Queen, to make Trial of his Humility, refuſed to grant his Petition, knowing that it was in her Power to make up the Loſs to him whenever ſhe pleaſed. But far from receiving this Denial with the Humility and Reſignation which he had made Profeſſion of ſince his Diſgrace, he on the contrary diſcovered Paſſion and Reſentment, which made the Queen infer that he was not yet ſufficiently humbled. On this Diſappointment, *Cuff* his Secretary and Confident ſuggeſted to him, that the Queen had not only an Intention to humble, but to reduce him to a Poverty which would render him contemptible to all the World. The Secretary was backed by other Incendiaries, who at laſt fired him with the Reſolution of putting his Credit to the Tryal by open Force, and of deſtroying all his Enemies about the Queen's Perſon. After this Reſolution was taken, his Houſe was open to all the Male-contents againſt the Court. The Earl of *Southampton*, who had withdrawn into the *Netherlands*, returned back to *England*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* leaving the Country, came to reſide in his Houſe at *London*. When he was there, *Merrick* his Steward kept an open Table for all who thought they had any Cauſe of Diſcontent againſt the Queen or her Miniſters, and great Numbers of ſuſpicious Perſons reſorted to his Houſe. In ſhort, all his Conduct gave room to ſuſpect that he was meditating ſome dangerous Deſign. His Enemies improving theſe falſe Steps to his Diſadvantage, found Means to fill the Queen with Jealouſy of his Deſigns, and to have Spies

1600.

*Returns back to bad Counſels.*

*Forms dangerous Deſigns.*

1600. placed upon him, who gave notice to the Court of what was tranſacting within his Walls.

1601. *Snares laid for him;* It is pretended that his Enemies, who had projected his Ruin, knowing the Haughtineſs and Inſolence of his Temper, prevailed with his Friends at Court to write to him, not to diſcover ſo much Impatience at his Diſgrace, but to throw himſelf entirely upon the Queen's Clemency, as his ſhorteſt Step to Forgiveneſs and Re-admiſſion to her Favour. Theſe Advices drew from him Anſwers agreeable to the Intentions of his Enemies, which were ſhewn to the Queen, and gave the finiſhing Stroke to his Ruin. *which he falls into:* They were filled with Expreſſions which diſcovered his Anger and Impatience, not without ſome Intimation of his Deſigns. He ſaid, that a Storm was fallen upon him when he expected a Harveſt: That the Queen had reduced him to a private Life, which was diſagreeable to him: That he was altogether incapable of ſo baſe a Submiſſion as was expected from him: That he had been unjuſtly impriſoned: That Sovereigns have not an unlimited Power, nor are leſs fallible in their Judgments than private Perſons: That he had been ſhot at with an Arrow which had gone through his Body: That his Enemies triumphed, but ſhould never have the Satisfaction to ſee him follow their triumphal Chariot. To theſe Expreſſions, which diſcovered nothing leſs than Repentance, Care was taken to inſtill into the Queen's Ears ſuch ſiniſter Reports of him, as were capable to put him for ever out of her Favour. She was told that he had ſaid, *She was grown an old Woman, and no leſs crooked and diſtorted in her Mind than her Body.* *Camden* ſeems to hint that he deſignedly paſſes over in Silence Things ſtill more offenſive to the Queen than theſe.

*His Deſigns upon the Queen's Perſon.* In all likelihood the Earl of *Eſſex* thought he had no need to wear the Maſk any longer, his Project being now formed, though he had laid his Meaſurers very ill. Thoſe who have ſpoke the moſt favourably of it, ſay, that his Project was to make himſelf Maſter of the Queen's Perſon, and drive his Enemies from

from Court, as he had ſeen it ſometimes practiſed in *Scotland* with regard to King *James*. But there is an Appearance at leaſt that his Deſign was deeper laid, ſince he was deſirous to be ſupported by the King of *Scotland*, perhaps to place him upon the Throne before the Queen's Demize. It was known that he had writ to that Prince that a Plot was forming to deprive him of the Succeſſion, and to place the Crown upon the Head of the *Infanta* of *Spain*: That for this purpoſe the Projectors, who were all powerful at Court, had filled the moſt conſiderable Poſts with Perſons devoted to the *Infanta*: That Secretary *Cecil* Son of the late Treaſurer, was at the Head of this Party, and had engaged in it the Treaſurer *Buckhurſt* and the Earl of *Nottingham* the Lord High-Admiral: That the better to execute his Undertaking, he had committed the Care of the Maritime Places to his Creatures, when a Deſcent might moſt eaſily be made: That the Queen ſunk ſo faſt that ſhe was incapable to act any Thing herſelf, but was entirely in the Power of her Miniſters: That he was therefore under an abſolute Neceſſity to appear openly for the defeating this Conſpiracy: That to this End, he was with all haſte to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to *England*, to demand a Settlement of the Succeſſion, and that his Enemies, Creatures and Penſionaries of *Spain*, ſhould be removed from the Court and Council. At the ſame Time he furniſhed him with Proofs which the Ambaſſadors might make uſe of to diſcover the Truth of the Plot. Laſtly, he gave him to underſtand that his Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſufficiently ſupported. *Camden*, who writ in the Reign of *James* I. has not thought fit to let us know how theſe Propoſitions were received by that Prince: but it may be judged that they were not diſagreeable, ſince very ſoon after he ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, who came too late. This Hiſtorian adds, that he drew into his Party ſome *Presbyterian* Miniſters, and even ſome *Papiſts*, by commiſerating the Hardſhips to which they were expoſed under the tyrannical Government of

1601.

*Writes to the King of* Scotland *that a Deſign was laid to deprive him of the Succeſſion.* Camden.

*Entertains ſuſpected Perſons.*

1601. of the Queen, and in giving them Hopes of a redreſs of their Grievances. He entertained the Swords-Men which were in *London* and the Suburbs, and beſpoke their Aſſiſtance when he ſhould have occaſion for it. He next eſtabliſhed a Council compoſed of the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Governour of *Plymouth*-Fort, Sir *John Davis* the great Mathematician, *John Littleton* a Man of a ready Wit and Judgment, and equally qualified for Action or Counſel.

*He plots to ſeize the Queen's Perſon.* All theſe being met in *Drury*-Houſe, the Earl of *Eſſex* gave them a Liſt of certain Noblemen whom he believed to be at his Devotion, containing in all one Hundred and Twenty Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen. He prayed them to conſult which was moſt proper, to ſeize the Palace or the *Tower*, or both at once. The Reſult of their Deliberation was, That the Palace and Perſon of the Queen ſhould firſt be ſeized; and that when they had the Queen in their Power, the Earl ſhould throw himſelf at her Feet, and pray her to diſmiſs certain Perſons from her Preſence, and turn them out of their Places: But that before any Thing was executed, the Arrival of the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors ſhould be waited for.

*Is ſent for to Council:* In the mean Time the great Reſort of ſuſpected Perſons to his Houſe, ſome Words unwarily dropped by the Conſpirators, and the Reports of the Spies having confirmed the Suſpicions of the Court, the Council met at the Treaſurer's Houſe, and diſpatched one of the Secretaries to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to require his Attendance. But at the ſame Time a Note was put into his Hand to admoniſh him of his Danger, and to bid him be upon his Guard. Whereupon he told the Secretary, that he was indiſpoſed, and could not ſtir from his Houſe. Immediately after he held a Council to conſult whether he ſhould purſue his firſt Deſign of ſeizing the Palace, or attempt to raiſe the City of *London*, or make his Eſcape, ſince it was no longer to be doubted that his Deſign was diſcovered. The firſt of theſe Projects was judged impracticable,

*Excuſes himſelf from going.*

the

the Guards being doubled, and the Court conſequently apprehenſive of the Danger: The ſecond occaſioned long Debates on the uncertainty of its Execution, as the Diſpoſition of the *Londoners* were not ſufficiently known. In this Interval one of the Conſpirators entered, who affirmed that he came immediately from the City, and that the Inhabitants were in a readineſs to defend the Earl againſt all his Enemies. He added, that *Thomas Smith* one of the Sheriffs, who commanded a Body of a Thouſand of the *Militia*, had promiſed to join the Conſpirators on their firſt Appearance in the City. Probably the Perſon who made this falſe Report had been induced to it by ſome of the principal Conſpirators, who finding the Earl grow cool, had a Mind to engage him ſo far that it ſhould not be poſſible for him to go back. This was enough to bring the Earl to a Reſolution of raiſing the City, being perſwaded that the People were willing to undertake every Thing for him. They therefore reſolved that the next Day the Earl, attended by four * Hundred Men, ſhould repair to the City, and aſſembling the Common-Council, require their Aſſiſtance. That if the Citizens were well inclined to the Undertaking, they ſhould be employed to clear the Way to the Queen, or that on a Diſappointment the Conſpirators ſhould retire to ſome other part of the Kingdom. 1601.

*Reſolves to execute his Deſign.*

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton* went next Morning to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Houſe, attended by three Hundred Men, and immediately the Gates were ſhut, and no Perſon ſuffered to go out. But Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, one of the moſt zealous Conſpirators, had a Privilege denied to others, and on ſome Pretence went out. It was probably he who diſcovered the Deſign to the Court: For very ſoon after the Queen ſent Orders to the Mayor of *London* to have the Train'd-Bands in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. At the ſame Time

* Two. *Camden.*

1601. *The Queen sends some Persons of Distinction to the Earl.*

Time she sent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, and Sir *William Knolles*, to the Earl's House, who were let in through a Wicket, without any of their Attendants, except the Purse-bearer. In the Court-Yard they saw the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland* and *Southampton*, surrounded with a Crowd of armed Men; and the Lord-Keeper advancing up to them, told the Earl of *Essex*, that he was sent by the Queen to know the Reason of so great a Concourse. Then the Earl raising his Voice, told him, that he certainly knew a Design was formed to murder him in his Bed: That his Hand-Writing was counterfeited, in order to have a Pretense to destroy him: That he had assembled his Friends for the Security and Defence of his own Life, since his Enemies could not be satisfied without having his Blood. The Lord-Keeper answered him, that the Queen would do him Justice when she was made acquainted with the Cause of his Complaint, and was going on, when a Voice from the Multitude interrupted him, by crying out to the Earl of *Essex*, *My Lord, They betray you, Your Ruin is intended, we lose Time, let us be gone.* Upon this the Earl made a Sign to those sent by the Queen to follow him; and while they were crossing the Court they heard a confused Noise of *Kill them, Away with that Great-Seal, Clap them up in Prison.* When they were in a Room to which the Earl had conducted them, he told them that he was obliged to go and advise with the Mayor, that he would soon return, and therefore prayed them to have a little Patience. When he had thus spoken he left them, ordered the Door to be shut, and set a Guard upon them.

*who are imprisoned by him.*

*He marches into the City to raise an Insurrection;*

Immediately after he began to march with his Company, and entering the City, cryed out, *For the Queen! for the Queen! A Plot is laid for my Life!* Then he went to the Sheriff's House, which was at a good distance, and during a long march was not joined by one Citizen, though Numbers led by Curiosity crowded to see him pass by. It made no Impression on them to hear him crying, *Arm, my Friends, or you*

*but without Success.*

can

*can do me no good*, not one Perſon made the leaſt Motion in his Favour. The Sheriff, who ſaw him before he reached his Houſe, withdrew himſelf out at a back Door, and went directly to the Mayor. The Sheriff's flight confirmed the Earl that he had been abuſed, when he was aſſured that his Aſſiſtance might be depended upon. While he was yet at the Sheriff's Houſe, irreſolute what Meaſures to take, he had Information that a Herald had proclaimed him a Traytor, in one of the *Wards* of the City, and that the Earl of *Cumberland* had done the like in another. Upon this he left the Sheriff's Houſe, and crying in the Streets, *That* England *was going to be delivered up to the* Infanta *of* Spain, *conjured the Inhabitants to take Arms for the Prevention of ſo great a Misfortune.* But ſeeing no Body gave him the leaſt Countenance, and underſtanding at the ſame Time that the Admiral was marching againſt him at the Head of a good Body of Men, he reſolved to return to his own Houſe. But coming to *Ludgate* he found *Leviſon* poſted there with a Company of Soldiers to diſpute his Paſſage. Firſt he ſent *Gorges* to deſire leave to go through; but being denied, he was obliged to return back to St. *Paul's*. Here *Gorges* repreſented to him that it would be proper to ſet the three Privy-Counſellors at Liberty, and having the Earl's Leave, he did ſo immediately, and accompanied them himſelf to *White-Hall*. In all Appearance *Gorges* had betrayed him from the very Beginning.

1601.

*Is proclaimed a Traytor.*

*Is oppoſed in his return to his Houſe.*

In the mean Time the Earl continuing his Reſolution of returning to his own Houſe, found the Street ſecured by a great Chain, and a Guard of Soldiers. As he ſaw no other way to force his Paſſage but by an attack upon the Guard, he gave *Blunt* Orders to fall on, and himſelf ſeconded him Sword in Hand, with great Reſolution. But he was beat back, and even wounded in his Thigh by a Muſket-Ball, and *Blunt* was taken Priſoner. This Reſiſtance obliged him to throw himſelf into a ſmall Street on the Left in order to get to the *Thames*, where he put himſelf

and

1601. and his ſmall Retinue, (the greateſt part being diſperſed) in ſome Boats, and by that means eſcaped to his Houſe, which was ſituated on the *Thames*-Side. When he was there his firſt Care was to burn ſome Papers, and then fortify his Houſe in the beſt manner he could, ſtill hoping that the Citizens of *London* would arm for his Deliverance. Shortly after the Lord Admiral inveſted the Houſe, both from the Street and the Gardens which fell down upon the River. He then ſummoned thoſe within to ſurrender; to which they anſwered, that they would dye Sword in Hand. This was the Opinion of the Lord *Sands*, who preſſed the Earl of *Eſſex* to open his Paſſage in that manner, which as he ſaid at the worſt could only be attended with a Death, far more honourable than that on the Scaffold. And indeed all that were ſhut up ſeemed to give into this Reſolution. But the Earl of *Eſſex* ſuddenly changed his Mind, and offered to ſurrender on theſe three Conditions: That they ſhould all be civilly treated, tryed according to the Laws, and that *Aſhton* the Miniſter ſhould be ſent to him to comfort him in Priſon. The Admiral anſwered, that he granted the firſt; that there was no doubt but the Queen would herſelf perform the ſecond; and as to the third, he promiſed his own Application to obtain it. *Aſhton* was a *Preſbyterian* Miniſter. This done, the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Rutland*, *Southampton*, the Lords *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*, with *Danvers* and *Bromly*, were put into Boats and conducted to the *Tower*. The reſt were committed to other Priſons. The next Day the Queen ordered Proclamation to be made in *London* of her Thanks to the Inhabitants for their Fidelity, recommending to them at the ſame Time to have a watchful Eye on whatever happened in the City, the Conſpiracy, ſhe ſaid, being more dangerous than was apprehended.

*comes to it, and is immediately inveſted.*

*He ſurrenders;*

*and is with his principal Followers committed to the* Tower.

Thomas Lee *executed.*

The twelfth of *February*, *Thomas Lee*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Creature, and intimate Friend of the Earl of *Tyrone*, was hanged for having ſaid to a certain Officer, that

that it would be a glorious Action for ſix brave Men to force the Queen to releaſe *Eſſex* and the other Priſoners. Three Days after the Queen publiſhed a Proclamation, ordering all Vagabonds and Strangers to leave the City on the Peril of their Lives. The Court had received Information, that a great Number of ſuch Perſons lay hid in the City, with a Deſign to reſcue the Earl of *Eſſex*, when Opportunity favoured. 1601.

*Eſſex and Southampton are condemned to dye.*

At laſt ſome of the Priſoners having diſcovered all that had been reſolved in the moſt ſecret Councils of the Conſpirators, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals the 19th of *February*. They were accuſed of the Crimes which I have related, and made no other Defence, but that what they had done was for their own Preſervation: But they could not prove their Lives had been in Danger. The Earl of *Eſſex* diſcovered an indifference either to Life or Death; but the Earl of *Southampton* prayed the Interceſſion of the Peers to the Queen for his Pardon. They were both condemned to dye as Traytors.

*The Earl of Eſſex very penitent.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* after his Sentence ſeriouſly reflected on his paſt Conduct, and appeared very penitent. *Aſhton* the Miniſter contributed not a little to bring him to this Diſpoſition, by his Exhortations and Remonſtrances. But becauſe this *Presbyterian* Miniſter adviſed him to declare all he knew, and that it was from this probably, that the Part which the King of *Scots* acted in this Conſpiracy came to be known, *Camden* ſpeaks of it ſo as to make one ſuſpect that he approved not of this Conduct: *By the Perſwaſions of this Miniſter*, (ſays that Hiſtorian,) *the Earl of* Eſſex *believed that he ſhould be eternally damned, if he concealed any part of the Conſpiracy, and did not make Diſcovery of all his Accomplices.* One eaſily ſee, that an Author who talks at this rate has ſome concealed Intereſt in the Depoſition of the Criminal. However that be, the Earl of *Eſſex* deſiring to ſpeak with ſome of the Privy-Counſellors, the Lord-Keeper, the

*Diſcovers his Accomplices.*

1601. the Treasurer, the Admiral, and Secretary *Cecil* went to him. He immediately asked Pardon of the first for arresting him at his House, and of the last, for having accused him of a Design to place the *Infanta* of *Spain* upon the Throne of *England*, and was reconciled sincerely with both. Afterwards he declared that the Queen's Life could not be secure while his own was spared, and desired a private Execution in the *Tower* out of the Sight of the Populace. He owned that some of his Friends and Domesticks were wicked Persons, and publick Pests; and desired to see *Blunt* and *Cuff*, who were immediately brought to him. When he saw them, he exhorted both to ask Forgiveness of God and the Queen, and told *Cuff* that it was he who had first incited him to violent Councils. He declared that *Henry Nevile* Ambassador to *France* was privy to the Conspiracy. This probably occasioned the Recalling of that Ambassador as he was on his Way to *Paris*, and his Confinement under the Custody of the Lord High-Admiral. The Earl of *Essex* said farther, that the Lord *Montjoy* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and several more in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries* were acquainted with it. But the Lord *Montjoy*'s Behaviour in *Ireland*, since he commanded there, had so recommended him to the Queen that she seemed to be ignorant of the Earl's Deposition against him. In short the penitent Criminal made a full Discharge of his Conscience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. Essex, (*says* Camden) *thought a verbal Confession too little, and therefore being moved by the dismal Scene presented to his Conscience, by the Person whom he chose to guide it; he deliver'd the same in writing under his own Hand, which his Enemies showing to King* James *some time after, brought the Earl and his Friends into great Disesteem with that Prince.* If King *James* had not been concerned in this Affair, one sees no reason why the Declarations of the Earl of *Essex* should have made him forfeit his Esteem. But in pursuance of the Earl's Project, the Ambassadors of *Scotland* were on their

their way to *London*, and King *James* always ſpoke of this Lord as of one who died a Martyr to his Cauſe. 1601.

The 25th of *February* was appointed for the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Execution. That Day the Queen appeared ſomething irreſolute. She even ſent an Order to the Lieutenant of *the Tower* to ſtop his Execution: but preſently after ordered him to proceed. This Irreſolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of Matter for *Plays* and *Romances*, in which *Elizabeth* is repreſented as agitated between Love and Anger, not knowing which of the Paſſions ſhe ſhould obey. She was now however in the 68th Year of her Age, a Seaſon of Life, when the Paſſions of Love could not be very violent. But without amuſing our ſelves with ſuch Trifles, it is ſufficient to ſay that the Earl of *Eſſex* died like a good Chriſtian, and gave Signs of a Repentance which appeared ſincere to all the Spectators. His Head was not ſeparated from his Body till the third Stroke, but the firſt took away all Senſe of Pain. The *Marſhal de Biron* being told in what manner he died, made a Jeſt of it, and ſaid, ſuch a Death was more becoming a Prieſt than a Soldier. *Is beheaded.*

Thus ended the Life and Projects of the Earl of *Eſſex*; Projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Though it ſeems that they tended only to dethrone *Elizabeth*, in order to ſet the Crown on the Head of the King of *Scotland*, yet is it ſomething likely that he only made uſe of that Prince's Title for a Cover to effect the Ruin of *Elizabeth*, and that his Confidence in the Affections of the People gave him more aſpiring Hopes. It is certain that the Queen had given occaſion to think that ſhe had more than a common Eſteem for this Nobleman. When he was not yet full One and Twenty Years of Age, ſhe forgave him all that was owing from his Father, towards his Expedition into *Ireland*; and he is the only Perſon to whom ſhe was ever ſo liberal. The Earl of *Leiceſter* dying ſhortly after, ſhe ordered his Goods to be expoſed to Sale, for Payment of the Sums ſhe had

1601. lent him. Before the Earl of *Essex* had done her any notable Service, she gave him the *Order* of the *Garter*, and admitted him into her Privy-Council. She continued afterwards to distinguish him from all her other Courtiers, not only by the Posts, Employs and Commands with which she honoured him, but chiefly by particular Marks of her Favour, which were visible to all the World, and which made him to be looked upon as a Favourite. These Favours produced their usual Effects, that is to say, Pride and Vanity. He could not bear that any Person should rise at Court but by his Means, and was a sworn Enemy to all those whom the Queen any ways trusted. He even grew to that Excess of Pride, that he pretended to lord it over the Queen herself, and force her to follow his Advice in every thing. This occasioned him that unhappy *Box on the Ear*, which, doubtless, induced him to form a Design of being signally revenged. For from that time he began to meditate the Projects which brought on his Ruin, and might have been attended with the Destruction of the Queen herself; so careful ought Sovereigns to be, not to put such Affronts upon Persons of distinguished Quality. His Family was originally from *D'Evreux* in *Normandy*, from whence was borrowed its Sirname. It was Noble and of great Antiquity, as may be inferred from his Alliances with the best Families in *England*, some of which drew their Descent from the Royal Family. *Walter* his Father was nevertheless the first of his House honoured with the Title of Earl *.

The

* He was beheaded in the 34th Year of his Age He owed his Estate and Barony to his Marriage with *Cecily* Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whose Grandmother was Sister to *Edward* IV, and her Great-Grandmother Daughter to *Thomas of Woodstock*, by one of the Daughters of *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Hence his Great Grandfather *Walter* was made *Viscount Hereford* by *Edward* IV, and his Father *Earl of Essex* by *Elizabeth*. Camden.

The Earl being dead, his principal Accomplices were brought to their Tryals. In the Examination of *Blunt*, the Confeſſion which the Earl had left in writing was read to him. *Blunt*, having ſeen the Writing ſigned with the Earl's own Hand, was ſo confounded, that he could only ſay, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, *Lord, thou knoweſt from what, Deſigns I have diverted him.* Afterwards the Confeſſion of *Lee*, who had been executed, was read, in which he ſaid that *Blunt* had allowed him to ſend a Man to the Earl of *Tyrone*, and that the *Iriſh* Earl had ſaid, that if *Eſſex* would confide in him, he would make him the greateſt Nobleman in *England*. *Lee* had likewiſe depoſed, that the two Earls and *Blunt* were in the ſame Conſpiracy, and formed the ſame Deſigns. *Blunt* made a bad Defence, and ſo did *Danvers*, *Davis*, *Cuff* the Earl's Secretary, and *Merrick* his Steward, and they all received Sentence of Death. *Blunt* ſaid upon the Scaffold, that for three Years paſt he had obſerved the Earl was diſcontented and fired with Ambition: That when they were in *Ireland*, the Earl had let him into the Deſign which he had of taking along with him the Flower of the Army; of ſeizing *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*; of raiſing Men in thoſe Parts, and marching directly to *London*: That he had diſſuaded him from engaging in an Undertaking, at once ſo dangerous and difficult to execute: But that he had indeed adviſed him to take with him a ſelect Company of Men and ſeize the Perſon of the Queen, that under Cover of her Name he might act as he ſaw convenient: *But*, added *Blunt*, *though it is true that in our Deliberations we never had a Thought of embrewing our Hands in the Queen's Blood, yet I know not if we could have behaved with ſo much Moderation, and whether ſome Conjuncture might not have obliged us to have made her a Sacrifice.* He declared that he died a *Roman-Catholick*, yet ſo, as that he put no Confidence in any other Merit than that of the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

1601. *Some others of his Accomplices executed.*

1601. The Queen and the Council believed it prudent to finish the Executions with these few Persons, by reason of the Number and Quality of the Criminals. The Earl of *Southampton* was kept in Prison, the rest had only Fines imposed upon them, which were remitted to the greatest Part. *Henry Nevil* was only condemned to Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure, although it was proved against him that he knew of the Conspiracy, and made no Discovery *.

*The Queen pardons several Conspirators.*

*Ambassadors from* Scotland. The Earls of *Marr* and *Kinloss*, the *Scotch* Ambassadors, arrived too late, at the time the Earl of *Essex* was in Custody. It is well known with what view the Earl of *Essex* had desired them, but we are still ignorant of the Instructions which they had from their Master relating to the Conspiracy. It seems nevertheless, from the Proposal of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Arrival of these Ambassadors in the very Time when the Plot was discovered, that King *James* was by no means disinclined to it. However this be, these Ambassadors confined themselves to a Congratulation of the Queen upon the Discovery of so dangerous a Conspiracy: To a Demand of Punishment of one *Valentine Thomas*, who in 1598 had accused their Master of having ill Designs against the Queen, for which he was now in Prison: To a Complaint that two *English* Fugitives had been drawn out of *Scotland* by Stratagem, who had fled thither for Protection: And lastly, to a Demand of some Lands for their Master in *England* to be assigned by the Queen. *Elizabeth*, without any notice taken of what she knew, answered, She received very kindly the King's Congratulation, and wished that no such Designs might ever molest him in his Kingdom: That she had not put *Valentine* to Death, to shew how little Credit she payed to his Deposition: That the two Fugitives had been slily recovered by the Governour of the Frontiers, who was to blame for suffering them to

*Their Demands.*

*The Q's Answer.*

* By *Winwood* it appears that Sir *Henry Nevil* was with *Essex* as a Spy from Secretary *Cecil*.

to eſcape; and that ſhe was aſtoniſhed that the King of *Scotland* demanded them back, ſince a Prince who protects the rebellious Subjects of another Prince, teaches his own to rebel: That as to the Lands the King of *Scotland* required, ſhe referred to the Anſwer already given by her on that Head: That nevertheleſs ſhe would make an Augmentation to his Penſion of Two Thouſand Pounds, provided he would cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with her, without ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by Men, who aimed at their own private Advantage in the Calamities of the Publick. 1601.

The Siege of *Oſtend* begun in *July* this Year furniſhed ample Matter for the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. Sir *Francis Vere*, the firſt Governour during the Siege, and the *Engliſh* Troops which ſerved under him, ſignalized themſelves ſo, as to be a great Honour to their Nation. *Oſtend beſieged.* Grotius.

*Henry* IV came to *Calais* in the Month of *Auguſt*, as it were with Deſign to be a near Spectator of the Siege, which gave great Umbrage to the Archduke. But this Journey was undertaken by him, not ſo much with a view to obſerve the Siege, as to confer more eaſily with *Elizabeth* on the Project which he was forming againſt the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. *Mezerai* pretends that *Elizabeth* had firſt conceived this Deſign, and was very deſirous of conferring in Perſon with *Henry*, in a Veſſel between *Dover* and *Calais*. But I can ſcarce believe, that at her Years, and when ſhe had no Children, ſhe would form a Deſign of this Nature, which in the Execution required both a great deal of Time and a large Expence. I ſtill leſs believe, that ſhe would have been willing to expoſe herſelf to the Dangers of the Sea, in order to confer with *Henry*, whom for ſome time ſhe had neither much valued nor truſted. It is more likely that this Prince meditating at that time the Deſign which he hoped afterwards to execute, was willing to engage *Elizabeth* in it. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians content themſelves with ſaying, that the Queen, informed of *Mutual Compliments between* Henry IV *and* Elizabeth. Mezerai. Camden.

1601. the King's Arrival at *Calais*, diſpatched *Thomas Edwards* to pay her Complement only; and that in return *Henry* ſent the Marſhals of *Biron* and *Lavardin*, with the Duke *d'Aumont*, who were received with all Reſpect and Civility. *Mezerai* ſays farther, that the Queen ſhewed theſe *French* Lords the Head of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which ſhe kept in her Chapel with thoſe of ſeveral other Rebels. But *Camden* has already confuted this Story in his *Annals*, by aſſuring us that the Head was buried with the Body. He ſays only, that the Queen ſpeaking to the *Marſhal de Biron* concerning the Earl of *Eſſex*, told him, that it was her Advice to the King of *France* never to ſpare the Heads of thoſe who attempted to diſturb his Tranquillity.

*Monopolies complained of.* The Parliament meeting in the Month of *October*, Complaints were brought before *the Commons* concerning divers *Monopolies* authorized by the Queen's *Letters-Patents*, which gave ſome private Perſons the ſole Privilege of ſelling certain Commodities, excluſive of all others. The Queen being informed that the *Commons* looked upon theſe *Monopolies* as ſo many Breaches of the People's Privileges, annulled the greateſt Part of theſe Grants, and left the reſt to be tried by the Laws. This Proceeding, even before ſhe had been addreſſed on that account, was ſo pleaſing to the *Commons*, that they deputed Eighty of their Members to wait upon her with their Thanks. She did not omit this Opportunity of expreſſing to them the great Affection ſhe had for her People. When ſhe had received the Compliment of the Deputies, ſhe ſpoke to them as follows:

*The Queen annuls them.*

*She is thanked by the Commons.*

*The Q's Speech to the Deputies of the Commons.*

*I Owe you hearty Thanks and Commendations for your ſingular Good-will towards me, not only in your Hearts and Thoughts, but which you have openly expreſſed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an Errour proceeding from my Ignorance, not my Will. Theſe Things had undeſervedly turned to my Diſgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the Safety and Love of my People)*

*People) had not such Harpyes and Horse-leeches as these* 1601.
*been made known and discovered to me by you. I had rather my Heart or Hand should perish, than that either my Heart or Hand should allow such Privileges to Monopolists as may be prejudicial to my People. The Splendour of Regal Majesty hath not so blinded mine Eyes, that licentious Power should prevail with me more than Justice. The Glory of the Name of a King may deceive Princes that know not how to rule, as gilded Pills may deceive a sick Patient. But I am none of those Princes: For I know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the Good and Advantage of those that are committed to me, not of my self to whom it is intrusted; and that an Account is one Day to be given before another Judgment-Seat. I think my self most happy, that by God's Assistance I have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth in all Respects; and that I have such Subjects, as for their Good I would willingly leave both Kingdom and Life also. I beseech you, that whatever Misdemeanours and Miscarriages others are guilty of by their false Suggestions, may not be imputed to me: Let the Testimony of a clear Conscience entirely in all respects excuse me. You are not ignorant that Princes Servants are oftentimes too much set upon their own private Advantage; that the Truth is frequently concealed from Princes, and they cannot themselves look narrowly into all things, upon whose Shoulders lieth continually the heavy Weight of the greatest and most important Affairs.*

*Elizabeth* had the good Fortune to be believed when she spoke in this Manner, because in reality, the *English*, in her Reign, were the happiest People under the Sun. They saw no Designs upon their Liberties, nor any Infringement of their Privileges encouraged. Justice was administred impartially, and the Revenues of the Crown and the *Subsidies* granted by the Parliament for the publick Occasions were not idly squandered away. They had therefore reason to think the Queen truly loved them, since she caused them to enjoy so great Happiness. Some of the Suc-

1601. ceſſors of this illuſtrious Queen have talked in the ſame Manner to their Parliaments; nay, it is in great meaſure become cuſtomary: but they have not all gained the ſame Credit, becauſe it is not Words but Deeds that perſuade. This Affair did not end only in mutual Compliments. The *Commons* willing to ſhow their Gratitude to the Queen, granted her the largeſt *Subſidy* they had ever given her ſince the Beginning of her Reign. Happy are ſuch Kings of *England*, who by a free and ſincere Behaviour can keep up the like Correſpondence betwixt themſelves and their Parliaments!

*Continuation of the* Iriſh *War.* Camden.

The War in *Ireland* was carried on this Year with better Succeſs than in the two foregoing ones. The Rebels received however Succours from *Spain*, under the Command of *Don Juan d'Aquila*, who landed at *Kingſale*, and became Maſter of the Town. He forthwith publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, declaring that *Elizabeth* being lawfully depoſed by the Pope, her Subjects were abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and he was come to deliver *Ireland from the Jaws of the Devil* *. But inſtead of making in the Iſland the Progreſs he expected, he found himſelf beſieged immediately in *Kingſale* by the Lord-Deputy. Shortly after, the Earl of *Tyrone* approaching the *Engliſh* in order to raiſe the Siege, was utterly routed; after which the *Spaniſh* General was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his Troops into *Spain*, having firſt ſurrendered the Caſtles he had taken. This Capitulation was ſigned the 2d of *January* 1602. During the reſt of the Winter, the Lord-Deputy had ſuch Succeſs againſt the Rebels, that the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Affairs were reduced to a very wretched State.

*Succours from* Spain *to the Earl of* Tyrone.

Tyrone *is defeated.*

*The* Spaniards *return home.*

1602. *Fleet againſt* Spain.

Mean while the Queen, willing to divert the *Spaniards* from making freſh Attempts upon *Ireland*, fitted out Eight large Ships, with ſome others of leſſer Burthen, under the Command of Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Mounſon*. Theſe two Commanders

* Which are his very words. *Camden.*

ers being ſeparated, *Leviſon* fell in with Thirty-eight Sail of *Spaniſh* Veſſels coming from the *Weſt-Indies* and ſet upon them, but without Succeſs. *Mounſon* joining him ſome time after, they went together to attack a large *Carack*, Burthen 1600 Tun, which was come from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and lay under the Caſtle of *Zizambra* in *Portugal*, where ſhe was guarded by Eleven Gallies commanded by *Spinola*. Notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Undertaking, they fell upon the *Carack*, and after they had diſperſed the Gallies, became Maſters of that rich Ship which was valued at a Million of Crowns, and brought her to *England*, having loſt only Twelve Men in the Fight. 1602. *A rich Spaniſh Carack taken.*

In the Month of *September* following, *Spinola*, with ſix Gallies which he had ſaved, intended to go to *Flanders*, met in *the Channel* ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, with whom he had a ſharp Engagement. Two of his Gallies were ſunk, one taken, and with the other Three he got into *Sluys*. *Gallies taken by the* Engliſh.

This ſame Year there was a great Quarrel in *England* between the *Jeſuits* and moſt of the *ſecular Prieſts*. Theſe laſt accuſed the *Jeſuits* of being the ſole Cauſe of the ſevere Laws enacted againſt the *Catholicks*, becauſe they had been concerned in all the Conſpiracies, and even ſuborned Aſſaſſins to murder the Queen. Whilſt their Quarrel was at its greateſt Height, the Queen had Intelligence that the *Jeſuits* and ſuch of the *ſecular* Prieſts as eſpouſed their Principles and Party, were hatching ſomething againſt the Government. Whereupon ſhe baniſhed them the Realm by Proclamation, forbidding them ever to ſet Foot in *England* again, on pain of Death. The other *ſecular Prieſts*, who ſided not with the *Jeſuits*, were alſo liable to the ſeme Penalty, unleſs they would take the Oath of Allegiance. *Quarrel between the Jeſuits and ſecular Prieſts.* *Proclamation againſt the Jeſuits.*

It was likewiſe in the Courſe of this Year that King *Henry* IV ordered the Marſhal *de Biron's* Head to be ſtruck off, for conſpiring with ſome others to diſmember the *French* Monarchy. The Marſhal had *Conſpiracy againſt* Henry IV.

1602. been his Right-Hand, whilſt his Affairs were in an ill State. But after he had made a Peace with *Spain*, he imagined his beſt way to procure Quiet was to win by Kindneſs the *French* Lords who had moſt oppoſed him. This could not be done without neglecting his old Friends, and this was the ſole Occaſion of the Plot whereof the Marſhal *de Biron* was the Head. His Complices, as the Count *d'Auvergne* and ſome others, eaſily obtained their Pardon. But the Marſhal *de Bouillon* who was alſo of the Number, thought it ſafeſt to withdraw into *Germany*, from whence he writ to *Elizabeth*, deſiring her to interceed for him. The King of *France* ſent her a Letter too, acquainting her with the Conſpiracy, and asking her Advice what he had beſt to do with reſpect to the Marſhal *de Bouillon*.

*Bouillon deſires the Queen to intereceed for him.*

The Queen anſwered, that ſhe could not adviſe him, till ſuch time as ſhe knew for certain whether the Marſhal were guilty. She warned him alſo to take care that it was not a *Spaniſh* Artifice, to cauſe him to entertain Suſpicions againſt his beſt Subjects. But *Henry*, not conſidering the Marſhal upon that Foot, told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador that the Queen his Miſtreſs had a better Opinion of him than he deſerved, ſince it was certain he was deeply concerned in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Plot, as himſelf did not deny when taxed with it.

*Tyrone ſubmits to the Queen.*

The Affairs of the Earl of *Tyrone* in *Ireland* daily grew worſe. The Lord-Deputy having cloſely purſued him, without giving him any Reſpite, even to the Places where he thought himſelf moſt ſafe, compelled him at length to throw himſelf upon the Queen's Mercy: But he would not receive his Submiſſion without an expreſs Order from the Court. The Order coming at laſt, the Earl of *Tyrone* came and yielded himſelf to the Lord-Deputy, who reſolved to carry him with him to *England* and preſent him to the Queen.

1603. *The Queen ſickens.*

About the End of *January* 1603, *Elizabeth* began to feel the firſt Attacks of a Sickneſs, which carried her

her at length to her Grave. Her being obliged to have the Ring ſhe wore on her Finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill Omen, becauſe ſhe was wont to ſay, that with that Ring ſhe had been joined in Marriage to her People. As ſhe was now grown very Old, it was eaſily believed ſhe would never recover. Accordingly ſome Time before her Death ſhe had the Mortification to ſee herſelf neglected by moſt of her Courtiers, who ſtrove in Emulation to one another to court the Favour of the King of *Scotland* her preſumptive Heir. This threw her into a Melancholly, of which it was not poſſible for her to hide the Cauſe, eſpecially as the ſending for King *James* into *England* before ſhe expired, was openly talked of. In the beginning of *March* ſhe was ſeized with a Heavineſs in all her Limbs, ſo as ſhe could not move them, nor even ſpeak without great Difficulty. This was attended with a very great Frowardneſs, inſomuch that ſhe could not bear to have any Body near her but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who comforted her, and prayed to God for and with her. In ſhort, when it was perceived ſhe was near her laſt Hour, the Council ſent to her the Lord Admiral, the Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Secretaries of State, to pray her to name her Succeſſor. She anſwered with ſome difficulty, *That ſhe had always ſaid, her Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that ſhe would have no mean Perſon to ſucceed her.* The Secretary repreſenting to her, that theſe Words were very obſcure, and that the Council deſired ſhe would declare her Pleaſure more plainly, *I will,* (ſaid ſhe,) *That a King ſucceed me: and who ſhould that be but my neareſt Kinſman, the King of* Scots? Then being admoniſhed by the Archbiſhop to think upon God, *That I do,* (ſaid ſhe,) *neither doth my Mind wander from him at all.* When ſhe could no longer pray with her Tongue, ſhe lifted up her Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and giving ſome other Signs of her Truth and Confidence in the Mercy of God, ſhe expired on the 24th of *March*, old Style. in the Seventieth

1603.

*Her Courtiers forſake her.*

*She grows melancholly.*

*She names for her Succeſſor the King of* Scots.

*She dies.*

1603. tieth Year of her Age, and the Forty-fourth of her Reign *.

Elizabeth's *Character.* In order to display in a few Words the Panegyrick of this illustrious Queen, it would be sufficient methinks, to observe that her Name is still of *Blessed Memory* with the *English*, now when *Flattery* cannot be supposed to have any share in the Veneration they have for her. But *Elizabeth* banished from *England* the *Catholick* Religion, and restored the *Reformation.* This alone was the Cause that two Parties are formed on her Account, who tax each other with Flattery or Animosity. The *Protestants*, considering that this Queen was the only Bulwark of their Religion, which had it not been for her would probably have been destroyed in *England*, *Scotland*, and it may be in *France* and the *Low-Countries*, cannot forbear giving her great Commendations, and feel themselves inclined to excuse her Failings. For this same Reason the *Roman Catholicks* look upon her with another Eye; nay, some of them have made no scruple to paint her in the blackest Colours, and join to her Name the most odious Epithets. This makes it impossible to give her a Character that shall please all the World. I shall content my self therefore with making here some Reflections which may help such as seek the Truth only, to give an impartial Judgment of this famous Queen, free from Party-Passion and Prejudice.

*Her Ability.* *Elizabeth* had a great deal of Wit, and was naturally of a sound and solid Judgment. This was visible by her whole Management from one End of her Reign to the other. Nothing shows her Capacity more, than her Address in surmounting all the Difficulties and Troubles created by her Enemies, especially when it is considered who these Enemies were, Persons the most Powerful, the most Artful, the most Subtle, and the least Scrupulous in *Europe*. The bare naming

* She reigned 44 Years, 4 Months and 8 Days; and lies buried at *Westminster*.

naming of them is ſufficient to convince all the World. The Court of *Rome* under ſeveral Popes, *Philip* II King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Alva*, *Henry* II and *Charles* IX Kings of *France*, *Catharine de Medicis*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, all the *Romiſh Clergy*, and particularly the *Jeſuites*. Had ſhe had Forces proportionable to thoſe of her Enemies united together, there would have been nothing very extraordinary in the Caſe. Strength often ſupplies the want of Capacity. But in what manner did ſhe ſtand againſt ſo potent, ſo formidable Enemies? Why by the help of two or three *Maxims* which ſhe laid down for the Rule and Meaſure of her whole Conduct, and from which ſhe never ſwerved: *To make herſelf beloved by her People: To be frugal of her Treaſure: To keep up Diſſention amongſt her Neighbours.* If Matters are rightly conſidered, ſhe had no other way to ſecure herſelf. It cannot be denied therefore, that this is a clear Evidence of her Ability. But that's not the Point I am chiefly to inſiſt upon, ſince no Body ever called her Underſtanding in queſtion: On the contrary, her Enemies have taken Occaſion from thence to cry her down, by repreſenting as Vices diſguiſed, what her Friends extol as ſo many Virtues. They pretend that her Ability conſiſted wholly in an over-ſtrained Diſſimulation, and a profound Hypocriſy. In a Word, they ſay ſhe was a perfect *Comedian*. For my Part, I don't deny that ſhe made great uſe of Diſſimulation, as well with regard to the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, as to the Queen of *Scotland* and the *Scots*. This would be denying a manifeſt Truth. The Court of *Rome* was the only Court ſhe never diſſembled with. I am alſo perſwaded that being ſo much concerned to gain the Love and Eſteem of her Subjects, ſhe affected to ſpeak frequently and with Exaggeration of her tender Affection for them, and that ſhe had a Mind to make it believed that ſhe did ſome Things from an exceſſive Love to her People, which ſhe was led to more by her own Intereſt. But the

1603.

*Her Diſſimulation.*

1603. the Question is to know, whether in her Circumstances her Dissimulation was to be blamed. What hurt did she do to her Subjects by endeavouring to perswade them that she loved them tenderly, since she actually and really performed whatever was necessary to convince them? As to Foreigners, it must be carefully observed, that her Dissimulation and Artifices tended not to invade their Possessions, but to preserve her own. Her Enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of Crown and Life. She had the Address to save both by her Policy and Dissimulation. Where is the Harm of such a Conduct? Can a Man, without extreme Prejudice, confound that Dissimulation, and those Artifices which aim only at Self-Preservation, with the Dissimulation and Artifices that tend only to insnare the Innocent, and invade the Property of others, can these, I say, be considered upon the same Foot? For my Part I am so far from thinking that this sort of Dissimulation is any Blemish to *Elizabeth*'s Reputation, that I am rather of Opinion it ought to be reckoned among her commendable Qualities.

*Concerning her Avarice.*

Avarice is another Failing which her own Friends reproach her with. I will not deny that she was too Parsimonious, and upon some Occasions stuck too close to the *Maxim* she had laid down, not to be at any Expence but what was absolutely necessary. However in general I maintain, that if her Circumstances did not require her to be covetous, at least they required that she should not part with her Money but with the greatest Caution, both in order to preserve the Affections of her People, and to keep herself always in a Condition to withstand her Enemies. After all, whom did she wrong by her extreme Savingness? A dozen of hungry Courtiers, who would have been very glad she had been as lavish of her Money as the King her Father was in the Beginning of his Reign. As for the rest of her Subjects, instead of having Cause to complain of this *pretended* Avarice, they had reason to be well satisfied

tisfied with it, ſince it conſiſted not in wreſting their Property from them by illegal Methods, as *Henry* VII her Grandfather did, but in husbanding her Revenues, and conſequently their own.

*Slanders upon her Chaſtity.*

She is accuſed alſo of not being ſo Chaſt as ſhe affected to appear. Nay, ſome pretend that there are now in *England* the Deſcendents of a Daughter ſhe had by the Earl of *Leiceſter*. But as hitherto no Body has undertaken to produce any Proofs of this Accuſation, one may ſafely reckon it among the Slanders which *they* endeavoured to ſtain her Reputation with, both in her Life-time and after her Deceaſe.

*Reflections on the Death of the Queen of* Scots.

It is not ſo eaſy to juſtify her concerning the Death of the Queen of *Scots*. Here it muſt freely be owned that ſhe ſacrificed Equity, Juſtice, and it may be, her own Conſcience to her Safety. If *Mary* were guilty of the Murder of her Huſband, as there is Ground to believe, it was not *Elizabeth*'s Buſineſs to puniſh her for it. And truly it was not for that ſhe took away her Life; but ſhe made uſe of that Pretenſe to detain her in Priſon, under the deceitful Colour of making her Innocence appear. On this Occaſion her Diſſimulation was blame-worthy. This firſt piece of Injuſtice drew her in afterwards to uſe a world of artful Devices to get a Pretenſe to render *Mary*'s Impriſonment perpetual. From hence aroſe in the End the Neceſſity of putting her to Death on the Scaffold. In ſhort, this Height of Violence gave Birth to more Artifices and Acts of Diſſimulation made uſe of to juſtify herſelf, and to caſt the Blame on the Innocent. This doubtleſs is *Elizabeth*'s great Blemiſh, which manifeſtly proves to what Degree ſhe carried the fear of loſing a Crown, which ſhe was all along ſenſible was not firmly fixed on her Head. This continual Fear and Uneaſineſs which ſhe was under upon that Account, is what characteriſes her Reign, becauſe it was the main Spring of almoſt all her Actions. The beſt Thing that can be ſaid in *Elizabeth*'s behalf, is, that the Queen of *Scots* and her Friends

Friends had brought Matters to such a Pass, that one of the two Queens must perish, and it was natural that the weakest should fall. But this by no means justifies the wrong *Elizabeth* had before done *Mary*, by detaining her in Prison, which had no other Foundation than *Elizabeth*'s Fear with regard to her Crown.

*Concerning* Elizabeth's *Religion.*

I come now to *Elizabeth*'s Religion. I don't believe any Body ever questioned her being a true *Protestant*. But as it was her Interest to be so, some have taken occasion to doubt whether the Zeal she expressed for her Religion, was the Effect of her Perswasion, or Policy. What may have occasioned this doubt, is, that it clearly appears by her History, that in assisting the *Protestants* of *France* and the *Netherlands*, as well as those of *Scotland*, she had none but worldly Views, and the securing herself against the Invasions she was threatened with. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that she was not a good *Protestant*, or had no Religion at all; since it is by no means impossible that her Religion should square with her Temporal Interests. All that can be said, is, that she happened sometimes to prefer her Temporal Concerns, before those of Religion.

*Concerning her persecuting the* Catholicks.

She is warmly accused of persecuting the *Catholicks*, and putting several to Death. 'Tis true, there were some that suffered Death in her Reign. But one may venture to assert, that none were punished but for conspiring against the Queen or State, or for attempting to destroy the *Protestant* Religion in *England*, and restore the *Romish* by violent Methods. The *Catholicks* who lived in quiet, were tollerated, though with some Restraint as to the Exercise of their Religion, but with none as to their Consciences. If this this may be called Persecution, what Name shall we give to the Sufferings of the *Protestants* in the Reign of *Mary*.

The

The *Presbyterians* think alſo they have Cauſe to complain of the *Statute* enacted in this Reign, which debarred them from Liberty of Conſcience, though they were *Proteſtants*. I ſhall not take upon me to determine whether they had reaſon to complain of this Rigour. I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying only, that in my Opinion, they were a little too Obſtinate, and their Adverſaries a little two Uncharitable. 1603.

To Sum up in two Words what may ſerve to form *Elizabeth*'s Character, I ſhall add, that ſhe was a good and illuſtrious Queen, with many Virtues and noble Qualities, and few Faults. But what ought above all Things to make her Memory precious, is, that ſhe cauſed the *Engliſh* to enjoy a State of Felicity unknown to their Anceſtors under the moſt part of the Kings her Predeceſſors. This doubtleſs is the *Touch-Stone* by which all thoſe are to be tried whom God has ſet over Nations and Kingdoms. Elizabeth's juſt Encomium.

*The End of the Reign of* ELIZABETH.

# THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

## BOOK XVIII.

*The Reign of* JAMES I; *Containing the Space of Two and Twenty Years, and Three Days.*

## 24. JAMES I.

1603. *The Council proclaim* James I.

*ELIZABETH* had no ſooner breathed her laſt, but the Council met to conſult about the Meaſures they were to take in the preſent Juncture. The Queen, who had deferred naming her Succeſſor till the End of her Days, at laſt declared the King of *Scotland* was to aſcend the Throne of *England* after her, and it was not doubted but her *Will* agreed with this Declaration. So the Council deemed it neceſſary, before all Things, to be ſure of it

it by peruſing *the Will*, which was opened immediately, and in which was confirmed what the Queen had declared by word of Mouth. The King of *Scotland* had therefore in his Perſon a Threefold Right, which rendered his *Title* indiſputable. The Firſt was what *they* call in *England Parliamentary Right*, which derived its Validity from the *Act* of Parliament ſecuring the Crown to *Henry* VII and his Iſſue. The Second was *Hereditary Right*, for this Prince was the next of Kin, and natural Heir to *Elizabeth*. Theſe two Rights were farther ſtrengthned by the Queen's *Will*, which made the Third. Wherefore the Council judged without Heſitation, that he ought to be acknowledged for King of *England*. This Reſolve being imparted to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, the new King was proclaimed by the Name of *James* I. ſix Hours after the Queen's Death. 1603.

James *receives the Newt of his Acceſſion to the Crown of* England.

Though the Council had taken Precautions in order to ſend the King the firſt News of his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, Sir *Robert Cary*, [youngeſt] Son of the Lord *Hunſdon* *, found Means to be beforehand with them. *James*, who expected the News with great Impatience, received it however without altering his Countenance, the Queen's Illneſs having been long enough to afford him Leiſure to compoſe himſelf when the News ſhould come. Nevertheleſs, he could not forbear lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, probably to give God Thanks for the Favour he had long expected, not without great Anxiety. *Elizabeth* would never tell him poſitively that ſhe intended to nominate him for her Succeſſor. She contented herſelf with keeping him in Hopes; but in ſuch a Manner, that ſhe ſeemed to reſerve to herſelf the Power to ſet him aſide, in caſe he ſhould give Occaſion by his Behaviour. The Correſpondence *James* had held with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and which, though

Du Cheſne Hiſt. d'Anglet.

* The Lord *Hunſdon*'s Father married *Ann Bullen*'s Siſter. Sir *Robert*'s Brother was Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Houſhold, and Privy-Counſellor. *Dugdale*.

1603. connived at, was not unknown to the Court of *England*, might give him ſome Apprehenſions. Beſides, *Elizabeth* never loved him; whether becauſe he was Son to her mortal Enemy, or becauſe he had ſhown too much Impatience to poſſeſs the Crown of *England*; or in fine, becauſe of his Inclination to the *Catholicks*. All theſe Reaſons made this Prince ſomething uneaſy, in the Expectation of a Crown which his Birth gave him ground to hope for, but which however he might have come ſhort of, had *Elizabeth* been pleaſed to take Meaſures to deprive him of it. The News of the Queen's Death could not then but be acceptable to him, ſince, by the Intelligence he held with one of the chief Miniſters, he was ſure ſhe had done nothing to his Prejudice.

Preſently after *Cary*'s Arrival, came Sir *Charles Piercy* and *Thomas Somerſet*, who, by order of the Council of *England*, notified to him the Queen's Death, and the Council's Diligence in proclaiming him. Theſe were quickly followed by Sir *Thomas Lake*, who was ſent by the Council to inform him of the State and Condition of the Realm.

*Reflections of the Engliſh.*

Whilſt the News of his Acceſſion to the Crown was carrying to the King, the *Engliſh* were taken up with reflecting on the Alterations which the Queen's Death was likely to beget. The People in general lamented the Loſs of their Queen. They had been happy under her, but were not ſure their Happineſs would continue in this new Reign. A King of *Scotland* on the Throne of *England* was to the moſt Part no pleaſing Proſpect. Beſides, ſince *James* was become of Age, he had given no very advantageous Idea of himſelf. His Unſteddineſs, his Weakneſs for his Favourites, his Inclination to the *Catholicks*, of which, on ſeveral Occaſions, he had given viſible Marks, were not Qualities proper to prepoſſeſs the *Engliſh* in his Favour. It was hoped however that he would tread in the Steps of the illuſtrious Queen whom he ſucceeded, becauſe it was thought he could not ſteer a better Courſe, and we are apt to believe what

we

we wiſh to be true. As for the deceaſed Queen's Miniſters and Courtiers, the Good and Welfare of the Realm was what they leaſt minded. Every one was taken up with deviſing Means to gain the good Graces of the Succeſſor. Towards the Cloſe of the late Reign, there were two Factions at Court, the one conſiſting of the Friends, and the other of the Enemies of the Earl of *Eſſex*. The Firſt was quite humbled by the Death of their Head, and the other had ſo far the Aſcendent, that they ruled with an abſolute Sway in the Council. Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State, and ſecond Son of the late Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, was at the Head of this Party. But this ſubtle Courtier foreſeeing that after the Queen's Death his Party could not fail of coming to nothing, ſince King *James* conſidered the Earl of *Eſſex* as his Martyr, had taken his Meaſures betimes to keep his Ground. Before the Queen's Deceaſe he had devoted himſelf to the King of *Scotland*, and held a private Correſpondence with him, informing him of all that paſſed at Court. By this means he had ſecured beforehand that Prince's Good-will, though it was not without hazard of loſing the Queen's, had ſhe known of his ſecret Practices *. He was the only Man of his Party that had the Addreſs to gain the new King's Favour, which he underſtood how to cultivate ſo well, that in the End he became his Prime Miniſter.

1603.

*Sir* Robert Cecil *was devoted to King* James *before* Elizabeth's *Deceaſe.*

Wilſon, *p.* 2.

There was another Thing alſo which engaged the Attention of the *Engliſh*, namely, the Affair of Religion. The King's Behaviour in *Scotland* gave room

*The Hopes and Fears of the* Engliſh *with regard to Religion.*

* He was very like to have been diſcovered a little before the Queen's Death. Being in the Coach with her as ſhe was taking the Air, a Poſt from *Scotland* came by. Whereupon the Queen ſtopped her Coach to receive the *Packet*. *Cecil* dreading ſome of his ſecret Conveyances might be diſcovered, and having a ready Wit, haſtily calls for a Knife to cut it open. But juſt as he was going to do ſo, he pretended it had a very naſty Smell, and ought to be aired before her Majeſty ſaw it. Which the Queen miſtruſting nothing, and hating ill Scents of all things, ordered to be done. *Wilſon.*

1603. for ſundry Reflections, which kept Peoples Minds in Uncertainty, no body knowing poſitively what was to be hoped or feared. *James* was born of *Roman-Catholick* Parents: but being taken from his Mother in his Infancy, had been educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion, and all along made Profeſſion of the ſame. On the other Hand, the Religion he had been brought up in, though *Proteſtant*, differed a little from the Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, if not in *Doctrines*, at leaſt in *Diſcipline*, and ſome other Points of external Worſhip, which the Two *Churches* looked upon as of great Importance. In a word, it was the *Preſbyterian* or *Puritanical* Religion. In fine, this Prince had made appear on a Thouſand Occaſions, that he was far from being an Enemy to the *Romiſh* Religion. All this gave ſuch different Proſpects of him, as held the World in ſuſpenſe. The *Catholicks* were in hopes to meet, under his Government, with gentler Treatment, and more Indulgence than they had found under *Elizabeth*; nay, they carried their Hopes much farther. The *Presbyterians* flattered themſelves that *James*, who had been bred up by Perſons of their Religion, would promote the reforming of the *Church* of *England* upon the Plan of that of *Scotland*, and hoped to ſee in a ſhort Time the Downfal of the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*. Finally, the *Church-of-England-Men* thought they had ground to expect that the new King would conform to their Religion, ſince Theirs was the *Church* eſtabliſhed by Law. But after all, the Hopes of the Three Parties could not but be mixed with Fears, ſince the King had not yet declared. Such were the Sentiments of the *Engliſh* with regard to their new King, whom as yet they knew only by Report.

*James ſets out for* England. As ſoon as *James* was informed by the Perſons ſent from the Council of *England* that he was proclaimed, he diſpatched *Aſhton* to the Privy-Counſellors to notify to them that he was about to begin his Journey, and accordingly ſet out on the 5th of *April*, Eleven Days after *Elizabeth*'s Death. The principal *Scotch* Lords

Lords that attended him into *England*, were the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Lord *Kinloſs*, and ſeveral others of leſs Diſtinction, but who afterwards were raiſed to *Engliſh* Honours and Dignities. He ſpent a Month and ſome Days in his Journey from *Edinburgh* to *London*, where he arrived on the 7th of *May*. He was no ſooner entered upon *Engliſh* Ground, but the People ſtrove to demonſtrate their Reſpect by the magnificent Entertainments they gave him in all the Towns through which he paſſed in his way. Such were their Acclamations, their Wiſhes for his Proſperity, their Praiſes and their Joy for his Arrival, that an honeſt plain *Scotchman* could not forbear ſaying, *This People will ſpoil a gud King*. Mean while, the great Crowds which flocked together from all Parts to ſee their new Sovereign, grew at laſt ſo troubleſome to him, that he was forced to ſet Bounds to their Curioſity by a Proclamation. This was very ſurprizing to the Mob, who did not underſtand that a little Inconveniency ſhould hinder the King from receiving the Duty of his new Subjects. But it may be this was owing to the King's Fear, that among the Crowd he was continually ſurrounded with, ſome Aſſaſſin might lurk who might attempt his Life. It may be too he had a mind to uſe his Subjects, not to be too familiar with their Sovereign. Be this as it will, it did not hinder the People from paying him every where the Reſpect due to him, and expreſſing their great Satisfaction to ſee him go by, in order to ſit on the Throne.

1603

*He is received with Joy.* Stow.

Wilſon, *p.* 3.

*Proclamation to hinder the People from flocking to him.*

At *York*, and not before, moſt of the *Engliſh* Lords came and paid their Obeiſance to him. Among the Reſt was Secretary *Cecil*, whom every body looked upon as out of favour, becauſe he had been ſworn Enemy to the Earl of *Eſſex*. But great was the Surprize, when the King received him with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem and Kindneſs. This gave Occaſion to ſuſpect that he had taken care beforehand to gain his Good-will, and the King's Behaviour to him afterwards confirmed the Suſpicion. Some accuſe

*The* Engliſh *Lords meet him at* York. Ibid.

Cecil *is well received.* Weldon *p.* 11.

1603. this Lord of inspiring the King with the Design of setting himself above the Laws, and not suffering the Parliament to share the supreme Authority with him. At least, so far is certain, that after *James* was come into *England*, his chief Care was to keep up the Prerogative Royal in its utmost Extent, nay to carry it higher than any of his Predecessors. He must, at the Time I am now speaking of, have conceived a larger Notion than had been hitherto formed, of the Power of an *English* King, since when he came to *Newark* he ordered a Cut-purse to be hanged by his sole Warrant, and without Trial. It cannot be denied that this was beyond the lawful Power of a King of *England*, and dirrctly contrary to the Privileges of the *English* Nation. In all likelihood care was taken to warn him of the ill Consequences such illegal Acts might beget among the People, since he refrained from them ever after.

*James's Design to maintain the Royal Prerogative.*

*He hangs a Cut-purse without Trial.* Stow. Coke. P. 5.

On the 4th of *May* he came to *Theobald's*, a House of Secretary *Cecil*'s (*a*)*, where he stayed some Days. Here it was that the Council in a Body came to pay their Respects to him; and here passed what was most remarkable in his Journey till his Arrival at *London*. When he was about to leave *Scotland*, he sent back *Cary* to tell the Privy-Counsellors, that his Intention was to continue every Man in his Post. However, at his coming to *Theobalds*, he encreased their Number with several others, most of whom were *Scots*, his Design being, as he more plainly showed afterwards, to make but one Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*. The new *Scotch* Counsellors were the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume**, and Sir *James Elpingston* [his Secretary.] He nominated also two *English* Noblemen, the Lords *Zouch* and *Burleigh*, Secretary *Cecil*'s eldest Brother. I find likewise that at the same

*He comes to* Theobalds.

*He adds some* Scots *and* English *to his Privy-Counsellors.* Wilson.

(*a*) The King bought this House afterwards: It belongs now to the Duke of *Portland*. * The King gave *Hatfield-House* in Exchange for it, the Seat of the present Earls of *Salisbury*.

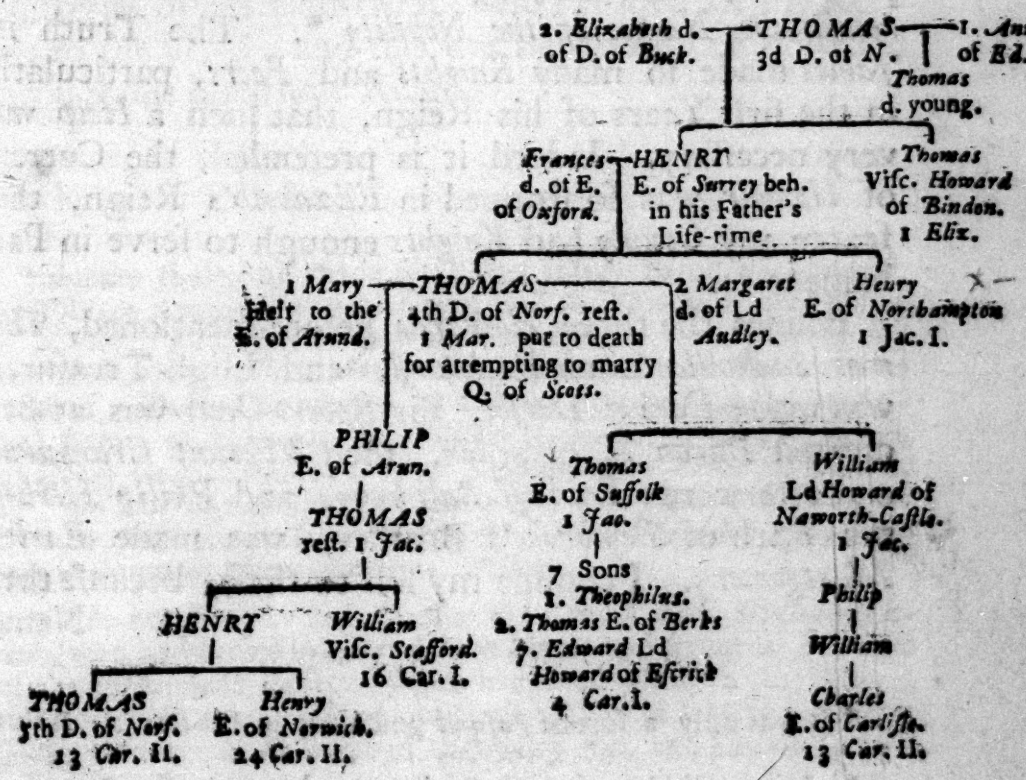
* And Sir *George Hume*, afterwards Earl of *Dunbar*, and the Lord *Kinloss*.

same time or presently after he admitted into his Council the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* *, the Lords *Thomas* and *Henry Howard*, the one Son, the other Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, of whom the first was a suspected, the last a known *Papist*, but upon the King's Arrival he had embraced the *Protestant* Religion. The King's Gratitude to the *Howard*-Family, who, for the sake of the Queen his Mother, were in Disgrace in the late Reign, did not stop there. The Lord *Thomas* was made *Earl of Suffolk*, and afterwards Lord-Treasurer, and the Lord *Henry* was created some Years after *Earl of Northampton*. Moreover, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, eldest Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, having lost his Title by his Condemnation, though *Elizabeth* gave him his Life, the King created his Son *Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey* *1. Thus the Regard the King had

1603. *He caresses the* Howard *Family*; Ibid. p. 3.

* It was the Earl of *Cumberland*.

*1 To avoid Confusion, it will be necessary to continue the Table of Vol. VII. p. 619.



1603. had for the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Family, plainly enough ſhowed what he thought of *Elizabeth*'s Treatment of that Duke and his *Houſe*. 'Twas not in this alone that he expreſſed his Reſentment againſt the late Queen. Upon all Occaſions he affected to ſhow it was out of pure Policy that he had concealed as long as ſhe lived his Averſion for her. The moſt evident Mark he gave of it, was, that not only he went not into Mourning himſelf upon her Death, but even refuſed to admit any Perſon to his Preſence in a Mourning-Habit.

*and refuſes to go into Mourning for* Elizabeth.

From the King's coming into *England*, to his leaving *Theobald*'s, he made about two Hundred Knights, and ſome Days after his Arrival at *London*, he made a great many more. As *Elizabeth* had been ſparing in conferring *Honours* with which Sovereigns uſed to reward the Merit and Services of their Subjects, her Succeſſor on the contrary, beſtowed them with a liberal, or rather profuſe Hand. Never had the like Number of *Knights*, *Barons* and *Earls* been made in any former Reign. Hereupon a ſatyrical Libel was publiſhed, entituled, *A Help for weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility* *. The Truth is, *James* made ſo many *Knights* and *Peers*, particularly in the firſt Years of his Reign, that ſuch a *Help* was very neceſſary. Indeed it is pretended, the Current of *Honour* was ſo ſtopped in *Elizabeth*'s Reign, that ſcarce any *County* had *Knights* enough to ſerve in Parliament *1.

*He is laviſh of Honours and Dignities.* Wilſon, p. 5.

Beſides the three *Howards* before-mentioned, *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurſt*, and High-Treaſurer, was made *Earl of Dorſet*, Sir *Robert Cecil* was at firſt created *Baron of Eſſingdon*, then *Viſcount Cranburne*, and afterwards *Earl of Salisbury*, and *Philip Herbert* the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Brother, was made *Earl of Montgomery*. I confine my ſelf to theſe, becauſe their Names

* It was only a ſort of *Paſquil* poſted up in St. *Paul*'s. *Wilſon*, P. 7.

*1 It is not ſaid to *ſerve in Parliament*, but to *make a Jury*.

Names moſt frequently occur in the beginning of this Reign *. I muſt add farther, that the Earl of *Southampton* who had been condemned to dye, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Son, were reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours before the King reached *London*. But the Lords *Grey*, *Cobham*, *Carew* *1, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* who had been Enemies to the Earl of *Eſſex*, were very coldly received by the King. Theſe four Courtiers of *Elizabeth*'s had not a little contributed to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Death, as well as Secretary *Cecil*; but this laſt, as I have obſerved, had the Addreſs to get off. Nothing could more plainly ſhow that the King conſidered the Earl of *Eſſex* as his Martyr, as himſelf called him, than the kind Reception he gave the Earl of *Southampton* when that Lord came to wait upon him. This was publickly acknowledging his Approbation of theſe two Lords Conſpiracy, the intent of which was to ſet him on the Throne of *England* before the Queen's Death. This gained him no Credit with the diſintereſted. But from this very Time he began to lend an Ear to the Flatteries of his Courtiers, who extolled all his Actions to the Skies; and this was but too much practiſed throughout his whole Reign.

1603.

James *coldly receives* Eſſex's *Enemies*.

King

* Beſides theſe, he made Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurſt*, Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*. And afterwards while Preparations were making for his Coronation, which was performed the 25th of *July*, in the Heat of a Plague, he created Sir *Thomas Egerton* (Lord-Chancellor) Baron of *Elſemere*, Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Groby*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry Denvers* Baron of *Dantſey*, Sir *Thomas Gerard* Baron of *Gerard's-Bromley*, Sir *Robert Spenſer* Baron of *Worn-Leighton*. Wilſon, *p.* 7.

*1 I do not find any ſuch Lord as the Lord *Carew*, Sir *George Carew* (who had ſerved in *Ireland* three Years, and wrote an Account of the memorable Paſſages which happened there in that Time) was now in Favour, and one of thoſe that were ſent to fetch the Queen; he was made Baron of *Clopton*, 3. *Jac.* and Earl of *Totneſs*. 1 *Car.* I. *Dugdale*.

1603. *He has a great Idea of the Power of Kings.*

King *James*, with good natural Parts, had a great share of *Learning*. He was able to form the Plan of a good Government, the general *Maxims* whereof he knew perfectly. But his Aversion to War, his Weakness for his Favourites, certain Prejudices he had imbibed, wherein all about him helped to confirm him, ever hindered him from putting his Theory in Practice. He was perswaded that the Authority of Sovereigns over their Subjects had no Bounds, and that all *Monarchical* Government ought to be Absolute, not considering that these *Maxims* could not be applied to the Government of *England*, without destroying the Constitution. Moreover he was strongly prepossessed with a Conceit of his own Merit and Understanding. As soon as his Courtiers found out his Genius and Character, they failed not to attack him where he lay most open. That is, they took all Occasions to display his Wisdom, Learning, Parts, and to talk in the most extravagant manner of the *Regal* Power. As this pleased him infinitely, so it was the best Way to get into his Favour. Hence sprung up several Expressions little known in the former Reigns, but which were very common in this.

*He is very much flattered upon that Account.* Coke. *p.* 8.

*He is a great Asserter of* Hereditary Right.

The King was called the *Solomon of the Age*, and stiled his *Sacred Majesty*, and these flattering Titles, which he greedily swallowed, confirmed him more and more in his Prejudices. He had one amongst the rest which had a great Influence upon his whole Administration. And that was, he verily believed he was come to the Crown of *England* solely by *Hereditary Right*, and could not bear that it should be thought he was any Way beholden to Queen *Elizabeth*, or that his *Title* derived its Origin from any *Act* of Parliament. If he had kept to a bare speculative Notion concerning this Matter, it would not have bred much Uneasiness in the *English*. But he drew from this Principle terrible Consequences, tending to no less than a downright *despotick* Power, and of course to the Subversion of the *English* Constitution. From his being King by *Hereditary Right* he inferred,

*From whence he draws terrible Consequences.*

that

that his Will ought to be the ſole Meaſure of the Government, and he conſidered as undeniable Truths, all thoſe extravagant Things which certain Writers have ſaid of the *Regal* Power. This ſuppoſed *Hereditary Right*, and the Conſequences drawn from thence, were the Spring and Fountain of the Diviſions which began in this Reign, between the King and Parliament, and which continued during the three following Reigns. This very Thing likewiſe gave Birth to the *Tory* and *Whig* Factions, who worry one another to this very Day. It is requiſite therefore, for the Reader's Information to obſerve, before we proceed, that this ſame *Hereditary Right* by which *James* I. pretended to reign, was not ſo indiſputable as he fancied, and as many imagine it to be even at this Time. 1603.

*Remarks on the Succeſſion to the Crown of* England.

In the firſt Place, no Law can be produced on which may be founded the *Hereditary* Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. Secondly, there are abundance of *Precedents* in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory which make appear that the Parliament aſſumed a Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, and ſettle the Succeſſion without any regard to the *next Heir*. In the third Place, more Kings, ſince the *Conqueſt*, have mounted the Throne by Virtue of *Acts* of Parliament, or ſome other means, than by *Hereditary Right*. The four firſt eſpecially, namely, *William the Conqueror*, *William Rufus*, *Henry* I, and *Stephen*, moſt certainly came not to the Crown by this *Right*. When was it then that the Crown became *Hereditary*? It is their Buſineſs who maintain this Opinion, to mark out the Time. In the fourth Place, of all the Kings from *William the Conqueror* down to *James* I. there was not one who had leſs Right to the Crown than *Henry* VII, before the Parliament confirmed him in the Poſſeſſion (*a*). It was therefore from the Parliament's Confirmation, rather than from *Henry the Seventh*'s Hereditary Right that *James* I. could derive his own *Title*. Laſtly, if ſome

(*a*) See the Reigns of *Richard* III, and *Henry* VII.

1603. ſome Inſtances may be produced of Kings ſucceeding from Father to Son; and if from thence it is inferred, that it was done by *Hereditary Right*, it will alſo be eaſy to ſhow that this Right vaniſhes when traced back to the Original. For Example, If it be granted that *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, *Edward* VI, and *Henry* VIII, came to the Crown by *Hereditary Right*, though a great deal might be ſaid with reſpect to the two Queens, the Fountain of this ſame Right ſprings from *Henry* VII, who was natural Heir to neither of the *Houſe of York*, nor the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. *Henry* VI, and *Henry* V ſucceeded from Father to Son, to *Henry* IV, who was not the next Heir to *Richard* II. *Edward* III could not ſucceed *Edward* II his Father, who was yet alive, by *Hereditary Right*. *Edward* II, *Edward* I, and *Henry* III, form the longeſt Hereditary Succeſſion from Father to Son that occurs in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory: But they derived their Right from *John Lackland*, who certainly was not *Richard* I's next Heir. I paſs over in Silence the former Kings, becauſe the Thing is too evident to need any farther inſiſting upon. Thus of Twenty-three Kings from the *Conqueſt* to *James* I. above one half at leaſt did not aſcend the Throne by *Hereditary Right*. As for thoſe who ſucceeded from Father to Son, and who may be ſuppoſed to have reigned by *Hereditary Right*, they could ſupport their Right of Succeſſion only by *Acts* of Parliament, whereby the Crown was adjudged to ſome one of their Anceſtors, contrary to *Hereditary Right*. How then can the *Hereditary* Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* be ſettled in an indiſputable Manner? It follows from what I have been ſaying, that nothing is more undetermined than the Right by which the Kings of *England* reigned from the *Conqueſt*, to the Time of *James* I, ſince it is not poſſible to lay down any certain Principle upon this Head. It is much eaſier to combat all the different Opinions concerning the Succeſſion, than to eſtabliſh any one by ſolid and undeniable Reaſons. I ſhall add here in Confirmation of what I have ſaid, that the Kings who were

were reckoned the wiſeſt and moſt able, neglected not to have their *Titles* confirmed by the Parliament, when they deemed them liable to any Objections. So that *James* I. reſolving to aſſert this ſuppoſed *Hereditary Right*, was the firſt Cauſe of the Troubles which afflicted *England*, and which are not yet ceaſed. 1603.

*The King's Miniſters flatter him greatly.*

This Prince's Choice of the Miniſters who were to manage the Publick Affairs, helped not a little to keep him in the high Conceit he had of his own perſonal Qualities, and the *Regal* Authority. The firſt was *Robert Cecil*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*. This Lord, who had been ſworn Enemy to the Earl of *Eſſex*, well-knowing how much the King was concerned in that Earl's Diſgrace, found no better way to keep in his Favour than by flattering him continually, and making his Court to him by talking of Kingly Government according to his Notions. He was accuſed at leaſt of inſpiring him with Sentiments very diſadvantageous to the Nation and Parliament. He was in other Reſpects a Man of a great Genius, conſummate Prudence, vaſt Capacity, and perfectly acquainted with the State and Intereſts of the Nation. The Earls of *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, the one Lord-Chamberlain, the other Lord-Keeper, were far behind the Earl of *Salisbury* in Parts and Ability. But 'tis pretended they were *Papiſts* in their Hearts, and as the *Catholick* Religion could not be reſtored in *England* but by an Arbitrary Power, they earneſtly ſtrove to indulge the King in his Notions concerning the Regal Authority. To theſe three Lords the King committed the chief Management of his Affairs. All the reſt of the Courtiers followed the ſame Method, and endeavoured to gain the King's Favour, by a blind Submiſſion to his Will.

*He ſends for the Queen and his Children.*

Shortly after the King's Arrival at *London*, he ſent a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies into *Scotland* to attend the Queen and his Children who were ready to come to him. He had three Children, namely, *Henry* nine Years old, *Elizabeth* and *Charles*. This

1603. last, being indisposed, was left in *Scotland* till the Month of *September* next Year.

*He gets Thomas hanged.*

Whilst the Queen was on her Journey, the King called to Mind that he had complained to *Elizabeth* of *Valentine Thomas*, who had slandered her, and was now in Prison. 'Tis not known wherein this Slander consisted; but whatever it was, about a Month after the King come to *London* he ordered *Thomas* to be brought upon his Tryal, who received Sentence of Death for conspiring against *Elizabeth* and some of her Council *.

*The Marquis of Rosny's Embassy.*

About the same Time, and before the Queen's Arrival, the Marquis of *Rosny* came Ambassador from the King of *France*, to congratulate the King upon his Accession to the Crown of *England*. He had express Orders from the King his Master to appear in Mourning with all his Train at his first Audience: But it was hinted to him, that he would disoblige the King, who would doubtless look upon this Affectation as a Reproach for his not going himself into Mourning for the Queen. The Marquis says in his *Memoirs*, that the King being at Table, boasted publickly that for several Years before *Elizabeth*'s Death it was he properly that governed *England*, and that no Resolution was taken in the Council but by his Direction. He would perhaps have been nearer the Truth, had he said, *Elizabeth* governed *Scotland* and himself too, without his knowing any Thing of the Matter. The *French* King's Design was not only to congratulate the King. His chief Aim in sending the Marquis of *Rosny* his Favourite, was, to hinder *James* from being won by the *Spaniards*, and to renew

*Sally's Memoirs.*

* About this Time *Charles* Lord *Mountjoy* returned out of *Ireland*, and brought with him *Hugh O Neal* Earl of *Tyrone*, or rather *Tir-Oen*, (*i. e. the Land of* Eugenius) being the Name of an *Irish* County. The Lord *Mountjoy* was honourably received, sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, and afterwards made *Earl of Devonshire*. *Tir-Oen* himself, who had been the Cause of so much Bloodshed, was pardoned, and Proclamation made that he should be treated by all Men with Respect and Honour. *Stow. p.* 825.

new the defenſive Alliance he had made with *Elizabeth*, in which the Ambaſſador ſucceeded to his Wiſh. 1603.

*Embaſſy from the Archduke.*

Count *Aremberg*, Ambaſſador from the Arch-Duke *Albret* and the *Infanta Iſabella* Sovereigns of the *Low-Countries*, was come to *London*, ſome Time before; but he was ſick, or feigned to be ſo, all the while the Marquiſs of *Roſny* ſtayed in *England*. 'Twas not till after the Marquiſs was gone, that he ſent and deſired the King to let one of his Privy-Council come and hear the Occaſion of his Embaſſy. *Cecil* whom the King pitched upon, was ſtrangely ſurprized to hear nothing from him but Compliments and general Matters. In all Appearance, this Ambaſſador was ſent into *England* only to obſerve what paſſed there, and to ſound the new King's Mind, about a Peace between *England* and *Spain*. *James* had already taken a Step which plainly enough ſhowed he was inclined to Peace, ſince without any Sollicitation he had revoked the *Letters of Mark* which *Elizabeth* had granted to ſeveral private Perſons (*a*). Some Time after, *Taxis* came alſo to *London* from the King of *Spain*, and having congratulated the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, he deſired Commiſſioners might be appointed to treat with him about a Peace. This Negotiation which was then but juſt ſet on Foot, ended at length in a Treaty of Peace, which was concluded the next Year *.

DuCheſne Aulic. Coq.

*and from the King of* Spain.

*The King retires to* Wilton. Weldon.

The Plague, which began to break out in the Month of *December*, increaſing at *London* during the hot Weather, the King retired for a little while to *Wilton*, a Seat of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s near *Salisbury*.

(*a*) This Revocation was dated the 23d. of *June*.

* For the more ſolemn Reception of Ambaſſadors was at this Time inſtituted a new Officer by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, of whom the firſt was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*. Stow.

1603. *Plot discovered in Favour of* Arabella Stuart.

Whilst the Court was at *Wilton*, a Conspiracy, or rather the Plan of a Conspiracy was discovered, the Authors whereof were the Lords *Grey*, *Cobham*, *Carew* *, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *George Brook*, two Priests, *Watson* and *Clark*, and some others *1. The Design was to set on the Throne *Arabella Stuart*, the King's Cousin-German. To this End, the Lord *Cobham* was to go and treat with the Arch-Duke at *Brussels*, and try to get from him six Hundred Thousand Crowns, of which *Raleigh* was to have seventy Thousand. *Cobham* was also to carry *Arabella*'s Letters to the Arch-Duke, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein she promised to marry the Person they should name, and to grant a full Toleration to the *Catholicks*. It was farther agreed, that *Cobham* *2 should ask the King's Leave to raise two Thousand Men for the Service of *Holland*, and with these Troops should seize his Person. But this was only a Project, no Part whereof had yet been executed, saving that some of the Conspirators had conferred with Count *Aremberg*. 'Tis thought the Count had been the occasion of this Plot on purpose to destroy *Raleigh*, who of all *England* was the Man the *Spaniards* most dreaded, and that afterwards he himself informed the King of the same. However this be, the Conspirators being apprehended, were tried at *Winchester* in the Month of *November* following, and condemned to die. *Raleigh* was found Guilty upon the written Evidence of one single Witness, namely, the Lord *Cobham*, whom they refused even to bring Face to Face with him, contrary to the express Law of the Land *(b)* *3. Only

*Raleigh is condemned.* Weldon.

*George*

* This is a Mistake. See Note above.

*1 Sir *Griffith Markham* in particular, who was condemned and reprieved with *Cobham*, *Grey*, and *Raleigh*, just as they were going to lose their Heads. See *Stow*, *p.* 832.

*2 Not *Cobham*, but the Lord *Grey*. See *Stow*, &c.

*(b)* Some affirm the Lord *Cobham* was perswaded to sign a blank Paper, whereon this Evidence was afterwards set down. *3 See *Weldon*. But *Goodman* in his *Aulicus Coquinaria*, p. 78, denies *Weldon*'s Account.

*George Brook* however, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, and the two Prieſts were executed, the King having ordered the reſt to be ſent back to Priſon, but without giving them their Pardon. The Lord *Grey* died there ſoon after, and the Lord *Cobham* obtained his Liberty at laſt *. But Sir *Walter Raleigh* remained twelve Years in the *Tower*, where he wrote a Hiſtory of the World which is much eſteemed in *England*. I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of him again in the Courſe of this Reign. 1603

*He remains 12 Years in the* Tower.

Not long after the Diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, the King and Queen were crowned at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Solemnity, on the the 25th of *July*, being St. *James*'s Day. Immediately after the Coronation the King iſſued out a Proclamation, expreſsly forbidding all Perſons who had any Buſineſs at Court to repair thither till Winter, by reaſon of the Plague which raged then exceedingly, and ſwept away above thirty Thouſand Souls in the City of *London* only. *Proclamations* were much more frequent in this Reign than in the former ones. In the eight or nine firſt Months there were no leſs than twelve. Stow.

*The King and Queen crowned.*

*Proclamations very frequent.*

I have already juſt mentioned the Hopes the *Papiſts* and *Puritans* had entertained, of ſome happy Change in this new Reign. The *Papiſts* could not believe that a Prince who had never expreſſed any Hatred for them, ſhould of a ſudden alter his Mind, and chuſe to tread in the Steps of *Elizabeth*. The *Puritans*, for their Parts, imagined, that *James* having been educated in their Religion, and made Profeſſion of the ſame all his Life, till his Arrival in *England*, muſt needs be propitious to them. They expected he would at leaſt reform good part of the Defects in the *Church* of *England*. Both were deceived, but the laſt much more than the firſt. *James* hated none of the

*The* Catholicks *preſent a Petition to the King.*

* But was deprived of his Eſtate, living many Years in Miſery. In his Perſon ended that noble Family, which had flouriſhed for many Ages. Sir *Griffith Markham* was alſo releaſed, and retired beyond Sea, where he lived in a mean Condition.

1603. *Catholicks* but the *Jesuits*, and such as were too servilely attached to the Court of *Rome*, and the Prerogatives of the Pope. But on the other Hand, he saw plainly it would never be in his Power to grant a full *Toleration* to the other *Catholicks*, though it were his Inclination to do so. For this Reason, he believed it most adviseable at first to avoid showing too openly his Thoughts of that Matter. Thus the *Catholicks* who had expected at least a full Toleration of their Religion, were very much surprised when upon presenting a *Petition* to the King on this Occasion, they received for Answer, that he thought himself obliged to support what he found established in the Kingdom at his coming.

*His Answer.*

*The* Petition *of the* Puritans.

The *Puritans* believing they had more reason to hope than the *Catholicks*, presented likewise their *Petition*, not only for a *Toleration*, but also to pray the King that sundry *Articles* of the *Church* of *England*, which they could not comply with, might be reformed. The Bishops failed not strenuously to oppose this Petition, and to intreat the King to leave Religion upon the same Foot he found it at his Accession to the Crown, without any Innovation. This was what the King fully intended. When he came first into the Kingdom, he not only went over to the *Church* of *England*, but even meant to force the *Puritans* to do the like, and to make them pay for the Plague and Trouble the *Presbyterian Synods* had created him in *Scotland*. Besides, the Government of the Church by *Presbyters* too much resembled a *Common-Wealth*, to be agreeable to a Prince so strongly prejudiced as he was in favour of *Monarchy*. The Government of the *Church* of *England* much better squared with his Principles *. Mean while, not to appear at first too partial, and

*The King's Design.*

* *Wilson* says, that the King thought if *Church-Power* were in the Hands of *Many*, it would not be so easy to be managed as when in the Hands of *One*, who had *Dependance* upon him, and with whom he might better grapple. And therefore the King, as *Baker* observes, would often say, *No Bishop, no King.*

and to make it believed, that he would not be determined without hearing the Arguments on both Sides, he appointed a Conference to be held between the two Parties, wherein he would be *Moderator* himſelf. In the mean Time, he iſſued out a *Proclamation*, commanding both Sides to be quiet, till he ſhould have ſettled Matters according as he judged proper. 1603.

*He appoints a Conference between the* Epiſcopalians *and* Puritants.

The Conference between ſome Biſhops and *Presbyterian* Miniſters was held at *Hampton-Court*, on the 14th of *January* 1604 *. The King let the *Miniſters* ſee immediately what they were to expect. He declared, "That following the Example of all *Chriſtian* Princes, who uſually began their Reigns with "the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, he had now, at "his entering upon the Throne, aſſembled them, for "ſettling an uniform Order in the ſame, for planting "Unity, removing Diſſentions, and reforming Abu"ſes, which were naturally incident to all politick "Bodies. And that he might not be miſapprehend"ed, and his Deſigns in aſſembling them miſconſtru"ed, He farther declared, that his meaning was not "to make any Innovation of the Government eſta"bliſhed in the Church, which he knew was appro"ved of God, but to hear and examine the Com"plaints that were made, and remove the Occaſion "of them; therefore he deſired the Petitioners to "begin, and to ſhew what were their Grievances". Doctor *Reynolds* being the Spokeſman, reduced what he had to ſay to two Heads, the firſt related to the *Doctrines*, and the ſecond to the *Diſcipline* of the *Church*. As to the *Doctrines* he ſaid, the *Articles* of the *Church* of *England* were in ſome Places obſcure, and in others defective. Then he mentioned the *Articles* he ſpoke of, and deſired the King that they might be explained ſo as to leave no Ambiguity, and

1604. *Conference at* Hampton Court Spotſwood. Speed. Wilſon. Eachard. Coke, *p.* 7.

* The Biſhops were, *Canterbury*, *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Worceſter*, St. *David's*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliſle* and *Peterborough*, with eight Deans, Dr. *Field*, and Dr. *King*. The *Petitioners* were, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chaderton*.

1604. that what was defective might be supplied. Whereupon a Dispute arose, wherein the King always replied, answering to the *Ministers* Arguments himself, one while with Reasons, another while with Authority and Threats. The *Ministers* perceiving the King was become their Adversary, which they did not expect, chose to be silent and make as if they were satisfied. Then the King upbraided them for their Presumption, saying, they needed not to have importuned him for so small a Matter. The Truth is, This was not their main Grievance. The Government, and external Worship of the *Church*, was what they most scrupled at. The Points they insisted upon were: 1. That sufficient Care was not taken to plant good and learned Pastors in the Churches, to the great Detriment of the People. 2. That they were obliged to receive the *Common-Prayer-Book*, wherein there were several Things which their Consciences would not suffer them to admit of. 3. That the *Clergy* were liable to the *Censures* of *Lay-Men*, by means of the *High-Commission* *. 4. They required the laying aside of the *Cross* in *Baptism*, the *Ring* in Marriage, the *Surplice*, with some other Things, which they looked upon as superstitious. There were warm Disputes upon all these Heads, wherein the King took Care to reply to the *Ministers* himself, without giving the Bishops Time to speak. The King's Conduct was so agreeable to the Bishops and their Friends, that the Lord-Chancellor [*Egerton*] unwilling to miss so fair an Opportunity to flatter the King, said aloud, *He had often heard that the* Priesthood *and* Royalty *were united, but never saw it verified till now.* *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury* carried his Flattery to a greater Heighth, and said, *he verily believed the King spoke by the*

*The King is highly flattered.* Echard. Wilson. Coke.

* The *High-Commission-Court* was instituted and founded upon the *Statute*, 1. *Eliz.* Cap. I. and consisted of a certain Number of Commissioners, who exercised the King's *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*. This Court for divers Reasons was utterly abolished by the *Statute* made, 16, 17 *Car.* 1. Cap. 10.

*the Spirit of God.* After this, the King diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and ordered the Biſhops and *Miniſters* to meet again in three Days at the ſame Place. 1604.

On the 18th of *January*, the Day appointed by the King, the Biſhops were called firſt into his Preſence, and delivered to him an Explanation of the *Liturgy*. Then the King queſtioned them about *Excommunication*, *the High-Commiſſion*, the Oath *ex Officio*, the Subſcription to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and receiving Anſwers to his Satisfaction, he ordered the *Miniſters* to come in, and the Writing the Biſhops had preſented to him, to be read before them. The *Miniſters* believing it would be to no purpoſe to make any Reply, kept ſilence. Nay, 'tis pretended that ſome of them declared, that their Doubts were ſufficiently cleared. However, the King taking for granted, that they had nothing to object, and had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Condeſcenſion that was ſhown them, exhorted the Biſhops to treat with Lenity ſuch as were gone aſtray, and commanded the *Miniſters* to preſerve the Unity of the Church, and to beware of Obſtinacy and Diſobedience. "Obedience and "Humility, *added he*, are the Marks of good and "honeſt Men, ſuch as I believe you to be; but I "fear many of your ſort are humorous, and too buſy "in perverting of others. The Exceptions againſt the "*Common-Prayer-Book*, as I perceive, are Matters of "mere Weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be "gained by Time and gentle Perſwaſions; and if "they be indiſcreet, it is better to remove them, than "the *Church* ſhould ſuffer by their Contentions. For "the Biſhops I will anſwer, That it is not their De"ſign immediately to enforce Obedience, but by Fa"therly Admonitions and Conferences, to gain thoſe "that are diſaffected; but if any be of an obſtinate "and turbulent Spirit, I will have them enforced to "a Conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing "of a *Surplice*, or uſing the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, can "diminiſh the Credit of Miniſters that were formerly of another Opinion; for that is the *Scotch* Ar-

*The King's Threats to the* Preſbyterian *Miniſters.*

1604. " gument, when any thing was concluded, not agreeing with their Humours, the only Reason for their Disobedience is, *That it stands not with their Credit to yield*, having been so *long of a contrary Opinion*. I will have none of that, but that a Time be limited by the Bishops of every *Diocese*, and such as will not submit, whoever they are, let them be removed; for we must not prefer the Credit of a few private Men to the general Peace of the *Church*".

In this manner passed the pretended Conference, the sole End whereof was to make the World believe, the *Ministers* were convinced, and had all necessary Light afforded them; that therefore it was out of pure Obstinacy that they still separated from the *Church*. From hence it was natural to infer, that in order to conquer this same Obstinacy, it was requisite to use some Severity. And this is what the King plainly hinted to them, when he said, he would answer for the Bishops, that it was not their Design *immediately* to enforce Obedience; and when he added more clearly in the Sequel of his Discourse, that after such a Time they should be dealt with in another manner. But this Conference had no great Effect upon the *Puritans*, and all the Fruit the King reaped by it was, the letting them see how much they were mistaken in depending upon his Protection.

*Whitgift* was a mild and peaceable Man, who would have been very glad to reclaim the *Puritans* by soft and gentle Means, such as the *Gospel* allows: but he died very soon after on the 29th of *February*. He was succeeded by *Richard Bancroft*, a Prelate of a very different Temper, who instead of dealing gently with the *Puritans*, never ceased to exasperate the King against them, and to do them all the Mischief he could. Herein he was but too closely followed by the rest of the Bishops, who found a double Advantage in destroying the *Puritans*. In the first Place they made their Court to the King, who hated them mortally.

*Whitgift dies. Wilson, p. 8.*

*Bancroft succeeds him.*

*He persecutes the Puritans.*

mortally. Secondly, they preſerved the *Hierarchy*, which the *Puritans* wanted to overthrow. The Perſecution which theſe laſt ſuffered whilſt *Bancroft* was at the Head of the *Clergy*, induced many Families to withdraw out of the Kingdom, to go and enjoy elſewhere that Liberty of Conſcience they were denied at Home. *Bancroft* is accuſed likewiſe of having been one of the moſt forward to inſtil into the King the *Maxims* of Arbitrary Power. 1604.

*The Jeſuits are baniſhed.* Wilſon. Echard.

The 22d of *February* the King iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding all *Jeſuits* and other *Prieſts* having *Orders* from any foreign Power, to depart the Kingdom. This Proclamation was worded in ſuch a Manner, that the King was exceedingly careful to ſhow that he did not baniſh the *Jeſuits* out of Hatred to the *Catholick* Religion in general, but only on account of their Attachment to the Doctrine of the Pope's unlimited Power over crowned Heads. This is what the King very diligently obſerved throughout his whole Reign. He conſtantly affected to conſider the *Romiſh* Religion ſo far only as it might be contrary to Civil Government; that is to ſay, with reſpect to the unlimited Power it aſcribed to the Pope. As for the other *Doctrines*, he was very willing to allow the *Catholicks* the Liberty to believe what they pleaſed, provided they renounced the Belief of the Pope's being above Kings. He was perſuaded that ſuch Equity would procure him a peaceable Reign: but he had too much reaſon afterwards to be convinced, that he was taking falſe Meaſures, and yet he would never alter his Conduct. The greateſt Part of the *Catholicks* were not ſatisfied with ſo limited a *Toleration*; and the zealous *Proteſtants* made the King paſs for a *Papiſt*. 'Tis certain, he gave Occaſion to think he was well-inclined to the *Catholick* Religion, by the great Care he always took to ſhow that he was offended with nothing but the Pope's abſolute Power, and made light of the other *Doctrines*, wherein the two Religions obliged him to take in favour of the moderate *Catholicks*, ſome Steps which rendered him very ſuſpicious

*The King's Regard for the Catholicks.*

1604. ſuſpicious to many *Proteſtants*, whilſt others looked upon his Zeal againſt the *Presbyterians* as an undeniable Evidence of his Attachment to the *Proteſtant* Religion.

*Proclamation againſt the* Puritans. Wilſon.

The Proclamation againſt the *Jeſuits* was ſoon followed by another, enjoining the *Puritans* to conform themſelves to the Worſhip of the eſtabliſhed *Church*. There was not ſeen here the ſame Care to juſtify the King's Conduct with reſpect to this ſort of Perſecution. The King intimated in the Firſt, that he would have regard to the tender Conſciences of ſuch *Catholicks* as could not comply with the received *Doctrines* of the *Church* of *England*. But in this there was not the leaſt Indulgence for the tender Conſciences of the *Puritans*. They were all a Pack of obſtinate Wretches, who deſerved to have no Favour ſhown them!

*Sundry Abuſes ſuppreſſed.* Wilſon.

As the Parliament was to meet the 19th of *March*, the King thought it neceſſary to gain the Love of his Subjects, by ſuppreſſing ſome Abuſes which had crept in about the End of the late Reign, and tended to the Oppreſſion of the People. This he did by ſeveral Proclamations againſt certain *Monopolies*; againſt Protections, frequently hindering the Courſe of Juſtice; againſt *Salt-Petre* Men, who dug up People's Houſes, unleſs they were well fee'd; againſt the King's *Purveyors*, who ſeized any Man's Horſes and Cart, under colour of employing them for the King, and then let them go again for Money. Among theſe Proclamations, there was one not ſo acceptable to the People: it was that againſt *Hunting*, on very ſevere Penalties to the Offender. This Reign was a Reign of *Proclamations*. The King and his Miniſters would have been glad to have had them paſſed for Laws; but neither the Judges nor People were yet inured to it.

*Proclamation againſt Hunting.* Coke.

*Another to make the 5th of* Auguſt *a Holy-day.* Wilſon. Weldon.

Shortly after another came forth, appointing the 5th of *Auguſt* to be kept as a *Holy-day*. It was ordered, that every Year on that Day publick Thanks ſhould be returned to God in all the Churches, for the King's miraculous Deliverance from the Conſpiracy

racy of the *Gowries*, who made an Attempt upon his Life in 1600. This new *Holy-day* was not liked by every Body. Beſides, that the Thing which was the Occaſion of it happened to the King before his Acceſſion of the Crown of *England*, there were People as well in *Scotland* as *England*, who had the Malice to affirm it was only a Fiction of the King's to cover a real Conſpiracy of his againſt the two *Ruthvens* or *Gowries*, who were killed on this Occaſion. I don't relate this with Deſign to caſt any Blemiſh upon King *James*'s Reputation, or to call in queſtion the Deliverance he had a mind to thank God for: But only to ſhow that from the firſt Beginning of his Reign in *England*, there were ſome who had no very great Opinion of him *. 1604. Weldon. Wilſon. p. 12.

As the Time of the Parliament's Meeting drew near, the King and Queen made their Entry into *London* four Days before, not having been able to do it ſooner by reaſon of the Plague. The King had need that Day of all his Patience, nothing being more diſagreeable to him than the *Solemnities* and *Pageants* which drew a Crowd of People about him *1. Herein he differed very much from Queen *Elizabeth*, who took a Pleaſure in ſeeing her People eager to look upon her, and in hearing their Acclamations. *The King and Queen make their Entry into* London. Wilſon. Stow. March 15.

I have

* *Erskin* and *Ramſey* two of his Deliverers, were rewarded with *Wealth* and *Honour*; the one made *Earl of Kelley*, the other *of Holderneſs*. The Firſt, Prime Gentleman of *the Bed-Chamber* to the King, and the Second got one of the prime *Beauties* of the Kingdom, Daughter to the Earl of *Suſſex*. *Wilſon*, p. 12.

*1 The Suburbs and City were one continued Scene of Pageantry. There were Seven *Triumphal Gates* or *Arches* erected in the Streets through which he was to paſs from *the Tower* to *Whitehall*. It ſeems he endured this Day's Brunt pretty patiently, being ſure he ſhould never have ſuch another. But afterwards (ſays *Wilſon*) in his *publick Appearances*, the Crowds of People made him ſo impatient, that he often diſperſed them with *Frowns*, not to ſay *Curſes*. His private *Recreations* at Home, and his *Hunting* Exerciſes Abroad, both with the leaſt Diſturbance, were his *Delights*. *Stow. Wilſon.*

1604. *James is possessed with a Notion of the Extent of the Prerogative-Royal.*

I have already observed, that *James* I's Notion of the *English Constitution* was very different from what had passed for Current hitherto. If any of his Predecessors had been of the same Opinion with him, they had at least taken care to hide it, or not to show it but upon some extraordinary Occasions. For his Part, he did not think fit to take the same Course, since he omitted no Opportunity to make known his Thoughts. He was persuaded that the Parliament's and People's Privileges were so many Usurpations, or at best, but Concessions of the Kings his Predecessors, which might be revoked; and he frequently gave Occasion to believe, he had formed a Design to free both himself and Successors from the Restraint which the *Laws*, *Customs*, and *Privileges* of the *English* Nation had laid upon the former Kings. However this be, from one End of his Reign to the other he embraced all Opportunities that offered to make the most of his Prerogative Royal, to which he set no Bounds but his own Pleasure. The first publick Step which discovered his Sentiments in this Matter, was the convening of his first Parliament, of which I am now going to speak. Both in the *Writs* and the Proclamation to call the Parliament, he takes upon him to describe what sort of *Representatives* should be elected, not by way of Exhortation, as the preceding Kings had done, but by way of Command, and as Conditions without which they should not be admitted into *the House*. This was directly striking at the *Commons*, whose Privilege of deciding the Validity of *Elections* had never been questioned.

Coke's *Detection*, p. 51.

*We notify by these Presents, That all Returns and Certificates of Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, ought and are to be brought to the Court of* Chancery, *and there to be filed upon Record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this Proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the City or Borough to be fined for the same; and if it be found that they have committed any gross or wilful Default or Contempt in the Election,*

*Election, Return or Certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Law, are to be ſeized as forfeited: And if any Perſon take upon him the Place of a Knight, Citizen or Burgeſs, not being duly elected and ſworn, according to the Laws and Statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the Purport, Effect, and true Meaning of this our Proclamation, then every Perſon ſo offending, to be fined and impriſoned for the ſame.* 1604.

Thus the King aſſumed a Power not only to enjoin *Penalties* on ſuch as ſhould offend againſt the *Statutes* concerning *Elections*, but alſo to enjoin them by a bare Proclamation, the Authority whereof he rendred equal to that of the Laws. We ſhall ſee preſently this was not done without Deſign.

At the Opening of the Parliament, the King being ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the *Commons* as uſual: But as the Crowd was great, it happened that ſeveral of *the Members* could not get in. Sir *Herbert Crofts*, one of the *Repreſentatives*, ſtriving to enter, was rudely thruſt back by one of the King's *Guards*, who knowing him to be what he was, ſaid to him in a Jeer, *Goodman* Burgeſs, *you come not here*. This Thing made ſome noiſe afterwards: but *the Houſe* thought proper to take no notice of it. The *Commons* being come up, the King made a Speech to Both *Houſes*, which, though it be very long, deſerves to be inſerted at length, that we may from ſome certain Paſſages diſcover the *Genius*, *Character* and *Deſigns* of this Prince. Coke, p. 52.

*The King's Speech to the Parliament.* Wilſon.

" IT did no ſooner pleaſe God to lighten his Hand, " and relent the Violence of his devouring *An-* " *gel* againſt the poor People of this City, but as " ſoon did I reſolve to call this *Parliament*, and that " for Three chief and principal *Reaſons*. The firſt " whereof is, (and which of itſelf, although there " were no *more*, is not only a ſufficient, but a moſt " full and neceſſary Ground and Reaſon for con- " vening of this *Aſſembly*;) the firſt *Reaſon*, I ſay, " is, That you are here preſent aſſembled to repre-

1605. " ſent the Body of this whole Kingdom, and of all
" ſorts of People within the ſame, may with your
" own Ears hear, and that I out of my own Mouth
" may deliver unto you, the Aſſurance of my due
" Thankfulneſs for your ſo joyful and general Ap-
" plauſe, to the declaring and receiving of me in
" this *Seat*, (*which God by my Birth-right and lineal*
" *Deſcent, had in the Fulneſs of Time provided for me*;)
" and that immediately after it pleaſed God to call
" your late *Soveraign*, of famous *Memory*, full of
" *Dayes*, but fuller of immortal *Trophies* of *Honour*,
" out of this tranſitory Life. Not that I am able to
" expreſs by Words, or utter by Eloquence, the
" vive Image of my own inward Thankfulneſs, but
" only that out of my own *Mouth* you may reſt aſ-
" ſured to expect that Meaſure of Thankfulneſs at
" my Hands, which is according to the Infiniteneſs
" of your *Deſerts*, and to my Inclination and Ability
" for Requital of the ſame. *Shall I ever*? Nay, can
" I ever be able, or rather ſo unable in *Memory*, as
" to forget your unexpected Readineſs and Alacrity,
" your ever memorable *Reſolution*, and your moſt
" wonderful Conjunction and Harmony of your
" Hearts, *in declaring and embracing me as your un-*
" *doubted and lawful King and Governour?* Or ſhall it
" ever be blotted out of my *Mind*, how at my firſt
" Entry into this Kingdom, the People of all ſorts
" rid and ran; nay rather flew to meet me? Their
" Eyes flaming nothing but Sparkles of *Affection*;
" their Mouths and Tongues uttering nothing but
" *Sounds* of *Joy*; their Hands, Feet, and all the
" reſt of their Members, in their *Geſtures*, diſcove-
" ring a *paſſionate* Longing, and Earneſtneſs to meet
" and embrace their new Sovereign. *Quid ergo re-*
" *tribuam?* Shall I allow in my ſelf that which I
" could never bear with in another? No, I muſt
" plainly and freely confeſs here, in all your Audi-
" ences, that I did ever *naturally* ſo far miſlike a
" Tongue too ſmooth and diligent, in paying their
" *Creditors* with *Lip-payment* and verbal Thanks, as

" I ever

" I ever ſuſpected that ſort of People meant not to 1604.
pay their Debtors in more *ſubſtantial* ſort of *Coin*.
" And therefore for expreſſing my Thankfulneſs, I
" muſt reſort unto the other Two *Reaſons* of my con-
" vening of this *Parliament*, by them in *Action* to
" utter my Thankfulneſs: Both the ſaid *Reaſons* ha-
" ving but one Ground, which is the Deeds, whereby
" all the Days of my Life I am by God's Grace to
" expreſs my ſaid Thankfulneſs unto you, but di-
" vided in this, That in the firſt of theſe two mine
" *Actions* of Thanks are ſo inſeparably conjoyned
" with my Perſon, as they are in a manner become
" individually annexed to the ſame. In the other
" *Reaſon*, mine *Actions* are ſuch, as I may either do
" them, or leave them undone, although by God's
" Grace I hope never to be weary of the doing
" them.

" As to the firſt, it is the *Bleſſings* which God hath
" in my *Perſon* beſtowed upon you all, wherein I
" proteſt, I do more glory at the ſame for your
" *Weale*, than for any particular Reſpect of my own
" Reputation, or Advancement therein.

" *The firſt* then of theſe *Bleſſings*, which God hath
" jointly with my Perſon ſent unto you, is, *outward*
" *Peace*; that is, Peace Abroad with all foreign
" *Neighbours*: For I thank God, I may juſtly ſay,
" that never ſince I was a King, I either received
" Wrong of any other *Chriſtian Prince or State*, or
" did Wrong to any: I have ever, I praiſe God, yet
" kept *Peace* and Amity with all, which hath been ſo
" far tyed to my Perſon, as at my coming here, you
" are Witneſſes, I found the *State* embarked in a
" great and tedious *War*; and only by my Arrival
" here, and by the *Peace* in my *Perſon*, is now *Amity*
" kept, where *War* was before, which is no ſmall
" Bleſſing to a *Chriſtian* Commonwealth: For by
" *Peace* abroad with their *Neighbours*, the Towns
" flouriſh, the Merchants become rich, the Trade
" doth increaſe, and the People of all ſorts in the
" Land enjoy free Liberty to exerciſe themſelves in

" their

1604. "their ſeveral *Vocations*, without Peril or Diſturbance. Not that I think this *outward Peace* ſo inſeparably tied to my *Perſon*, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to my ſelf, and to you, the certain Continuance thereof: But thus far I can very well aſſure you, and in the Word of a King promiſe unto you, That I ſhall never give the firſt Occaſion of the Breach thereof; neither ſhall I ever be moved for any particular or private *Paſſion of Mind*, to interrupt your *publick Peace*, except I be forced thereunto, either for Reparation of the *Honour* of the Kingdom, or elſe by *Neceſſity* for the Weal and Preſervation of the ſame: In which Caſe, a ſecure and honourable *War* muſt be preferred before an unſecure and diſhonourable *Peace*. Yet do I hope, by my Experience of the by-paſt Bleſſings of *Peace*, which God hath ſo long, ever ſince my Birth, beſtowed upon me, that he will not be weary to continue the ſame, nor repent him of his *Grace* towards me; transferring that Sentence of King *David*'s, upon his by-paſt Victories of War, to mine of Peace; That *that God who preſerved me from the devouring Jaws of the Bear, and of the Lyon, and delivered them into my Hands, ſhall now alſo grant me Victory over that uncircumciſed Philiſtine.* But although outward *Peace* be a great *Bleſſing*, yet it is as far inferior to *Peace* within, as Civil Wars are more cruel and unnatural than Wars abroad. And therefore the ſecond great *Bleſſing* that God hath with my Perſon ſent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a double Form: Firſt, by my Deſcent lineally out of the Loins of *Henry the Seventh* is reunited and confirmed in me the Union of the Two *Princely Roſes* of the Two *Houſes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*, whereof that King of happy *Memory* was the firſt *Uniter*, as he was alſo the firſt Groundlayer of the other *Peace*, (the lamentable and miſerable Events, by the civil and bloody Diſſention betwixt theſe Two *Houſes*, was ſo great, and ſo late, as it need not be renewed into your *Memo-*

"*ries*)

" *ries*) which as it was first settled and united in 1604.
" *Him*, so it is re-united and confirmed in *Me*; being
" justly and lineally descended, not only of that
" happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches
" thereof in any Times before. But the Union of
" both these two *Princely Houses* is nothing compara-
" ble to the Union of the Two antient and famous
" Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace an-
" nexed to my Person.

" And here I must crave your *Patience* for a little
" Space, to give me leave to discourse more parti-
" cularly of the Benefits that do arise of that *Union*
" which is made in my Blood, being a Matter that
" belongeth most properly to me to speak of, as
" the *Head* wherein that great *Body* is united. And
" first, if we were to look no higher than to *Natu-*
" *ral* and *Physical Reasons*, we may easily be per-
" suaded of the great Benefits that by this *Union* do
" redound to the whole Island: For if Twenty
" Thousand Men be a strong *Army*, is not the
" double thereof, Forty Thousand, a stronger
" *Army?* If a Baron enricheth himself with double
" as many Lands as he had before, is he not double
" the greater? Nature teacheth *us*, that *Mountains*
" are made of *Motes*; and that at first, Kingdoms
" being divided, and every particular Town, or lit-
" tle Country, (as Tyrants or Usurpers could ob-
" tain the Possession of a Signory apart:) Many of
" these little Kingdoms are now, in process of Time,
" by the *Ordinance* of *God*, joined into great *Mo-*
" *narchies*, whereby they are become powerful
" within themselves, to defend themselves from all
" outward Invasions, and their *Head* and *Governour*
" thereby enabled to redeem them from foreign As-
" saults, and punish private Transgressions within.
" Do we not yet remember that this Kingdom was
" divided into Seven little Kingdoms, besides *Wales?*
" And is it not now the stronger by their *Union?*
" And hath not the *Union* of *Wales* to *England* added
" a greater Strength thereto? Which though it was

1604. " a great Principality, was nothing comparable in " Greatneſs and Power, to the antient and famous " Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what ſhall we ſtick " upon any natural Appearance, when it is manifeſt " that *God* by his *Almighty Providence* hath pre- " ordained it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt united " theſe Two Kingdoms, both in Language and Re- " ligion, and Similitude of Manners? Yea, hath he " not made *us* all in one Iſland, compaſſed with one " Sea, and of itſelf by Nature ſo indiviſible, as al- " moſt thoſe that were Borderers themſelves on the " late *Borders*, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know, or diſ- " cern their own *Limits*? Theſe two Countries being " ſeparated neither by Sea, nor great River, Moun- " tain, nor other Strength of *Nature*, but only by " little ſmall Brooks, or demoliſhed little Walls, " ſo as rather they were divided in Apprehenſion, " that in Effect; and now in the End and Fulneſs of " Time united, the Right and Title of both in my " *Perſon*, alike lineally deſcended of both the *Crowns*, " whereby it is now become like a *little World* within " itſelf, being intrenched and fortified round about " with a *natural*, and yet admirable ſtrong Pond or " Ditch, whereby all the former Fears of this Nation " are now quite cut off: The other Part of the Iſland " being ever before now, not only the Place of " Landing to all Strangers that were to make Inva- " ſion here, but likewiſe moved by the Enemies of " this *State*, by untimely Incurſions to make enforced " Diverſion from their *Conqueſts*, for defending them- " ſelves at Home, and keeping ſure their Back-door, " as then it was called, which was the greateſt Hin- " drance and Lett my Predeceſſors of this *Nation* " ever had, in diſturbing them from their many fa- " mous and glorious Conqueſts Abroad: *What God* " *hath conjoyned then, let no Man ſeparate.* I am the " *Husband*, and all the whole Iſland is my lawful " *Wife*; I am the *Head*, and it is my *Body*; I am the " *Shepherd*, and it is my *Flock*: I hope therefore " no Man will be ſo unreaſonable as to think, that I,

" that

1604.

" that am a *Chriſtian King*, under the Goſpel, ſhould " be a *Polygamiſt* and *Husband* to Two *Wives*; that I " being the *Head*, ſhould have a divided and mon- " ſtrous *Body*; or that being the *Shepherd* of ſo fair " a *Flock*, (whoſe *Fold* hath no Wall to fence it but " the Four *Seas*) ſhould have my *Flock* parted in " two. But as I am aſſured that no honeſt Subject, " of whatſoever Degree, within my whole *Domi-* " *nions*, is leſs glad of this joyful *Union* then I am; " ſo may the frivolous Objection of any that would " be hinderers of this *Work* (which God hath in my " Perſon already eſtabliſhed) be eaſily anſwered; " which can be none, except ſuch as are either blind- " ed with *Ignorance*, or elſe tranſported with *Malice*, " being unable to live in a well-governed Common- " wealth, and only delighting to fiſh in troubled " Waters: For if they would ſtand upon their *Re-* " *putation* and *Privileges* of any of the Kingdoms; " I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms *Monar-* " *chies* from the Beginning? And conſequently, " could ever the *Body* be counted without the *Head*, " which was ever unſeparably joined thereunto? So " that as the *Honour* and *Privileges* of any of the " Kingdoms could not be divided from their Sove- " reign; ſo are they now confounded and joined in " my Perſon, who em equal and alike kindly *Head* " to both. When this Kingdom of *England* was di- " vided into ſo many petty Kingdoms, (as I told " you before) one of them eat up another, till they " were all united into *One*. And yet can *Wiltſhire* or " *Devonſhire*, which were of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (al- " though their Kingdom was of longeſt durance, " and did by Conqueſt overcome divers of the reſt of " the little Kingdoms) make Claim to Priority of " Place or Honour before *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, or other " *Shires*, which were conquered by them? And have " *We* not the like *Experience* in the Kingdom of " *France*, being compoſed of divers *Dutchies*, and " one after another conquered by the *Sword*? For " even as little *Brooks* loſe their Names by running

1604. " and falling into great *Rivers*, and the very Name " and Memory of great *Rivers* ſwallowed up in the " *Ocean*; ſo by the Conjunction of divers little King- " doms into one, are all theſe private Differences " and Queſtions ſwallowed up. And ſince the Suc- " ceſs was happy of the *Saxon* Kingdoms, conquered " by the *Spear* of *Bellona*; how much greater *Rea-* " *ſon* have *We* to expect a happy Iſſue of this greater " *Union*, which is only faſtened and bound up by " the *Wedding-Ring* of *Aſtrea*? And as God hath " made *Scotland* (the one half of this *Iſland*) to en- " joy my Birth, and the firſt and moſt imperfect half " of my Life; and you here to enjoy the perfect " and laſt half thereof; ſo I cannot think that any " would be ſo injurious to me, no, not in their " Thoughts and Wiſhes, as to cut aſunder the one " half of me from the other. But in this Matter I " have far enough inſiſted, reſting aſſured, that in " your *Hearts* and *Minds* you all applaud this my " Diſcourſe.

" Now although theſe *Bleſſings* (before rehearſed) " of inward and outward *Peace* be great: Yet ſeeing " that in all good Things, a great part of their *Good-* " *neſs* and *Eſtimation* is loſt, if they have not Ap- " pearance of Perpetuity or long Continuanee; ſo " hath it pleaſed *Almighty God* to accompany my " Perſon alſo with that *Favour*, having healthful and " hopeful Iſſue of my Body (whereof ſome are here " preſent,) for Continuance and Propagation of *that* " *undoubted Right* which is in my Perſon; under whom " I doubt not but it will pleaſe God to proſper and " continue for many Years this *Union*, and all other " Bleſſings of inward and outward Peace, which I " have brought with me.

" But neither *Peace* outward, nor *Peace* inward, " nor any other *Bleſſing* that can follow thereupon, " nor Appearance of the Perpetuity thereof, by Pro- " pagation in *Poſterity*, are but weak Pillars, and " rotten Reeds to lean unto, if God doth not " ſtrengthen, and by the *Staff* of his *Bleſſing* make

" them

" them durable; for in vain doth the *Watchman* 1604.
" watch the City, if the Lord be not the *principal*
" Defence thereof; in vain doth the Builder build
" the Houſe, if God give not the Succeſs; and in
" vain (as St. *Paul* ſaith) doth *Paul* plant, and *A-*
" *pollo* water, if God give not the Encreaſe: For
" all worldly *Bleſſings* are but like ſwift paſſing
" Shadows, fading Flowers, or Chaff blown before
" the Wind, if by the Profeſſion of true *Religion*,
" and Works according thereunto, God be not mov-
" ed to maintain and ſettle the *Thrones* of Princes.
" And although ſince mine *Entry* into this Kingdom,
" I have both by meeting divers of the *Eccleſiaſtical*
" *State*, and likewiſe by divers Proclamations, clear-
" ly declared my Mind in *Points* of *Religion*, yet do
" I not think it amiſs in this ſo ſolemn an *Audience*,
" to take Occaſion to diſcover ſomewhat of the Se-
" crets of my Heart in that Matter. For I ſhall ne-
" ver (with God's Grace) be aſhamed to make pub-
" lick Profeſſion thereof upon all Occaſions, leſt God
" ſhould be aſhamed of me, before *Men* and *Angels*;
" eſpecially leſt at this Time, Men might preſume
" farther upon the Miſknowledge of my Meaning,
" to trouble this *Parliament* of ours than were con-
" venient.

" At my firſt coming, although I found but one
" *Religion*, and that which by my ſelf is profeſſed,
" publickly allowed, and by the Law maintained;
" yet found I another ſort of *Religion*, beſides a pri-
" vate *Sect*, lurking within the Bowels of the *Nation*.
" The firſt is the true *Religion*, which by me is pro-
" feſſed, and by Law is eſtabliſhed: The ſecond is,
" the falſely called *Catholicks*, but truly *Papiſts*:
" The Third, which I call a *Sect*, rather than a *Re-*
" *ligion*, is the *Puritans* and *Noveliſts*, who do not ſo
" far differ from us in *Points of Religion*, as in their
" confuſed Form of *Policy* and *Purity*, *being ever*
" *diſcontented with the preſent Government, and impa-*
" *tient to ſuffer any Superiority, which makes their Sect*
" *inſufferable, in any well-governed Common-Wealth.*

1604. "But as for my Course towards them, I remit it to "my *Proclamations* made upon that *Subject*.

"And now for the *Papists*, I must put a difference "betwixt my own private *Profession* of my *Salvation*, "and my *politick* Government of the *Realm*, for "the Weal and Quietness thereof. As for my "own Profession, you have me your *Head* now a-"mong you, of the same *Religion* that the Body is "of: As I am no *Stranger* to you in Blood, no more "am I a *Stranger* to you in *Faith*, nor in Matters "concerning the *House* of God. And although this "my Profession be according to my Education, "wherein (I thank God) I sucked the Milk of God's "Truth, with the Milk of my Nurse; yet do I "here protest unto you, that I would never (for "such a conceit of *Constancy*, or other prejudicate "*Opinion*) have so firmly kept my first *Profession*, if "I had not found it agreeable to all *Reason*, and to "the Rule of my *Conscience*. But I was never vio-"lent, nor unreasonable in my Profession: *I acknow-"ledge the* Roman *Church to be our Mother Church, "although defiled with some Infirmities and Corruptions*, "as the *Jews* were, before they crucified Christ. "And as I am no Enemy to the Life of a sick Man, "because I would have his Body purged of *ill "Humours*; no more am I an Enemy to their "*Church*, because I would have them reform their "*Errors*, not wishing the down-throwing of the "Temple, but that it might be purged, and clean-"sed from *Corruption*; otherwise how can they wish "us to enter, if their *House* be not first clean: But "as I would be lother to dispense in the least Point "of my own *Conscience*, for any worldly Respect, "than the foolishest *Precisian* of them all; so would "I be as sorry to straiten the *Politick* Government "of the Bodies and Minds of all my Subjects to "my private *Opinions*: Nay, my Mind was ever so "free for Persecution, or inthralling of my Subjects "in Matters of *Conscience*, as I hope those of that "Profession have a Proof since my first coming,

"that

" that I was ſo far from encreaſing their *Burthens* 1604.
" with *Rehoboam*, as I have ſo much as either Time,
" Occaſion, or Law could permit, lightned them.
" And even now at this Time, have I been careful
" to reviſe and conſider deeply upon the Laws made
" againſt them, *That ſome Overture might be made to*
" *the preſent Parliament for clearing theſe Laws by*
" *Reaſon, (which is the Soul of the Law,) in Caſe they*
" *have been in Times paſt further, or more rigorouſly ex-*
" *tended by Judges, than the meaning of the Law was,*
" *or might tend to the hurt as well of the Innocent, as*
" *of the Guilty Perſons.* And as to the Perſons of
" my Subjects which are of that *Profeſſion*, I muſt
" divide them into two Ranks, *Clericks* and *Laicks*;
" For the *Laicks*, I ever thought them far more ex-
" cuſable than the other ſort, becauſe their *Religion*
" containeth ſuch an ignorant, doubtful, and impli-
" cit kind of *Faith*, grounded upon their *Church*,
" that except they do generally believe whatſoever
" their Teachers pleaſe to affirm, they cannot be
" thought guilty of theſe particular points of *Hereſies*
" and *Corruptions*, which their Teachers ſo wilfully
" profeſs. And again, I muſt ſub-divide the *Laicks*
" into two *Ranks*, which are, either quiet and well-
" minded Men, peaceable *Subjects*, who either being
" old, retain their firſt drunken Liquor, upon a
" certain Shamefacedneſs to be thought curious, or
" changeable; Or being young Men, through evil
" *Educations*, have been nurſed and brought up upon
" ſuch *Venom*, inſtead of wholſome *Nutriment*: And
" this ſort of People, I would be ſorry to puniſh
" their *Bodies* for the *Errour* of their *Minds*, the *Re-*
" *formation* whereof muſt only come of *God*, and
" the true *Spirit*. But the other *Rank* of *Laicks*,
" who either through *Curioſity*, Affectation of *No-*
" *velty*, or Diſcontentment, have changed their
" Coats, only to be *factious* ſtirrers of *Sedition*, and
" *Perturbers* of the Common-wealth; *This giveth a*
" *Ground to me (the Magiſtrate) to take better heed to*
" *their Proceedings, and to correct their Obſtinancy.*

1604. "But for the *Clericks*, I must directly say and affirm, that as long as they maintain one special Point of their *Doctrine*, and another of their Practice, they are no way sufferable to remain in this Kingdom. The Point of *Doctrine*, is, that arrogant and ambitious *Supremacy* of their Head the Pope, whereby he not only claims to be Spiritual Head of all *Christians*, but also to have an Imperial Civil Power over all Kings and Emperours, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his Foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all Kingdoms and Empires at his Appetite. The other Point which they observe in continual Practice, is the Assassinates and Murthers of Kings; thinking it no Sin, but rather a Matter of Salvation, to do all Actions of Rebellion and Hostility against their natural Sovereign Lord, if he be once cursed, his Subjects discharged of their Fidelity, and his Kingdom given a Prey, by that Three-crowned Monarch, or rather Monster, their Head. And in this Point I have no Occasion to speak further here, saying, *That I could wish from my Heart it would please God to make me one of the Members of such a general Christian Union in Religion, as (laying Wilfulness aside on both Hands) we might meet in the midst, which is the Centre, and Perfection of all Things. For if they would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross Corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of Reformation, I would on my own part be content to meet them in the Mid-way, so that all Novelty might be renounced on either Sides.* For as my *Faith* is the *True, Ancient, Catholick* and *Apostolick Faith*, grounded upon the *Scriptures* and express Word of God; so will I ever yield all Reverence to Antiquity, in the Points of *Ecclesiastical Policy*: And by that means shall I ever, with God's Grace, keep my self from either being an *Heretick* in *Faith*, or *Schismatick* in Matters of *Policy*.

"But

" But of one Thing I would have the *Papiſts* of 1604
" this Land be admoniſhed, that they preſume not
" ſo much upon my Lenity, (becauſe I would be
" loath to be thought a Perſecutor) as thereupon
" to think it lawful for them daily to encreaſe their
" Number and Strength in this Kingdom; whereby
" if not in my Time, at leaſt in the Time of my
" Poſterity, they may be in hope to erect their Re-
" ligion again. No, let them aſſure themſelves,
" that as I am a Friend to their Perſons, if they be
" good Subjects; ſo I am a vowed Enemy, and do
" denounce mortal War to their Errours. And as I
" would be ſorry to be driven by their ill Behaviour,
" from the Protection and Conſervation of their Bo-
" dies and Lives; ſo will I never ceaſe, as far as I
" can, to tread down their Errours and wrong Opi-
" nions. For I could not permit the increaſe and
" growing of their Religion, without betraying my
" ſelf and my own Conſcience, and this whole Iſland,
" as well the Part I am come from, as the Part I
" remain in, in betraying their *Liberties* and reducing
" them to their former ſlaviſh Yoke, which both had
" caſt off before I came among them; as alſo the
" Liberty of the Crown in my Poſterity, which I
" ſhould leave again under a new Slavery, being
" left free to me by my Predeceſſors. And therefore
" I would wiſh all my good Subjects that are deceiv-
" ed with this Corruption, if they find any Begin-
" nings in themſelves of Knowledge, and Love to
" the Truth, to foſter the ſame by all lawful Means,
" and to beware of quenching the Spirit that work-
" eth within them. And if they can find as yet no
" Motion tending that way, to be ſtudious to read
" and confer with learned Men, and to uſe all ſuch
" means as may further their Reſolution; aſſuring
" them, that as long as they are diſconformable in
" Religion to us, they cannot be but half my Sub-
" jects, be able to do but half Service, and I ſhall
" want the beſt half of them, which is their Souls.

" And

1604. " And here I take Occaſion to ſpeak to you my " Lords the Biſhops; for as you my Lord of *Dur-* " *ham* ſaid very learnedly to Day in your Sermon, " *Correction without Inſtruction is but Tyranny*: So " ought you, and all the *Clergy* under you, to be " more careful, vigilant, and diligent, than you " have been to win Souls to God, as well by your " exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And ſince you ſee " how careful they are, ſparing neither Labour, or " Pains, nor extream Peril of their Perſons, to per- " vert, (the *Devil* is ſo buſy a Biſhop,) ye ſhould " be the more careful and wakeful in your Charges. " Follow the Rule preſcribed to you by St. *Paul*, " *Be ye careful to exhort and inſtruct, in Seaſon, and* " *out of Seaſon*: And where you have been any way " ſluggiſh before, now waken yourſelves up again " with a new Diligence, remitting the Succeſs to " God, who calling them either at the ſecond, third, " or tenth, or twelfth Hour, as they are alike wel- " come to him, ſo ſhall they be to me his *Lieutenant* " here.

" The third Reaſon of my convening you at this " Time, which containeth ſuch Actions of my thank- " fulneſs towards you, as I may either do, or leave " undone, yet ſhall, with God's Grace, ever preſs to " perform all the Days of my Life. It conſiſts in " theſe two Points, in making of Laws at certain " Times, which is only at ſuch Times as this, in " Parliament; or in the careful Execution of the " Laws at other Times. As for the making of them, " I will thus faithfully promiſe unto you, that I will " ever prefer the Weal of the Body above any par- " ticular or private Ends of my own, thinking ever " the Weal of the Common-Wealth, to be the " greateſt Weal, and worldly Felicity: A Point " wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from " a Tyrant. But at this Time I am only thus far " to forewarn you in that Point, that you beware " to ſeek the making of too many Laws, for two " eſpecial Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe *in Corruptiſſimâ*

" *Republicâ*

" *Republicâ plurimæ leges:* And the Execution of 1604.
" ſome good Laws is far more profitable in a Com-
" mon-Wealth, than to burthen Men's Memories
" with making too many of them. And next, be-
" cauſe the making too many Laws in one Parliament
" will bring in Confuſion, for want of leiſure wiſely
" to deliberate before you conclude: For the Biſhop
" ſaid well to Day, that to *Deliberation* a large Time
" would be given; but to *Execution* a greater
" Promptneſs was required. As for the Execution
" of good Laws, it hath been very wiſely and ho-
" nourably foreſeen, and ordered by my Predeceſ-
" ſors in this Kingdom, in planting ſuch a Number
" of Judges, and all ſorts of Magiſtrates, in conve-
" nient Places, for Execution of the ſame. And
" therefore muſt I now turn to you that are Judges
" and Magiſtrates under me, as mine Eyes and Ears
" in this Caſe: I can ſay no otherwiſe to you, than
" as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda* ſaid to his Judg-
" es, *Remember that the Thrones you ſit on are God's,*
" *and neither yours nor mine.* And as you muſt be
" anſwerable to me, ſo muſt both you and I be an-
" ſwerable to God, for the due Execution of our
" Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter
" your Affections in; you muſt not there *hate* your
" *Foe*, nor *Love* your *Friend*; fear the *Offending* of
" the *greater Party*, or pity the *Miſery* of the *Mean-*
" *er*; ye muſt be *blind* and not ſee Diſtinctions of
" *Perſons*; Handleſs, not receive Bribes; but keep
" that juſt Temper and Medium in all your Proceed-
" ings, that like a juſt Balance, ye may neither ſway
" to the Right-Hand nor to the Left. Three Prin-
" cipal Qualities are required in you, *Knowledge*,
" *Courage*, and *Sincerity*; that you may diſcern with
" *Knowledge*, execute with *Courage*, and do both in
" upright *Sincerity*. And for my Part, I do vow and
" proteſt here in the Preſence of God, and of this
" honourable Audience, I never ſhall be weary, nor
" omit Occaſion wherein I may ſhew my Carefulneſs
" of the Execution of good Laws. And as I wiſh

" you

1604. " you that are Judges, not to be weary of your Of-
" fice, in doing it, ſo ſhall I never be weary, with
" God's Grace, to take Account of you, which is
" properly my Calling.

" And thus having told you the three Cauſes of
" convening of this Parliament, all three tending on-
" ly to utter my Thankfulneſs, but in divers Forms;
" the firſt by *Word*, the other two by *Actions*; I do
" confeſs, that when I have done, and performed all
" that in this Speech I have promiſed, *Inutilis ſervus*
" *ſum*. When I have done all that I can do for you,
" I do nothing but that I am bound to do, and am
" accountable to God for the contrary. *For the Dif-*
" *ference betwixt a rightful King, and a uſurping Ty-*
" *rant, is this; That the proud and ambitious Tyrant*
" *doth think his Kingdom and People are ordained for*
" *Satisfaction of his Deſires and unreaſonable Appetites;*
" *The righteous and juſt King doth by the contrary ac-*
" *knowledge himſelf to be ordained for procuring the*
" *Wealth and Proſperity of his People, and that his*
" *greateſt and principal worldly Felicity muſt conſiſt in*
" *their Proſperity*; If you be Rich, I cannot be
" Poor; if you be Happy, I cannot but be For-
" tunate; and I proteſt that yonr Welfare ſhall e-
" ver be my greateſt Care and Contentment. And
" that I am a *Servant* is moſt true; that as I am
" *Head* and *Governour* of all the People in my Do-
" minions, who are my natural *Vaſſals* and *Subjects*,
" conſidering them in *Numbers* and diſtinct *Ranks*;
" ſo if we will take the People as one *Body* and *Maſs*,
" then as the Head is ordained for the Body, and
" not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous
" King know himſelf ordained for his People, and
" not his People for him: For although a King and
" his People be *Relata*, yet can he be no King if he
" want People and Subjects: But there be many
" People in the World that lack a Head; where-
" fore I will] never be aſhamed to confeſs it my prin-
" cipal Honour, to be the great Servant of the
" Common-Wealth; and ever think the Proſperity
" thereof

" thereof to be my greateſt Felicity, as I have al- 1604.
" ready ſaid.

" But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom " (with an uniform Aſſent and Harmony) which did " ſo far oblige me, ſo is my Thankfulneſs due to " the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, " *Quod á multis peccatur impunè peccatur* ; even ſo " in the Matter of virtuous and good Deeds, which " are done by the willing Conſent and Harmony of " the whole Body, no particular Perſon can juſtly " claim Thanks, as proper to him for the ſame : " And therefore I muſt here make a little Apology " for my ſelf, in that I could not ſatisfy the parti- " cular Humours of every Perſon that looked for " ſome Advancement or Reward at my Hand, ſince " my entry into this Kingdom. Three Kinds of " Things were craved of me, *Advancement* to *Ho-* " *nour*, *Preferment* to Places of *Credit* about my " *Perſon*, and *Reward* in Matters of *Land* or *Profit*. " If I had beſtowed Honour upon all, no Man " could have been advanced to Honour ; for the de- " grees of Honour do conſiſt in preferring ſome above " their Fellows : If every Man had the like Acceſs " to my Perſon, then no Man could have it : And " if I had beſtowed Lands and Rewards upon every " Man, the Fountain of my Liberality would have " been ſo exhauſted, as I ſhould want Means to be " Liberal to any Man : Yet was I not ſo ſparing, " but I may without vaunting affirm, that I have en- " larged my *Favour* in all the three Degrees, " towards as many, and more than ever any King " of *England* did, in ſo ſhort a Space. No, I ra- " ther crave your Pardon, that I have been ſo Boun- " tiful : For if the means of the Crown be waſted, " whither ſhould I have recourſe but to my Sub- " jects, and be burthenſome to you ? which I ſhould " be lotheſt to do of any King alive. Two ſpecial " Cauſes moved me to be ſo open-handed, whereof " the one was reaſonable and honourable, but the " other (I will not be aſhamed to confeſs unto you)

" pro-

1604. " proceeded from my own Infirmity. That which " was juſt and honourable, was, that being ſo far " beholden to the Body of the whole State, I thought " I could not refuſe to let ſome Brooks run out of " the Fountain of my Thankfulneſs to the Whole, " for refreſhing of particular Perſons that were " Members of that Multitude. The other, which " proceeded out of my own Infirmity, was, the " Multitude and Importunity of Suitors. But al- " though Reaſon comes by Infuſion in a manner, " yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour: " And therefore do I not doubt, but Experience " will teach the particular Subjects of this Kingdom, " not to be importunate and undiſcreet in craving; " and me not to be ſo eaſily and lightly moved in " granting that, which may be harmful to my E- " ſtate, and conſequently to the whole Kingdom.

" And thus at length having declared unto you " my Mind, my Concluſion ſhall only now be, to " excuſe my ſelf, in caſe you have not found ſuch " Eloquence in my Speech, as peradventure you " might have looked for at my Hands. I might " alledge the great Weight of my Affairs, and my " continual Buſineſs and Diſtraction that I could ne- " ver have leiſure to think upon what I was to ſpeak: " And I might alſo alledge, that my firſt ſight of " this ſo famous and honourable an Aſſembly, " might likewiſe breed ſome Impediment: But leav- " ing theſe Excuſes, I will plainly and freely in my " manner, tell you the true Cauſe of it; which is, " that it becometh a King, in my Opinion, to uſe " no other Eloquence than Plainneſs and Sincerity. " By Plainneſs I mean, That his Speeches ſhould be " ſo clear, and void of all Ambiguity, that they " may not be thrown, nor rent in ſunder in contrary " Senſes, like the *old Oracles* of the *Pagan* Gods: " And by Sincerity I underſtand, that Uprightneſs " and Honeſty which ought to be in a King's whole " *Speeches* and *Actions*; that as far as a *King* is in " *Honour* erected above any of his Subjects, ſo far

" ſhould

" ſhould he ſtrive in *Sincerity* to be above them all, 1604.
" and that his *Tongue* ſhould be ever the true *Meſſen-*
" *ger* of his *Heart*. And this ſort of Eloquence you
" may ever aſſuredly look for at my *Hands*".

*Several Remarks are made upon the King's Speech.*

This Speech was not received with the Applauſe the King expected. Beſides the exceſſive length, ſeveral Things were remarked which gave occaſion for Cenſure. In the firſt Plaee, no Body could tell what to make of his *Thankfulneſs in Actions inſeparably conjoined in his Perſon*, and divided in two Parts, the firſt whereof was confined to theſe two Things. 1. That having never been in War with any of his Neighbours, he inferred from thence that he brought Peace with him every where. But it was no great Wonder that he had not been hitherto in War with his Neighbours, ſince *Scotland* has properly no Neighbours but the *Engliſh*. 2. That without being ſollicited he had called in the *Letters of Mark* againſt *Spain*. The other Part of his *Thankfulneſs in Actions* conſiſted in that he united in his Perſon the *Titles* of the two *Houſes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*. From hence he would inſinuate, that by his aſcending the Throne of *England*, he freed the *Engliſh* from the dread of ſeeing the Civil Wars renewed, which the *Titles* of the two *Houſes* had occaſioned. But this ſuppoſed Dread was only a *Chimera* of his own forming, ſince *Henry* VIII, who much more juſtly than he, had united in his Perſon the Rights of the two oppoſite *Houſes*, the dread of ſeeing a Civil War rekindled, was ſo far over, that it was entirely forgot. As to his Endeavours to ſhow the great Advantages which would redound to *England* from the Union of the two Kingdoms, they were entirely fruitleſs, as will be ſeen hereafter. Beſides, the Inferences which he drew from the Arbitrary Compariſons, of a Head with two Bodies, a Huſband with two Wives, a Shepherd with two Flocks, appeared ſo little ſolid, that they could not forbear making a Jeſt of them. What he ſaid about Religion diſpleaſed all. The *Catholicks* were by no

1604. means satisfied with his Distinctions. The *Puritans* were extremely disgusted at his positively affirming they could not bear with *Monarchy* in the *State*, because they were against the *Hierarchy* in the *Church*, and at his saying, their *Sect* ought not to be tolerated in a well-regulated Government. The *Protestants* in general remarked in his Speech a two great Condescension for the *Papists*, and even a Contradiction in what he said about them. On the one Hand, he affirmed, that he was of the *Church* of *England*, and that his *Faith* was grounded upon the *Holy Scriptures*. On the other Hand, he was ready to lay aside all Prejudice, and meet the *Catholicks* half way. He declared himself a mortal Enemy to their *Errours*, but he took Care to intimate, that he confined, as I may say, these *Errours* to the *Doctrine* of the Pope's exorbitant Power. Upon the third sort of *Thankfulness in Actions*, which consisted in the making and executing of *Laws*, 'twas said, that a King of *England* might extol his Condescension with respect to some particular Law, which should be made to his own Detriment, and the Nation's Benefit: But no King before him had ever pretended to lay an Obligation upon his People, for giving his Assent to such Laws as were for his own and the Kingdom's Good. It was taken notice of also, that he admonished the Parliament not to enact many Laws, as if he were afraid he should be obliged to carry his pretended *Thankfulness* too far, and that as for the few good Laws he was willing to admit, all the Effects of his *Thankfulness* consisted in giving the *Judges* a very common and trivial Charge. Finally, it was remarked that this *Thankfulness* upon which his whole Speech turned, and which was the main Subject of it, was as *Imaginary* as the Cause which produced it. In thanking the People of *England for receiving and embracing him as their undoubted and lawful King and Governour*, he did not mean to declare that the People had made him so, but only that being undoubted King by his *Birth-Right*, they had received and owned him as

ſuch. This was reducing the *Obligation* to a ſmall Matter, and conſequently the *Thankfulneſs* too. Wherefore it was thought by many, that the King's Aim, in this long Harangue, was not ſo much to expreſs his *Thankfulneſs* to the *Engliſh*, as to inſinuate to them on the contrary, that all he was obliged to them for, was, their not oppoſing his undoubted Right: that his chief Intention was to obtain of the Parliament, the Union of the two Kingdoms, to hinder any new Laws from being enacted againſt the *Papiſts*, and to order it ſo, that the Execution of thoſe already in Force, might be left to him. What was only conjectured at firſt, became certain afterwards, as the King's Deſigns ſhowed themſelves by Degrees. In this very firſt Parliament then, a Suſpicion and Jealouſy of the King began to ariſe in the People's Minds. And this made the *Houſe of Commons* reſolve to be upon their Guard, and carefully weigh the King's Words and Actions, who notwithſtanding the Maxims he had laid down in the Concluſion of his Speech, was a great Maſter in the Art of chuſing Words with a double-meaning. This is what muſt be always remembred, if we have a Mind to underſtand fully the Events of this Reign. 1604.

The firſt Thing the Parliament ſet about was to prepare an *Act* for the acknowledging of the King's Title to the Crown of *England*. *James* had not required it. On the contrary, in all Appearance, by repeating ſeveral Times in his Speech, that he was undoubted King by his Birth-right, he deſigned to hint he had no need of the Parliament's Confirmation. But if this was his Intent, the *two Houſes* underſtood it not, or feigned not to do ſo, whether they had a Mind to preſerve a Privilege they had all along enjoyed, or were afraid that ſuch an Omiſſion might occaſion Troubles and Rebellions. The King on his part thought it not prudent to refuſe the *Act*. Act *to confirm the King's Title.* Wilſon. Echard.

1604 *Commissioners to examine the Union of the two Kingdoms.* Wilson.

After the Parliament had considered of some other Affairs, they appointed *Commissioners* to examine the King's Proposal concerning the Union of the Two Kingdoms. But the King had already put Obstacles in the Way, by bestowing Honours and Riches upon his *Scotch* Courtiers with a lavish Hand. This made the *English* sensible they must be Losers by a Union, whose End, as they verily believed, was to render the *Scots* Partakers of the Riches of *England*, whereas the *English* had nothing to expect in *Scotland*. Hence that Part of the King's Speech was carped at, wherein he spoke of *England* and *Scotland* as two equal Halves of the Island, though the *English* were persuaded, there was a great Disparity between them. The eager Pursuit of the *Scots* after Places, Pensions, and rich Matches, raised the Jealousy of the *English*, and rendered them very averse to the Union the King had projected. With this Backwardness the *Commissioners* met to examine the Benefits and Inconveniences, in order to make their Report to the Two *Houses* *.

*The People's Discontent with respect to Religion.*

Whilst this Affair was in Hand, the People for the most Part could not forbear showing some Discontent with respect to Religion. The *Catholicks* had expected greater Favours from a Prince, whom they had imagined to be in their Interest. The Distinctions he made between the *Clericks* and *Laicks*, between those who ascribed to the Pope an unlimited Power, and such as admitted not that *Doctrine*, made them fear the Advantages they had promised themselves in this new Reign would amount to no great Matter. The *Presbyterians* were enraged to see the King prefer the *Papists* so openly before them. All the *Protestants* in general had heard with Grief the Advances the King made to the *Papists*. Especially, the Offer of meeting them Half-way, and the Partiality in finding fault

* There were in all Forty-three Commissioners, *Lords* and *Commons*, who were empowered to meet and treat with certain select Commissioners to be appointed by the Parliament of *Scotland*. *Wilson*.

fault with one of their *Doctrines* only, gave occaſion to fear, he had indeed the Sentiments he was ſuſpected of in *Scotland*. *What does he mean*, ſaid they, *by his Offer to the* Papiſts *of meeting them Half-way, after they have renounced the Doctrines repugnant to the Regal Authority? Where is this Half-way to be? Does it relate to the Hierarchy? But if the Pope's Authority is caſt off, there will be no Difference in that reſpect, between the* Engliſh *and* Catholick Church. *Does he reckon the* Catholicks *will have come Half-way, when they have renounced the Pope's exorbitant Power? If ſo, we muſt, in order to go the other Half, yield them the reſt of the Articles which were the Cauſe of our Separation from them.* In a word, it was not known how far this Offer was to reach, or where it was to ſtop, ſo obſcure and doubtful was this Expreſſion, though he had declared that he would uſe no other Eloquence than Plainneſs and Perſpicuity. The Biſhops, for the moſt Part, and the zealous Sticklers for the *Church* of *England*, were the only Perſons that were pleaſed, becauſe the King ſeemed bent not to ſuffer the *Puritans*, who were no leſs odious to them than the furious *Papiſts*. It is certain their Zeal for the *Church* of *England* went a little too far, and the King by declaring himſelf ſo plainly a ſworn Enemy to the *Puritans*, gave Ground for a mutual Enmity between the two Parties, which was but too much cheriſhed, and which, at another Time, became fatal to the *Eſtabliſhed Church*. The *Puritans* were ſo offended to ſee ſo little Charity for them, and ſo great Condeſcenſion for the *Papiſts*, that they did not ſcruple to charge the King, the Biſhops, and the zealous *Epiſcopalians*, with being ſo many Agents for the Pope. Amidſt theſe Diviſions, the *Romiſh* Emiſſaries had but too many Opportunities to foment the Animoſity of the two Parties, and carry it to the utmoſt Height, well-knowing they could not execute their Deſigns better, than when the Kingdom was involved in Troubles. It is pretended that at this Time many *Jeſuits*, with their *Superior's* Permiſſion, got themſelves

1604.

*Artifice of the Jeſuits to increaſe Diviſions.*

*Annals of* James I. *Pref.*

1604. ſelves received, ſome as *Presbyterian* Miniſters, others as *Church-of-England* Prieſts, and that under theſe borrowed Out-ſides, they carried ſo far the Principles of the two Parties, whether in their Writings or in their Sermons, that the Breach was rendered irreparable.

*The King loves Flattery.*

At the ſame time, thoſe who approached the King's Perſon, both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, thought only of making their Court, in order to obtain his Good-Graces and Favours. The Jealouſy between the two Nations helped to ſtretch too far the Flattery which the whole Court uſed to the King. Every one ſtrove to keep in his Eſteem by whatever was moſt grateful to him, and nothing was more ſo, than to ſee himſelf praiſed for his Learning and Parts, and to hear the Royal Authority talked of according to his Principles. It was a good while before the People had a clear Knowledge of the Temper and Character of this Prince: but when he was once well known, the Eſteem they had at firſt entertained for him dwindled away very ſenſibly, to which the King himſelf contributed in a great Meaſure by his ſtrange Conduct, as will be ſeen hereafter.

*He aſſumes the Title of King of* Great-Britain. Wilſon. p. 25.

The main Buſineſs for which the King had called the Parliament was, the Union of the Two Kingdoms, though he pretended his ſole Motive was to expreſs his Thankfulneſs to the *Engliſh*. He had ſo high a Conceit of his Eloquence, that he did not queſtion the Succeſs of this Affair, and the appointing of the *Commiſſioners* for that Purpoſe confirmed him in his Belief. So, whether through Impatience, or to engage the Parliament the ſooner to unite the Two Kingdoms, he ordered himſelf to be proclaimed *King of Great-Britain*, without ſtaying for the Parliament's Determination. From thenceforward he would hear no more of the Diſtinction of the Two Kingdoms. St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes were quatered with St. *George*'s in the Flags, and by Proclamation the *Scottiſh* Coins were made current in *England*. Theſe Things ſhowed that the King did not at all doubt but

the Buſineſs of the Union would ſucceed to his Wiſh. 1604.
But he was not yet thoroughly acquainted with the Genius and Temper of the *Engliſh* Nation. Such as had no Share in his Bounties, loudly murmured to ſee his *Scotch* Attendants grown ſo rich in ſo ſhort a Space, that the *Engliſh* could not come near their Magnificence without ruining their Eſtates. Several *Paſquils* were daily made upon this Occaſion, not much to the Advantage of the *Scots*, nor conſequently to the Deſign of the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

*Difference between the King and the Houſe of Commons.* Coke. p. 22.

There was another Thing alſo which ſerved not to gain the King the People's Good-will. And this was an Occaſion of Diſſatisfaction which he gave the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and whereof it will be neceſſary to ſay a word, in order to ſhow what a Notion the King had formed of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and the juſt Ground he afforded the *Commons* to fear that he deſigned to invade their Privileges. Immediately after the opening of the Parliament, the *Commons* having according to Cuſtom examined the conteſted Elections, there was a Debate in the *Houſe* about the Return of the Election of Sir *Francis Goodwin* and Sir *John Forteſcue*, for *Knight* of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, and upon a full Hearing, Sir *Francis* was declared duly elected. Three Days after the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the *Commons*, that there might be a Conference about *Goodwin*'s Election. The *Commons* ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a Meſſage, anſwered, That they looked upon themſelves as not obliged to give an Account of ſuch Matters, and therefore could not grant the Conference required. The Lords replied, That the King having been acquainted with what had paſſed in *Goodwin*'s Caſe, thought himſelf engaged in Honour to have the Affair debated again, and had ordered them to confer with the *Commons* upon that Subject. Whereupon, the *Commons* by their *Speaker* gave their Reaſons to the King why they could not admit of this Innovation. But all they could obtain was, that inſtead of a Conference with the Lords, the King commanded

1604. them to have one with the Judges. They did not like this any more than the other. They ſet down their Reaſons in Writing, and delivering them at the Council-Board, deſired their Lordſhips to intercede for them to the King, that he might not make a Breach in their Privileges. The Anſwer was, The King abſolutely commanded them to have a Conference with the Judges. The *Commons* were extremely ſurprized at this ſo abſolute a Command. Nevertheleſs, being apprehenſive that they ſhould be accuſed of too eaſily engaging in a Rupture with the King, they deemed it better to yield than ſtand out, fully bent however to keep to what had been determined in the Caſe of the conteſted Election. Certainly the King had engaged in a very ſlippery Buſineſs, and in all appearance would not have come off with Honour, had it not been for Sir *Francis Goodwin*'s Moderation. Sir *Francis* chuſing to forfeit his Right rather than be the Cauſe of a Quarrel between the King and the *Commons*, deſired the *Houſe* to order the County of *Bucks* to elect another *Knight* in his ſtead. The King and *Commons* equally accepted of this Expedient, which prevented them from bringing things to Extremities: but the King had occaſion to know from hence, that no great Account was made of the Proclamation publiſhed when he called the Parliament, whereby he meant to have the *Elections* in his Power.

*The Commons addreſs the King.* 16 June, Coke. p. 23.

The *Commons* perceived by this Affair that the King's Deſign was to feel their Pulſe, and that hereafter Incidents of this Nature might frequently be revived. For which reaſon on the 6th of *June* preſenting an Addreſs to the King about certain Grievances, they took occaſion to repreſent their Privileges which they ſuppoſed he was not yet fully acquainted with. This Addreſs put the King in ſo ill a Humour, that on the 7th of *July* he prorogued the Parliament to the 7th of *February*, that he might have time to think of Means to humble the Pride of the *Commons*.

*The Parliament is prorogued.*

It

1604. *The Clergy countenance the King's Principles touching Arbitrary Power.* Coke, 27.

It is certain moſt of thoſe who approached the King's Perſon, laboured to inſpire him with the Deſign of making himſelf abſolute, or rather to confirm him in this Reſolution, by which they made their Court to him perfectly. Beſides, Arbitrary Power is as advantageous to *Miniſters* and *Courtiers*, as it is prejudicial to the reſt of a Nation. Several Writers accuſe the Biſhops of having been of the Number of the Flatterers. It may be, Matters have been a little aggravated on this Occaſion. However, many things give ground to believe, that the *Clergy* of the Church of *England* were pretty well inclined to aſcribe to the King more Power than his Predeceſſors had hitherto enjoyed. At leaſt it is certain that from the Reign of *James* I. to this preſent time, many of the *Clergy* have endeavoured to perſuade the People, that they ought to acknowledge in the Sovereign an unlimited Authority, and have carried *Paſſive Obedience* in *England* as high as in the moſt Arbitrary Monarchies.

*Bancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a moſt zealous Aſſerter of the Prerogative Royal, was one of the firſt who attempted to leap over the uſual Bounds, by cauſing ſome things to depend on the King's Will, which were undeniably within the Parliament's Juriſdiction. He exhibited to the King and Council Twenty-five Grievances of the *Clergy**, whereof he deſired the Redreſs, praying his Majeſty that he would be pleaſed to grant *Prohibitions*, that the King's Courts might have nothing to do with what related to theſe Articles. It is ſaid, his Intent was to ſhow others the way to apply directly to the King without minding the *Parliament* or *Convocation*. But the King was told, that in caſe he granted the Archbiſhop's Suit, he would throw himſelf into ſuch a Strait, that he would find it hard to get out again, becauſe the redreſſing of Grievances had all along been the Parliament's Buſineſs. Upon which the King conſulted the Judges, who anſwered unanimouſly, that he

* They were called *Articuli Cleri*.

1604. ought to refrain from deciding any thing concerning the Archbishop's Request.

*Treaty of Peace with* Spain. Du Chesne. Weldon.

The Conclusion of the Peace with *Spain* soon followed the Prorogation of the Parliament. *Taxis* having informed the King of *Spain* how the Court of *England* stood affected, the Constable of *Castile* was sent into the *Low-Countries*, with Orders to go over to *England* and conclude the Peace. But the *Constable* being detained by some Affairs in the *Netherlands*, made over his Power to *Taxis* and *Richardot*. These two Deputies being come to *London*, agreed to a Treaty, which was not signed however till the 18th of *August*, after the Arrival of the Constable of *Castile*. Some say, this Ambassador purchased the Peace with large Sums of Money distributed among the King's Ministers. But this can hardly be said but by Conjecture, those who are entrusted with such sort of Practices not being used to discover them *. However this may be, the Treaty with the King of *Spain* was a double Treaty, there being one relating entirely to Trade and Commerce.

Coke, p. 56. "By the IVth Article of the first Treaty it was "agreed, *That neither the Kings of* England *nor* Spain, "*should directly or indirectly, give Aid to the Enemies or* "*Rebels of either Part, of what Nature or Condition* "*soever they were.*

"By the Vth, *They renounced all former Leagues,* "*Confederacies, Capitulations and Intelligences contrary* "*to that Treaty.*

"In

* *Weldon* says, there was not one Courtier of Note but what tasted of *Spain*'s Bounty either in Gold or Jewels, and among them not any had so large a Proportion as the Countess of *Suffolk*, who shared in her Lord's Interest, being then a potent Man, and in that Interest which she had, in being Mistress to that little great Secretary (little in Body but great in Policy) the sole Manager of State-Affairs. So it may be said she was a double Sharer; and in truth, *Audley-End*, that famous great Structure, had its Foundation of *Spanish* Gold. He says, all *Christendom* has since felt and seen the lamentable Effect of this disadvantageous Peace, *p.* 26, 27.

" In the VIIth, King *James* excuſes the Delivery 1604.
" of the Cautionary Towns to the King of *Spain*;
" and promiſes to enter into a Treaty with the
" *States*, wherein he will aſſign a competent Time
" to them, to accept and receive Terms for a Paci-
" fication with the Archdukes; which if they re-
" fuſed, he would from thenceforth think himſelf
" freed from the former Conventions with them ".

Theſe, doubtleſs, are the Articles which have given occaſion to ſay, the *Spaniards* bought the Peace. It does not appear however, that after this Treaty *James* withdrew his Troops from the Service of the *States*, as he ſhould have done by Virtue of the IVth Article, nor that he fixed a Time for the *States* to make a Peace, purſuant to the VIIth. On the contrary, it will be ſeen hereafter that he delivered up to them the Cautionary Towns for a Sum, much leſs than what they had agreed to with *Elizabeth*. Moreover, *Andrew du Cheſne*, in his Hiſtory of *England*, ſpeaking of this ſame Treaty, relates only Four Articles of it, whereof *the Fourth* is directly contrary to the ſame Fourth Article above-mentioned. The Article ran, according to that Hiſtorian:

*That as to the States of* Holland *and* Zealand *Things ſhould remain as they were, as well with reſpect to the Cautionary-Towns, as to the other Articles of the Treaties between* Elizabeth *and the ſaid States, without the King of* England's *being obliged to call home his Troops from the* Low-Countries; *or to forbid his Subjects to go and ſerve the ſaid States. Moreover, that the Commerce, Trade and Navigation between the* Engliſh *and the ſaid States ſhould continue upon the ſame Foot as in* Elizabeth's *Life-time.* Du Cheſne.

This Contrariety makes me think, that *James*, to pleaſe the King of *Spain* and the Archduke, was perſuaded to agree, that the Fourth Article ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty in the manner firſt above-mentioned,

1604. tioned, in order to induce the *States* to haſten a Peace; and that this ſame Article, as related by *du Cheſne*, was a Reſtriction of the Firſt, or a ſecret Article, which alone was to take Place. This is ſo common a Thing in Treaties, that this Conjecture cannot be looked upon as Groundleſs, eſpecially as it is confirmed by the Event.

*A Company erected for the Trade with* Spain *and* Italy. Coke, p. 27.

The Peace with *Spain* being concluded, the King was wrought upon to grant a *Monopoly* of the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* to a *Company* of Merchants, and to forbid all his Subjects, except ſuch as were authorized by this ſame *Company*, to traffick in thoſe Countries. But in the next Seſſion of the Parliament, the *Commons* taking into Conſideration how deſtructive to Trade ſuch a *Monopoly* was, repreſented ſo plainly to the King the ill Conſequences thereof, that the *Company*'s Patent was revoked, and the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* became open for all as before.

*The King lives very quietly. He is laviſh of Honours.*

During the reſt of the Year 1604 nothing remarkable paſſed in *England*. The King led a very quiet Life amidſt the Flatteries of his Court, and dealt about his Favours to his *Minions* with a very laviſh Hand. But this Liberality bred a great Diſguſt in thoſe who had no ſhare in it, and who thought themſelves however no leſs deſerving than the others. Queen *Elizabeth* ſteered a very different Courſe in this Reſpect: But *James* did not think fit to take her for a Pattern. Never were *Honours* beſtowed with leſs Diſcretion and Prudence than in this Reign. Therefore were they no longer conſidered as the Reward of Merit but only of Adulation.

*The taking of* Oſtend.

The Town of *Oſtend* beſieged now Three Years by the *Spaniards*, was at length forced to capitulate on the 20th of *September*. The taking of this Place brought the Conquerors nothing but Heaps of Ruins, which had coſt them immenſe Sums, and the Loſs of a World of Officers and Soldiers *. Before *James* concluded

* Above One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Men are ſaid to be ſlain on both Sides. The Town was taken by the Marquiſs of *Spinola*,

concluded the Peace with *Spain*, he ſeemed willing to concern himſelf in the Preſervation of *Oſtend:* but when the Peace was made, he thought only of knitting the Bands of his new Friendſhip with the King of *Spain* and the Archduke, by ſending them Ambaſſadors. 1604.

The King made choice of his High-Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham* for Ambaſſador extraordinary to *Spain*. The Earl ſet out in *March* 1605, with a very numerous Retinue, conſiſting, according to ſome, of no leſs than Six Hundred and Fifty Perſons*. 1605. *The Lord Admiral's Embaſſy to* Spain. Baker.

At the ſame time the Earl of *Hertford* was ſent in Embaſſy to *Bruſſels*. Whilſt he was at Sea, it happened that a *Dutch* Man of War coming by, and refuſing to ſtrike, the *Engliſh* Captain [ Sir *William Monſon* ] prepared to compel him, but the Ambaſſador would not give him leave. This was the firſt Indignity of that Nature *England* received from the *Dutch*, whoſe Sovereignty was not yet ſo much as acknowledged by any Potentate in *Europe*. If *James* had demanded Satisfaction, there is no doubt but he might eaſily have had it, conſidering the Circumſtances the *United Provinces* were then under. But it is likely he thought it not worth the while to make a Noiſe about an Affair of ſo little Importance in his Opinion. The *Engliſh* however murmured at it, and many took Occaſion from thence to compare the King's Indolence with *Elizabeth*'s Spirit, who, doubtleſs, would not have been ſo eaſy under ſuch an Affront. *James* did not trouble himſelf much about it, believing the avoiding all Occaſions of Rupture with his *And the Earl of* Hertford's *to* Bruſſels. *Affront to the* Engliſh *Colours by a* Dutch *Man of War.* Weldon. p. 49.

*Spinola*, for which he was made Duke of *Santa Severina*. Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his Brother *Horatio* had ſhown great Valour in the Defence of this Place.

* The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed at the Magnificence of the Embaſſy, and the handſome Gentlemen, for it ſeems the *Jeſuits* reported our Nation to be ugly and like Devils, as a Puniſhment for caſting off the Pope; and they pictured Sir *Francis Drake* generally half a Man half a Dragon. So eaſy is it, ſays *Wilſon*, for thoſe *Jugglers*, when they have once bound up the *Conſcience*, to tie up the *Underſtanding* alſo. *Weldon. Wilſon.*

1605. his Neighbours was a moſt effectual Way to procure his own and the Nation's Welfare, than the running into a War for ſo ſlight a Cauſe.

*Jealouſy between the* Engliſh *and* Scots.

The Jealouſy the *Engliſh* began to conceive of the *Hollanders*, was a ſmall Matter in compariſon of that cauſed by the Favours which the King laviſhly beſtowed on the *Scots*. Moſt Hiſtorians accuſe the *Catholicks* of cheriſhing this Jealouſy between the two Nations, that they might make an Advantage of their Diviſions. But without being forced to recur to ſo diſtant a Cauſe, the old Enmity between the Two Kingdoms, and the King's Inclinations for the *Scots*, were in my Opinion much more natural Cauſes of it. The King was no Stranger to this Jealouſy, and uſed ſome Endeavours to allay it. He ordered this Year in *England Thomas Douglaſs*, a *Scotchman*, to be hanged, for daring to counterfeit the King's Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*. This Man, falling into the Hands of the Elector *Palatine*, who diſcovered the Fraud, was ſent into *England*, where he met with the Puniſhment he deſerved.

Douglaſs a Scot, *counterfeits the Privy-Seal, and is hanged.*

*The King's happy State.*

Hitherto Matters went very ſmoothly with the King, he had nothing to diſturb him, and was ſurrounded with Plenty: whereas he had ſpent the firſt Years of his Life in *Scotland*, in Troubles and Want. Since his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*, he had no Occaſion to ask Money of his Parliament, becauſe when he came to the Crown he found the deceaſed Queen had not yet received any Thing of the Subſidy granted her by the Parliament, amounting to Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, of which the whole came to his Hands. This, with his uſual Revenues, enabled him to be liberal to his Favourites of both Nations, who grew very rich in a little time. On the other Hand, he took a Pleaſure in raiſing to Honours and Dignities ſeveral Perſons, who would not have preſumed to think of any ſuch thing in *Elizabeth*'s Reign. In ſhort, he ſaw himſelf inceſſantly flattered by his Courtiers, who omitted no Opportunities to ſhow how much they admired his Wiſdom and

and all his other Virtues. It was neceſſary to take this Method, in order to be well-received by him. To ſay all in one Word, he led a very quiet and peaceable Life, in the midſt of Plenty and Pleaſures, to which ſome pretend he was a little too much addicted. But this Prince has had the Misfortune to have for Hiſtorians ſuch as loved him not, as on the other Side, he has had the good-fortune to have ſome who have made it their Buſineſs to praiſe all his Actions. For which Reaſon a Man is in Danger of being much miſtaken, if he forms an Idea of his Character upon the Commendations or Invectives of thoſe who have writ his Hiſtory. It is better to keep only to the Examination of his Actions themſelves. 1605.

Whilſt every Thing ſeemed to concur to procure King *James* a quiet and peaceable Reign, the Devil, envying the Happineſs of the *Engliſh*, inſpired ſome of his *Imps* with one of the moſt horrible Plots that ever was heard of. I mean the *Gunpowder-Treaſon-Plot*, which has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and of which I ſhall relate the Particulars, without any aggravation.

*Occaſion of the* Gunpowder-Plot, Wilſon. Baker. Echard. DuCheſne

Whatever might be the Ground of the Hopes the *Catholicks* conceived when they ſaw King *James* aſcend the Crown of *England*, it is certain they expected great Matters from him, and at leaſt a full *Toleration*, with the Liberty of exerciſing publickly their Religion. Upon this *Toleration* it was that they built their Hopes of reſtoring by degrees their Religion in *England*. But the King's Speech to the Parliament made them ſenſible of two Things. The Firſt, that this *Toleration*, which till then they had ſcarce doubted, was not yet likely to come. The Second, that though they ſhould obtain it of the King, it would not be for ſuch as acknowledged the Pope's Authority in its utmoſt Extent. Theſe were the Men however that were moſt buſy, and laboured the moſt heartily to re-eſtabliſh their Religion in the Kingdom. They made light of a bare Liberty of Conſcience for the leaſt zealous of the *Catholicks*, to which the King

1605. King seemed to design to confine his Favours. They fancied they saw the King's Intent was to divide the *Catholicks*, and make as it were two *Sects* of them, whereof one renouncing the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy, should be tolerated in the Kingdom, and the other expelled. This Division appeared to them so destructive to the *Catholick* Religion, that they imagined the King's Drift was, by this publick and subtle Management, to reconcile to the *Church* of *England*, such as should be so imprudent as to cast off the Pope's Authority, as it had happened in the Reign of *Henry* VIII.

*Account of the* Gunpowder Treason. To prevent the Execution of this *supposed* Design, which might be very prejudicial to the *Church of Rome*, some of these *Zealots* consulted together, and contrived a horrible Plot, which was afterwards approved of by the rest. The chief of these Wretches was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, descended from the *Catesby*'s mentioned in the Reign of *Edward* V. He having gained *Thomas Percy*, Kinsman of the Earl of *Northumberland*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Christopher Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guy Fawks*, *Everard Digby*, pitched upon five of them to consult how to restore the *Romish* Religion in *England*. *Percy* one of the most zealous, proposed the killing of the King, and offered himself to do the deed. To this *Catesby* replied, that though the King were dead, they should be never the nearer, since he would leave Sons behind him, who perhaps would not be more favourable than himself to the *Catholicks*, snd so there would never be an End. That even supposing they could make away at once with the King and his Children, there would remain so many both of the *Nobles* and *Gentry* that probably it would be a very hard Matter to bring about their Design. He added, he had devised a Means to destroy in an Instant, almost all the principal Enemies of the *Catholick* Religion, and to throw the rest of the Kingdom into such a Consternation, that not a Soul would be able to take any proper Measures to

oppoſe the Execution of their Projects. This Means was to blow up the Parliament-Houſe. Whilſt the King ſhould be ſpeaking his Speech from the Throne to the *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled together in the ſame Room. Then he ſhowed them in what manner the Project might be executed, and he met with a general Applauſe. Nevertheleſs as ſo deteſtable a Plot could not but breed Ideas frightful and naturally ſhocking to *Conſcience*, ſome of them moved to have the Juſtice of the Project examined by their *Divines*. It is ſaid, that *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwald Teſmond*, and *John Gerard* being conſulted, approved of the Plot as juſt and lawful, becauſe it was againſt *excommunicated Hereticks*. I cannot warrant this, becauſe I never ſaw their Trials. But thus much is certain, they ſuffered Death for not diſcovering the Conſpiracy which they were acquainted with, and the King in an *Apology* which he publiſhed ſome Time after, affirmed that *Garnet* was legally convicted, and had confeſſed his Crime (*a*). 1605.

Be this as it will, the Thing being determined, they took an Oath of Secrecy, adminiſtred by *Father Garnet*, as it is ſaid. Then *Percy* being one of the Band of his Majeſty's *Gentlemen-Penſioners* *, was entruſted to hire a Houſe, which was parted from the Upper-Houſe of Parliament only by a Wall. Theſe Things were tranſacted in *November* or *December* 1604, and the King was to make his Speech to the Parliament on the 7th of *February*. *Percy* having hired the Houſe on which they had caſt their Eyes, the Conſpirators began to dig in the Cellar, in order to make

(*a*) This is confirmed by *Garnet*'s Anſwer to ſome *Engliſh* Lords, who asked him whether he approved that the *Church of Rome* ſhould one Day declare him a *Martyr*. *Martyrem me*, cried he, *O quolem Martyrem* ! See *Caſaubon*'s Letter to *Fronte Ducaus*, the Jeſuite, *Epi. de Caſaub.* Edition of 1709. *p.* 414.

* Theſe are a Band of fifty Gentlemen, ſo called, that attend as a Guard upon the King's Perſon : They were inſtituted *Anno* 1539, and have an Allowance of 50 *l.* a Year to maintain themſelves and two Horſes for the King's Service. *Stow.*

1605. make a Hole in the Wall of Partition, which was very thick and gave them much Trouble. But as the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *October*, they had as much Time as they needed to finish their Work. In the Beginning of *February* 1605, they had almost digged through the Wall, when on a sudden they heard a Noise on the other side. This put them in a great Fright, being afraid they were discovered; but taking Heart again, *Guy Fawks*, who passed for *Percy*'s Footman, was sent to see what had occasioned their Fright. After a little while he returned, and brought Word, that the Place from whence the Noise came, was a large *Cellar* just under the Upper-House of Parliament; that it was full of Sea-Coals, which were now selling, and when all were sold, the *Cellar* would be let. Nothing could be more fit for their Purpose; so *Percy* presently went and hired the *Cellar*, and bought what Coals were left. Then he sent for Thirty-six Barrels of Powder from *Holland*, and lodging them at *Lambeth* on the other Side of the *Thames*, he caused them to be conveyed in the Night into the Cellar, and covered with Coals and Faggots.

The Plot being thus in a fair way, the Conspirators debate about what should be done, when the King, Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, the *Lords* and *Commons*, should be buried in the Ruins of the Parliament-House. The Duke of *York* the King's second Son, being yet very young was not to be present at the Parliament, and the Princess *Elizabeth* his Sister was bred up at a House belonging to the Lord *Harrington* in *Warwickshire*. It was resolved therefore that *Percy* who had free Admittance into the King's Palace, should undertake to kill the Duke of *York*, and that some others, under Colour of a Hunting-Match should meet together on the same Day, near the Lord *Harrington*'s House, and carry away the Princess *Elizabeth* by Force. As all this could not be effected without Money, *Tresham* offered two Hundred Pound *Sterling*. *Digby* fifteen Hundred, and

*Percy*

*Percy* made believe he ſhould be able to ſupply four Thouſand. Some moved the making ſure beforehand of foreign Aid: but the Motion was rejected. It was reſolved only to demand ſome Aſſiſtance of *France*, *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, when the Plot ſhould be executed. Then, after ſome Conſultation, they agreed to ſave the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s Life, and proclaim her Queen. To this End, they drew up in a readineſs a Proclamarion, taking Care to inſert nothing concerning Religion, for fear of alarming the People, till ſuch Time as they were ſtrong enough to execute all their Deſigns. Finally, they reſolved to ſpread a Report after the Deed was done, that the *Puritans* were the Authors of it. 1604.

The Parliament being farther prorogued to the 5th of *November*, the Conſpirators expected the Day with the utmoſt Impatience, not one of them being touched with remorſe of the Crime they were going to commit. But God abhorring ſo deteſtable a Plot, inſpired one of the Conſpirators with a Deſire to ſave the Life of the Lord *Monteagle*, Son of the Lord *Morley*. This Lord going home about ſeven in the Evening, one of his Servants gave him a Letter which he had received from an unknown Perſon, with a Charge to deliver it into his Maſter's own Hand. The Letter was without Name [or Date,] and expreſſed in theſe Words:

My Lord,

*OUT of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation, therefore I would wiſh you (as you tender your Life) to deviſe ſome Excuſe to ſhift off your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement; for though there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This*

1605. *Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you.*

This Letter was delivered to the Lord *Monteagle* ten Days before the Meeting of the Parliament. Though it was all a Mystery to him, nay, though he imagined it was only an Artifice to frighten him, he carried it however that very Evening to the Earl of *Salisbury* principal Secretary of State. The Earl shewed it to some of the Privy-Counsellors, who understood the meaning of it no more than himself. Mean while, they resolved to do nothing till the King's Return, who was then at *Royston*.

The King being come to *London* the last Day of *October*, the Earl of *Salisbury* read the Letter to him, [on the Morrow,] and concluded after he had done, that it was written by some Fool or Madman. And to convince the King repeated this Sentence, *The Danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter.* For, said he, if the Danger is to be over when the Letter is burnt, what signifies this Warning? But the King ordering the Letter to be read again, explained the Words otherwise, and instead of, *as soon as you have burnt the Letter*, he said, must be understood, *in as short a space as you shall take up in burning the Letter.* Then comparing this Sentence with what went before, *That they should receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*, he concluded that some sudden Blow was preparing by means of Gun-Powder. This Interpretation being deemed very plausible, it was resolved that all the Rooms and Cellars adjoining to the Parliament-House should be searched, in order to see whether there was any Powder concealed. This Search was however deferred till the Day before the meeting of the Parliament, in a belief that the Proofs would be most pregnant when the Execution was at Hand. The

Earl

Earl of *Suffolk* Lord-Chamberlain, went in Perſon to ſearch, without making any Noiſe or Buſtle *. When he came to the Cellar where the Powder was, and ſaw the Coals and Faggots which it was covered with, he aſked [*Whyneard*] Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, who attended him, to what uſe he put the Cellar. *Whyneard* anſwered, Mr. *Percy* had hired it, and very probably the Coals and Wood were the Gentleman's Fuel for Winter. At the ſame Time the Lord-*Chamberlain* perceiving a Man ſtanding in a Corner, asked who he was, and being told he was Mr. *Percy*'s Servant, he did not ſeem to take any notice of it *1. This affected Negligence made the Conſpirators think there would be no farther ſearch, ſince nothing was found in the Cellar which might create any Suſpicion, and they prepared to execute their Plot the next Day. 1605.

*Powder is found hid under the Houſe of Lords.*

The Earl of *Suffolk* having made his Report to the Council, it was thought if there was any Powder concealed, it muſt be in the large Cellar under the Faggots and Coals. But as the Parliament was to meet on the Morrow, it was reſolved not to go and ſearch under the Wood till Midnight, in hopes to find in or about the Cellar ſome Perſons from whom Information might be had. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, and Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, going to the Cellar about Midnight, found a Man in a Cloak and Boots, whom he immediately apprehended *2. This was *Guy Fawks* who paſſed for *Percy*'s Servant *3. Then cauſing the Wood and Coals

* It is the Lord *Chamberlain*'s Buſineſs to ſee that all Places are in a readineſs where the King is to come in Perſon.

*1 The Lord *Monteagle*, curious to know the Event, was with the Lord-Chamberlain, and hearing *Percy* named, immediately gueſſed the Letter came from him, there being great Friendſhip between them.

*2 In Caſe nothing ſhould be found, *Whyneard* was to pretend he miſſed ſome of the King's Stuff or Hangings, which were in his keeping, and that the ſearch was for them.

*3 Under the Name of *John Johnſon*.

1605. to be removed, they found underneath, Thirty-six Barrels of Powder. After this Discovery, *Fawks* being searched, there was found about him a dark Lantern, a Tinder-Box, and three Matches. The Villain, instead of being dismayed, boldly told them, that if it had been in his Power he would have blown up himself and them together. The King being acquainted with the Discovery, ordered the Prisoner to be examined, that they might get out of him the Particulars of the Conspiracy. He confessed, the Design was to blow up the King and Parliament, and expressed a deep Concern that the Thing had miscarried, saying, it must be the Devil that had hindered the Execution of it. He obstinately refused all that Day to name any of his Accomplices: but on the Morrow, being shewed the Rack, he confessed all he knew.

The opening of the Parliament, which was to be this very Day, being put off, and the News of the Conspiracy beginning to spread in *London*, *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Wright*, fled by several Ways to their Companions, who were to surprize the Princess *Elizabeth*. These last were ready to execute their Design the Moment they should hear of the Success of the Mine at *Westminster*. As they did not question but Things would succeed to their Wish, and as they believed they had nothing more to manage, they had the Night before broke open a Stable, and carried away twelve Horses *. This Action had alarmed the *Sheriff* of the County *1, who had drawn People together to seize the Robbers. Presently after came such of the Conspirators as fled from *London*, and acquainted their Companions that the Plot had miscarried. Whereupon they resolved to keep together, to endeavour to make the *Catholicks* rise up in Arms, and to set themselves at their Head. But all

* The Stable belonged to one *Benoch*, a Rider of great Horses.

*1 It was not the *Sheriff*, but Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, who first raised the Country upon them.

all their Efforts ended only in raiſing a Body of about a Hundred *Horſe*. 1605.

Mean while the Sheriffs of the neighbouring Counties having ſent notice to one another, convened the People, and purſued the Conſpirators from Place to Place, till at length the Villains were forced to ſtop at a Houſe in *Warwickſhire* *, where the *Sheriff* ſummoned them to ſurrender. They anſwered, that he had not Strength enough with him to compel them, and ſo prepared to ſtand upon their Defenſe, or to open themſelves a Paſſage through the armed Band which ſurrounded the Houſe. But it happened that in opening a Barrel of Powder to charge their Muſkets, it took Fire and blew up part of the Houſe *1. This Accident conſtrained them to open the Gate, and try to make their Eſcapes. Some of them were killed immediately by the People who ſurrounded them. *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter* ſtanding Back to Back fought deſperately, till in the End the two firſt were ſlain with one ſhot, and the other taken alive, after receiving ſeveral Wounds. *Digby*, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, yielded, or were taken in trying to eſcape. *Treſham*, who ſtaid at *London* with *Robert Winter*, Brother of *Thomas Winter*, and *Littleton*, was diſcovered and apprehended with his two Companions. All the Priſoners were ſent to the *Tower*, and ſtrictly examined. *Thomas Winter* confeſſed himſelf guilty, and writ his Confeſſion with his own Hand. *Digby* ſtrove to extenuate his Crime, becauſe having expected that the King would grant a free *Toleration* to the *Catholicks*, and not ſeeing any likelihood of their obtaining it, he was driven by

*Some are taken, others ſlain.*

* *Holbach* belonging to *Stephen Littleton* in *Staffordſhire*.

*1 A Spark of Fire happened to fall upon two Pound of Powder which was drying a little from the Chimney, and blowing up, ſo maimed the Faces of ſome of the principal Rebels, and the Hands and Sides of others, that they opened the Gate. A great Bag of Powder was blown up without taking Fire. See King *James*'s Works, *p.* 244.

1605. Despair to engage in the Plot. *Tresham* said at first, that Father *Garnet* the Jesuit was in the Conspiracy: but he denied it afterwards, by his Wife's Instigation, as it is pretended, and affirmed he had not seen him for sixteen Years. But *Garnet*, who was apprehended after *Tresham*'s Death, confessed he had frequently conferred with him within six Months. The Earl of *Northumberland* was sent to the *Tower*, being suspected of having a Hand in the Conspiracy. This Suspicion was grounded upon his being Captain of the Band of *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, and admitting into it his Cousin *Percy*, without making him take the Oath, though he knew what Religion he was of. This Affair being afterwards brought into the *Star-Chamber*, the Earl was fined in thirty Thousand Pound *Sterling*, deprived of all his Posts, and imprisoned during the King's Pleasure.

*The King's Speech to the Parliament to excuse the Catholicks*

The Session of the Parliament began not till the 9th of *November*, though it was fixt to the 5th. The King made a long Speech, setting forth the Heinousness and Consequences of this horrible Plot, and magnifying the Mercy of God in the miraculous Discovery. But withal, he took great Care to clear the *Catholick* Religion, and to observe that this abominable Plot was to be ascribed to such only as were truly *Papists*, and imbued with the detestable Principles mentioned in his first Speech to the Parliament. He affirmed, that there were not many of these, and that it would be extremely injurious to accuse the *Catholicks* in general of following such extravagant Maxims.

Echard. "For, *added he*, however the blind Superstition of "their Errours in Religion has been the only Mo- "tive in this desperate Attempt, it must not be "thought that all who profess the *Roman* Religion "are guilty of the same: For as it is true, that no "other *Sect* or *Heresy*, not excepting *Turk*, *Jew*, or "*Pagan*, or those *that worship the Devil*, did ever "maintain by the Grounds of their Religion, that

"it

" it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes 1605.
" or People upon the account of that; yet it is true
" on the other Side, that many honeſt Men, blind-
" ed perhaps with ſome Opinions of *Popery*, as if
" they be not found in the *Real Preſence*, the Num-
" ber of their *Sacraments*, and ſome ſuch School
" Queſtions, do either not know, or not believe at
" leaſt, all the true Grounds of Popery, which is
" indeed the *Myſtery of Iniquity*. And therefore we
" juſtly confeſs that many *Papiſts*, eſpecially our
" Forefathers, laying their only Truſt upon *Chriſt*
" and his Merits, may be ſaved; deteſting in that
" Point, and thinking that Cruelty of *Puritans*,
" worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any
" *Papiſts*".

And then concluding that Part of his Diſcourſe he declared, " As on the one Part many honeſt
" Men, ſeduced with ſome Errours of *Popery*, may
" yet remain good and faithful Subjects; ſo on the
" other part, none of thoſe who truly know and be-
" lieve the whole Grounds of *Popery*, can prove ei-
" ther good Chriſtians, or faithful Subjects".

*Reflections of the People upon the King's Speech.*

This Speech was mightily applauded by the Courtiers, who admired the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Equity thereof, and remarked the King's Greatneſs of Soul, who at the very Time he had ſo much reaſon to complain of the *Catholicks*, took Care to excuſe their Religion, and hinder the Innocent from being confounded with the Guilty. But the reſt of the People were not of the ſame Mind. They conſidered with Grief and Aſtoniſhment, the tender Regard the King expreſſed for the *Catholicks* in general, under Colour of a Diſtinction, which they thought imaginary, or at leaſt very uſeleſs, by reaſon of the Difficulty of diſcerning ſuch as held the Tenets condemned by the King, from thoſe who were willing to renounce them. They obſerved alſo that the Difference the King put between the *Romiſh* Religion and that of the *Puritans*. The firſt hindered not its Profeſſors from be-

1605. ing looked upon as faithful Subjects; but the last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed Common-Wealth, as he expressed himself in his former Speech. In this here, on purpose to turn the Hatred of the good *Protestants* upon the *Puritans*, he was not contented with detesting an Opinion indifferent in itself, and which had no manner of Relation to the State, but thought it worthy of Fire, either Temporal or Spiritual, for he does not say which, whilst he calls the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, a mere *School-Question*. It was said moreover, that if, upon this same Opinion, he had been pleased to distinguish the *Puritans* who did not, from such as did, damn all the *Catholicks*, this Distinction would have been as well-grounded as that between the *Catholicks* and *Papists*. In short, it was observed, that he affected to ascribe to the *Puritans* alone, this same Opinion, worthy of Fire, which he might much more justly have attributed to the *Roman Catholicks*, as all the World knew. It cannot be denied that throughout the whole Course of his Reign, this Prince showed an extreme Tenderness for the *Roman Catholicks*. This will still more plainly appear in the Sequel, since what I have hitherto related, may be deemed as doubtful Proofs of his Sentiments, and capable of admitting a favourable Construction.

*The Parliament is prorogued.* Echard.

As soon as he had finished his Speech, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 21st of *January*: So that it evidently appeared he had caused them to meet for one Day only, on purpose to make known his Thoughts of the Conspiracy, and the manner he would have it inquired into, that is to say, with respect to such only as were concerned in it.

*The Lords Mordant and Sturton are fined.* Wilson, *p.* 33.

The Lords *Mordant* and *Sturton*, suspected of having a Hand in the Plot, were fined, the one ten Thousand Marks, the other six Thousand, though there was no other Proof against them, but their not coming to the Parliament. They were sentenced by the *Star-Chamber*, which was then the Terrour of the Great-

Great Men, and which for the leaſt Fault, condemned the Parties accuſed in exorbitant *Fines* to the King's Uſe. 1605.

The Diſcovery of the *Powder-Plot* was univerſally aſcribed to the King's Penetration, who alone dived into the Meaning of the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle**. Nay, ſome of his Flatterers did not ſcruple to ſay, he could never have diſcovered the Myſtery, without the immediate Aſſiſtance of the *Holy Ghoſt**1. 1606.

*Affected Joy of the Spaniſh and Archduke's Ambaſſadors.*

The King of *Spain*'s and the Archduke's Ambaſſadors teſtified their Joy for this Deliverance, by making Bonfires before their Doors, and giving Wine to the Mob. This was not perhaps a very effectual Way to remove the Suſpicions of the *Engliſh*, who were ſomething inclined to believe the *Spaniards* were concerned in this horrible Plot*2. It was remembred that when the Conſtable of *Caſtile* was in *England*, he ſaid publickly, that in caſe the King refuſed to tolerate

* The King gave the Lord *Monteagle*, the firſt Diſcoverer of the Treaſon, Two Hundred Pounds a Year in *Fee-Farm* Rents, and Five Hundred Pounds a Year during his Life, as a Reward for his good Service. *Wilſon*, p. 32.

*1 After all it is ſaid, that the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* was an Artifice of *Cecil*'s, and that the firſt Intimation of the *Powder-Treaſon* came from the King of *France*, who received it from the *Jeſuits* of his Faction, to the End he might ſhare in our Ruins. The Reaſons why *the Moſt Chriſtian King* did advertiſe our Court of the Plot, were, firſt, becauſe he found that nothing was to be feared from one of King *James*'s Complexion. Another (a weak one, though ſtrongly preſt by the Miniſters) was, the Favours received from hence during *the League*. But the moſt probable was, the Advantage the King of *Spain* was likely to make of it, by reaſon he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge Miſt ſo black a Cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation, the Kingdom of *England* being in the *Pope*'s own Judgment, too great an Addition to that of *Spain*. *Osborn*, p. 437, &c.

*2 The King of *Spain* ſent an *Agent* on purpoſe to *congratulate King James's great Preſervation*. A Flattery ſo palpable, as the *Pope* could not refrain laughing in the Face of Cardinal *D'Oſſet*, when he firſt told him of it: It being notorious that when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*, none ſought his Deſtruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*; till a continued Tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his Temper, and the Impoſſibility of perſuading him to form any League with *France* or other *Chriſtian* Prince againſt him. *Osborn*, p. 438.

1606. rate the *Catholicks*, there would be found Persons capable of undertaking any thing. Nay, after the Plot was discovered, the Archduke refused to deliver up some of the Complices who had escaped into the *Netherlands*, and sent the chief of them to *Spain*, where they were very well received. It is certain however, that the Ambassadors above-mentioned were never accused by the Depositions of the Criminals: Nay, the King publickly declared, he was sure no foreign Prince had any Hand in the Plot. The Truth is, all the Princes, as well *Catholick* as *Protestant*, expressed their Abhorrence of so damnable a Design, and congratulated him upon his Deliverance.

*Eight Conspirators are executed.* Echard.

The Parliament meeting on the 21st of *January*, the King appointed Commissioners to try such of the Conspirators as were apprehended. He had delayed till now giving the People the Satisfaction to see these Villains punished. But perceiving, if he did not do it of his own accord, the Parliament would not fail to petition him, he resolved to give them over to Justice. There were but Eight executed on the 31st of *January*, though the Number of the Guilty was much greater.

*Execution of* Oldcorn *and* Garnet *Jesuits.* May 29. Du Chesne.

Some time after, a Jesuit, called *Oldcorn*, saying openly, that the ill Success of the Conspiracy did not make the Design the less just, was sent to Prison, condemned and executed. *Henry Garnet* [Provincial of the *English* Jesuits] having also been arrested, was sentenced to die as a Traitor, upon the Depositions of those that were already executed. Some say, he only confessed he had heard talk of a Conspiracy to restore the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, but that he knew nothing of the Particulars. Others pretend, the Plot was revealed to him only *in Confession*, and so he was obliged to keep it secret. The King, as I said before, publickly declared *Garnet* was legally convicted*. The *Jesuits* have been pleased to honour these

* *Garnet* owned upon his Trial, that *Catesby* told him of the Plot only in *general Terms*, and *Tesmond. Sub sigillo Confessionis*, protesting he had dissuaded it, and prayed against it, and made no question

these Men with the Title of *Martyrs*, as if they had suffered purely out of spite to their Religion. But King *James*'s Temper and Character will not let it be thought that he would have put Men to Death for no other Reason but because they were *Catholicks*. A. 1606.

Whilst the Parliament was busy about Matters relating to the *Powder-Plot*, a Report was spread on a sudden that the King was stabbed at *Oking* with a [poisoned] Knife. This Rumour threw the People immediately into the utmost Consternation, imagining it was the Effect of some fresh Conspiracy. But their Fright was soon over. Two Hours after came certain Advice that the King was alive, and he even returned to *London* that very Day, and issued out a Proclamation to quiet the People's Mind. The *Spanish* Ambassador gave a signal Token of his Affection for the King, by presenting Sir *Lewis Lewkenor* with a Gold Chain, for bringing him the News that it was a false Report. *Rumour of the King's Death.* Wilson, p. 32.

Mean while the Parliament seriously set about preventing the Designs of the Popish *Recusants*, that is, such as refused to acknowledge the King's independent Authority. For the more easily discovering such Persons, the Two *Houses* agreed to draw up an Oath, which all Subjects, without Exception, should be obliged to take. This Oath was called *the Oath of Allegiance*, that is to say, of Submission and Obedience to the King, as Sovereign independent of any other Power upon Earth. It differed from the Oath of *Supremacy*, as it concerned only the King's *Temporal* Sovereignty, *The Parliament enjoins an Oath which every Subject is obliged to take.* Du Chesne. Coke.

question but God heard his Prayer. He had, it seems, by the Cunning of his Keeper, divers Conferences with *Hall* his Brother Priest in *the Tower*, which were over-heard by Spies set on purpose. Being charged with this, *he protested upon his Soul and Salvation there had no such Conferences past.* But being confronted with *Hall*, he was driven to *confess*. And being asked, how he could salve this *loud Perjury*? He answered, *So long as he thought they had no Proof, he was not bound to accuse himself, but when he saw they had Proof he stood no longer in it.* And then fell into a large Defence of *Equivocations*. *See the Collection of State-Papers*, Vol. II. p. 206.

1606. Sovereignty, and his Independence of the Pope; whereas the other, enacted in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, bound the Subjects to acknowledge the King for *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*. So that every *Catholick* could take this new Oath with a safe Conscience, unless he was one of those who thought, that in order to be a *true Catholick* a Man must believe the Pope had Power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions. Nay, the King was extremely careful not to have any Clause inserted in the Oath, that might give just Offence to the *Catholicks*. The *House of Commons* having put in the rough Draught of the Oath, *That the Pope has not power to excommunicate the King*: He said, these Words might offend his good *Catholick* Subjects, and that it was sufficient to assert, the Pope's *Excommunication* could not authorize Subjects to rise up against their Sovereign. Here follows the Oath which has been, and still is spoken of by many without knowing fully what it is.

*King James's Apology.*

*Oath of Allegiance.*

*I* A. B. *do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my Conscience before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King* JAMES, *is lawful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries: And that the* Pope *neither of himself, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of* Rome, *or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty, or to give Licence or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Majesty's Royal Person, State or Government, or to any of his Majesty's Subjects within his Majesty's Dominions. Also I do swear from my Heart, that, notwithstanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the* Pope, *or his Successors, or by any Authority derived, or pretended*

*pretended to be derived from him or his See, againſt the ſaid King, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or any Abſolution of the ſaid Subjects from their Obedience: I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence, or Declaration, or otherwiſe, and will do my beſt Endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I do further ſwear, That I do from my Heart abhor, deteſt and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the* Pope, *may be depoſed or murthered by their Subjects or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in Conſcience am reſolved, that neither the* Pope, *nor any Perſon whatſoever, hath Power to abſolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſs Words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common Senſe and Underſtanding of the ſame Words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian.* So help me God. 1606.

*Remarks on this Oath.*

It is eaſy to ſee that this Oath contained nothing repugnant to the main Articles of the *Romiſh Faith*, and concerned only the unlimited Power, which by ſome is aſcribed, and by others denied to the Pope. Accordingly, moſt of the *Engliſh Catholicks*, with the Arch-Prieſt *Blackwel* their *Superior*, made no Scruple to comply with it. Nay, though *Urban* VIII had

1606. sent them a *Brief* dated *October* 31, 1606*, forbidding them to take this Oath, they thought the *Brief* was forged by their Enemies, on purpose to draw them into a Non-Compliance. But the Pope spoke more fully the next Year, and by a second *Brief* gave them plainly to understand, that if they took the Oath they forfeited all hopes of Salvation. At the same time Cardinal *Bellarmine*, under the feigned Name of *Tortus*, wrote a Book against this Oath, and a Letter to the Arch-Priest *Blackwel*, to admonish him to repent, as if in taking the Oath he had committed the most heinous of Crimes. This gave Occasion to King *James*'s *Apology*, which he published some time after in his own Vindication [with a Preamble] addressed to all *Christian* Princes, wherein he cleared himself from the Aspersions cast upon him as a Persecutor of the *Catholicks*. He began the *Apology* with justifying Queen *Elizabeth*'s Behaviour to the *Romanists*, and then added these Words:

*The K's Apology with respect to the Catholicks.* Apolog. p. 253.

*But now having sacrificed (if I may so say) to the* Manes *of my late Predecessor, I may next with St.* Paul *justly vindicate mine own Fame, from those innumerable Calumnies spread against me, in testifying the Truth of my Behaviour toward the Papists: wherein I may truly affirm, That whatsoever was her just and merciful Government over the Papists in her time, my Government over them since hath so far exceeded hers, in Mercy and Clemency, as not only the Papists themselves grew to that Height of Pride, in Confidence of my Mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves Liberty of Conscience, and Equality with other of my Subjects in all things; but even a Number of the best and faithfullest of my said Subjects were cast in great Fear and Amazement of my Course and Proceedings, ever prognosticatiug and justly suspecting that soure Fruit to come of it, which showed itself clearly in the Powder-Treason. How many did I honour with Knighthood, of known*

* It is dated the 10th of the *Kalends* of *October* 1606. Apology, p. 252.

*known and open Recuſants? How indifferently did I give Audience and Acceſs to both Sides, beſtowing equally all Favours and Honours on both Profeſſions? How free and continual Acceſs had all Ranks and Degrees of Papiſts in my Court and Company? And above all, how frankly and freely did I free Recuſants of their ordinary Payments? Beſides, it is evident what ſtrait Order was given out of my own Mouth to the Judges, to ſpare the Execution of all Prieſts, (notwithſtanding their Conviction) joining thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Prieſts that were at Liberty, and not taken, might go out of the Country by ſuch a Day: My general Pardon having been extended to all convicted Prieſts in Priſon; whereupon they were ſet at Liberty as good Subjects: And all Prieſts that were taken after, ſent over and ſet at Liberty there. But Time and Paper will fail me to make Enumeration of all the Benefits and Favours that I beſtowed in general and particular upon Papiſts: In recounting whereof, every ſcrape of my Pen would ſerve but for a Blot of the Pope's Ingratitude and Injuſtice, in meating me with ſo hard a Meaſure for the ſame.* 1606.

All the King ſaid in this part of his *Apology* was very true. But it is ſurprizing that ſince he thought proper to make a long Apology to clear himſelf to foreign Princes, from the Aſperſion of being an Enemy to the *Papiſts*, he ſhould never think of ſaying one word to his own Subjects to excuſe his too great Condeſcenſion toward theſe ſame *Papiſts*, and his extreme Care to hinder the Laws enacted againſt them from being put in Execution. There is another very extraordinary Particular in this *Apology*. The King evidently ſhows, that Cardinal *Bellarmine* confounds in his Book the Oath of *Allegiance* with that of *Supremacy*, whereby it was manifeſt, he did not underſtand the Point in Diſpute. But enough of theſe Matters. I ſhall add only, for a Concluſion to what relates to the *Powder-Plot*, that the Parliament appointed the Fifth of *November* to be a publick Thankſ-

*Remark on this Apology.*

*Bellarmine's Miſtake.*

*Fifth of* November *appointed to be kept as a Holy-Day.*

 Wilſon.

1606. giving-Day for ſo great a Deliverance, which Day has been all along kept to this preſent Time.

The common Danger which threatned the whole Kingdom, ſtifled for a Time the Diſputes between the King and *Commons* which aroſe in the firſt Seſſion of the Parliament. The *Commons* were ſo far from intending to revive them, that on the contrary, in order to gain the King's Good-will, they granted him one of the largeſt Subſidies that had ever been given to the Kings his Predeceſſors in the moſt urgent Occaſions of the State, though he was then in Peace with all the World, and had no need of Money but only to enrich his Favourites. This Aid conſiſted of Three whole *Subſidies* and Six *Fifteens* *, beſides Four *Subſidies* of Four Shillings in the Pound granted at the ſame time by the *Clergy* *1. But the Affair of the Union of the Two Kingdoms was put off till the next Seſſion. So the King having no farther Occaſion for the Parliament, prorogued it from the 27th of *May* to the 20th of *November*.

*The Parliament grants a large Subſidy.* Wilſon. Coke.

*It is prorogued*

The Conſternation which the *Powder-Plot* had cauſed in the Court and throughout the whole Kingdom, was at length turned into a gentle Calm. The King and People were alike pleaſed with being delivered from ſo great a Danger; and the King had the more Reaſon to be ſo, as he had brought the Parliament to be of the ſame Temper with himſelf with reſpect

*Great Tranquillity in* England.

* And *Tenths*.

*1 The whole was payable at Eleven ſeveral Payments, and amounted to the Sum of 453000 *l.* In the 7th Year of this Reign there was granted by the *Laity* throughout all *England* one entire *Subſidy*, and one *Fifteenth* and *Tenth*. For the *Subſidy* there was paid into the *Exchequer* by the Collectors 69666 *l.* and ſo by Eſtimation a *Subſidy* is valued. One *Fifteenth* and *Tenth* of the *Laity* comes to 36500 *l.* *Truth brought to Light*, *p.* 13, 80, 81. where the Reader may ſee what each County paid towards a *Subſidy*. As for *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, every City, Hundred, Town and Village were to pay in no more than they were chargeable by the antient Roll and Tax ſet upon them, ſo that their Payments were certain, *ibid.* Hence it appears alſo, the Clergy's four *Subſidies* of four Shillings in the Pound amounted to 25002 *l.* for ſo much remained after the Laity's three *Subſidies* and ſix *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* are ſubſtracted from the whole Sum of 453000 *l.*

respect to the *Roman Catholicks*, of whom Ten Persons only were left to the Rigour of the Law. Their Yoke was not rendered more heavy, unless the Obligation they were put under of bearing *Allegiance* to their King, or departing the Realm, was to be deemed a Burthen. On the other Hand, the King was in Condition to gratify his Favourites, by means of the Money granted by the Parliament, and the whole Court rejoiced, every one expecting to have a Share in the King's Bounties. 1606.

This Money came very seasonably to the King, to give a splendid Reception to his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*, who arrived shortly after, on purpose to make a Visit to the Queen his Sister and the King. No Cost was spared on this Occasion, to demonstrate the King's and Queen's Affection for this Prince, and to let him see the Riches of the Kingdom they had acquired. During his Stay in *England*, it was one continued though various Scene of Diversions, as Plays, Sights, Entertainments *, Balls, Masquerades, Hunting; in a word, nothing was omitted that was thought proper to divert him. *James receives a Visit from the King of* Denmark, July 11. Baker. Weldon.

Some time after the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Third Son of the Duke of *Lorrain*, made the King another such Visit, having in his Train Seven Earls, Six *1 Barons, Forty Gentlemen, and Six-score Domesticks. He stayed a Fortnight with the King, and himself and Company were entertained all the while at the King's Charge. These two Visits swept away good Part of the Money lately granted by the Parliament. *and from the Prince of* Vaudemont.

The Session of the Parliament which began on the 18th of *November*, was chiefly employed in the Business of the *Union* which the King strongly sollicited. Sir *Francis Bacon*, now the King's *Sollicitor*, was ordered *The Union of the two Kingdoms is debated in the Parliament.* Wilson.

* He was feasted four Days together by the Earl of *Salisbury* at *Theobalds*.

*1 Ten Barons. *Bak. Echard.*

1606. dered to move and ſupport it with the beſt Arguments he could deviſe. But although he was Learned and Eloquent, he met in the Houſe of *Commons* with Perſons able to withſtand him, and to alledge as ſtrong Reaſons againſt, as he did for the *Union*. The chief Objections were, the Inequality between the two Kingdoms, and the Riches of the one and t'other; the Difference of the Laws and Cuſtoms, and *Scotland*'s perpetual Alliance with *France*. But the moſt prevailing Argument, though it was not publickly inſiſted upon, was the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, which baffled all *Bacon*'s *Rhetorick* *.

1607. *The K's Speech to the Parliament in favour of the Union.* Wilſon.

The King hearing the Buſineſs was in no fair way in the Parliament, ſent for the Two *Houſes* at *Whitehall*, and ſtrove in a long Speech to ſhow the Neceſſity of the *Union*, and the common Advantage it would procure. He anſwered the Objections alledged in the Two *Houſes*, ſpeaking one while with great Mildneſs, another while with a menacing Tone, and turning himſelf every way to attain his Ends. He ſaid, it was not reaſonable that the *Engliſh* and *Scots* ſhould look upon each other as Enemies, as long as they were Subjects of the ſame King, and conſequently it was neceſſary all *hoſtile* Laws ſhould ceaſe, meaning the Laws which had been made from time to time upon the frequent Invaſions of the *Scots* on the Borders of *England*. He added, it was no leſs reaſonable that there ſhould be between the Two Nations Community of Commerce, and alledged for Reaſon, that he was no *Stranger*, but deſcended from the antient Kings of *England*, and could not be *natural Liege-Lord* to Both, whilſt they were *Strangers* to one another. Finally, that it was againſt Nature for People who lived under the ſame Dominion, to have no more Union together than *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*.

He

* The Reader may ſee, in *Wilſon*'s Hiſtory, the chief Arguments for and againſt the Union, *p.* 34—41.

He proceeded afterwards to a Point of ſome Niceneſs, inaſmuch as he had himſelf determined a Thing which properly belonged to the Cognizance of the Parliament. He ſaid upon this Head, that he was informed by the Judges there was a Difference between the *Ante-nati* and the *Poſt-nati* of each Kingdom, that is, between ſuch as were born before, and ſuch as were born after his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. That therefore he had iſſued out a Proclamation, declaring all thoſe to be *naturalized* in both Kingdoms, who were born ſince his coming to the Crown of *England*. That indeed, he confeſſed the *Judges* might *err*; but that he admoniſhed both *Houſes, to beware to diſgrace, either his* Proclamations *or the* Judges, *for ſo they might diſgrace both their* King *and the* Laws; *who have* Power, *when the* Parliament *is ended, to try them both for* Lands *and* Lives. 1607. *He ſpeaks of his Proclamation in favour of the* Poſt-nati. Wilſon, p. 38.

In anſwering to the Objection taken from the perpetual Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*, he affirms, the Alliance was not between the two Nations; but only between their Kings. I do not know whether this was exactly the Caſe.

He concluded his Speech with ſaying, What is now deſired has been often ſought, and not obtained, to refuſe it now were double *Iniquity*. And for their Security in ſuch reaſonable Points of *Reſtriction*, which he ſhall agree to, they need not doubt his Inclination: *For*, added he, *I will never ſay any thing I will not promiſe, nor promiſe any thing which I will not ſwear, nor ſwear any thing which I will not perform.* Wilſon, p. 41.

The Earneſtneſs which the King expreſſed for bringing about the Union of the two Kingdoms, was not capable of prevailing with the Parliament to paſs an *Act* to that purpoſe. So great did they think the Inconveniences to be. All he could obtain was the repealing of the *hoſtile* Laws. So the *Union* was rejected, without any mention however of the Proclamation concerning the *Poſt-nati*. But by not approving it the Parliament did in effect reject it, ſince a Proclamation in *England* is not conſidered as a Law. *The Union is rejected.* Wilſon.

1607. Coke, p. 29. Nevertheleſs, two Years after the King got the ſame Thing to be determined by the Judges of the Realm, though this Determination was of no more Force than the Proclamation *.

The ill Succeſs of this Affair was a great Vexation to the King. In his firſt Speech to the Parliament, he called ſuch as were againſt the Union of the two Kingdoms, blind, ignorant, reſtleſs and diſaffected, and aſſerted, that no honeſt Subject whatever was leſs glad of this Union than himſelf. And after all he found the *Lords* and *Commons* averſe to it, and this caſt a ſort of Ridicule upon his too haſty Judgment. From thenceforward he appeared always very much out of Conceit with Parliaments; as on the other Hand, the People began to take a Diſlike to him. They could not ſee without Grief ſuch a Number of Proclamations, which ſeemed to ſuppoſe that the King's Will was the ſole Rule and Meaſure of the Government. The King's needleſs Expences were another Cauſe of great Complaint, becauſe they were compared with Queen *Elizabeth*'s Frugality and good Management. It was conſidered that the Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds which the King received at his coming, and what the Parliament and *Clergy* had lately granted him, ſerved only to enrich his *Favourites* and *Miniſters*. Theſe things began to form a *Cloud* which perhaps would have been attended with a *Storm*, had not the King prorogued the Parliament on the 1ſt of *July*, only to the 16th of *November* at firſt, but afterwards to the 19th of *February* 1610.

Before

* The King obtained a Judgment in *Weſtminſter-Hall* in a Caſe called *Calvin's Caſe*, that the *Poſt nati.* in *Scotland*, after the King's Aſſumption to the Crown of *England* were free to purchaſe and inherit therein, *Rog. Coke, p.* 62. This Caſe (ſays *Wilſon*) reported by Lord *Chief Juſtice Coke* (who was fit *Metal* for any *Stamp-Royal*) and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmore*, and moſt of the Judges of the Kingdom in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, though many ſtrong and valid *Arguments* were brought againſt it, ſuch *Power* is in the *Breath* of Kings! And ſuch *ſoft ſtuff* are *Judges* made of, that they can *model* their *Precedents* into as many *Shapes* as they pleaſe! *Wilſon*, p. 41.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, there were some Disturbances in *Northamptonshire*, where the Country People rise in Arms under the Conduct of one [*John Reynolds*] who gave himself the Name of Captain *Pouch**: but these Troubles were short-liv'd. The *Sheriff* of the County found means to disperse the Rebels without the Aid of any regular Troops. 1607. *Insurrection in* North-amptonshire. Baker.

The Earl of *Tyrone*, the famous *Irish* Rebel, having been pardoned by Queen *Elizabeth*, was brought to *London* in the Beginning of this Reign by the Lord *Montjoy*, and presented to the King, who received him graciously. Shortly after he returned to his native Country, where he could not live in Peace. He not only attempted once more to stir up *Ireland* to rebel, but also applied to foreign Princes for Assistance. His secret Practices not succeeding according to Expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and chose to leave *Ireland*, taking along with him the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, whom he had drawn into his Plots. When he was come to a Place of Safety, he gave out that the Outrages committed in *Ireland* upon the *Catholicks* had constrained him to forsake his Estate and Country. But the King briskly repelled this Aspersion by a sort of Apology which he published on this Occasion, not being able to bear that the World should think him a Persecutor of the *Catholicks*. *The Earl of* Tyrone *flies from* Ireland *on pretence of Religion.* Baker. *The K's Apology.* Du Chesne.

In the Beginning of this Year the Archduke and the *Infanta* his Spouse sent into *Holland* Father *Ney*, Provincial of the Order of St. *Francis*, to propose a Peace with the *States* of the *United-Provinces*. *Ney* lying concealed for a time at *Ryswick*, was at last admitted to Audience by Prince *Maurice*, who told him plainly, there was no hopes of a Peace, unless the *United-Provinces* were owned for a free and independent State. This Declaration obliged *the Father* to go back to *Brussels*, from whence he returned some time after, with a Writing signed by the Archduke *Negotiation for a Peace with the Low-Countries.* Grotius.

* So called from a great *Pouch* he wore at his Girdle.

1607. and the *Infanta*, which the *States* were satisfied with, provided it were ratified by the King of *Spain*, and *Ney* took upon him to get it done. *Henry* IV hearing what was transacting at the *Hague*, dispatched thither President *Jeannin* to offer his Mediation to the *States*, which was accepted. But as they were afraid of raising some Jealousy in King *James*, if *France* alone were concerned in the Affair, they wrote to him for his Advice and Assistance, and shortly after sent an Ambassador to inform him more particularly of the Posture of their Affairs. Mean while the King of *Spain*'s Ratification being come, the *States* found it full of equivocal and captious Expressions, which gave them Occasion to require Explanations. This caused the Negotiation to be prolonged, the issue whereof shall be related hereafter.

1608. *A Priest and Jesuite executed.* Baker.

In the Month of *April* 1608, [*George Jervis*] a *Seminary*-Priest of *Rheims* was hanged at *Tyburn*, and on the 23d of *June*, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuit had the same Fate. *Garnet* had the offer of a Pardon, provided he would take the Oath of *Allegiance*: which he resolutely refused.

*Death of the Lord Treasurer.* Wilson. p. 43. Salisbury *succeeds him.*

*Thomas Sackville* Earl of *Dorset*, and Lord-Treasurer dying suddenly as he was sitting at the Council-Table, *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him in his Post. This Lord was of a great Genius, and though crooked before and behind, Nature supplied that Defect with noble Endowments of Mind.

*The King spends abundance of Money.*

The chief concern of the Ministers was to see that the King did not want Money. He had occasion for a great deal, for he was exceeding Liberal, or rather Prodigal, and it may well be thought, that in procuring Money for the King, the *Ministers* did not forget themselves. But this is so customary a Thing with Favourites and Ministers, that it would be wrong to upbraid these here with it in particular. As to foreign Affairs, they were little minded throughout this whole Reign.

1608. *Monopoly of* Cloths. Coke, 36.

One of the propereſt Methods they deviſed to help the King to Money, was the monopolizing the Sale of *Cloths*, at the Sollicitation of a certain Merchant, who in all Appearance, dearly purchaſed the *Patent* which was granted to him. At this Time, the *Engliſh* were not ſkilled in the Art of *dreſſing* and *dying Engliſh Woollen Manufactures*. They ſent them into *Holland* white, and the *Hollanders* after they had *dyed* them, ſent them back and ſold them in *England*. The Merchant I juſt mentioned, intimating to the King and Miniſtry, that a great Profit would accrue to *England*, if the *Cloths* were *dreſſed* at Home, obtained a *Patent* to *dreſs* and *dye* them, all others being excluded. Then the King iſſued out a Proclamation, forbidding all Perſons to ſend any *white Cloths* Abroad. Whereupon the *Hollanders* prohibited the Importation of *dyed Cloths* from *England*. So the Merchant who obtained the *Patent*, not being able to ſell his *dyed Cloths* any where but in *England*, was forced to *dreſs* and *dye* only a ſmall Quantity. This raiſed ſuch Clamours amongſt the Cloth-Weavers, that the King was obliged to permit the Exportation of ſome Quantities of *white Cloths*. At length, the Court, by degrees connived at the Offenders, and the Woollen-Trade continued upon the ſame Foot it was before *.

*and of* Allum. Baker.

This ſame Year, the King ingroſſed to himſelf the ſelling of *Allum*, which had been lately found out in

* Alderman *Cockaine*, with ſome rich Citizens having promiſed *Rocheſter*, *Northampton*, and the Lord Treaſurer great Sums of Money, they procured him a *Patent* for *dreſſing* and *dying of Cloths*, and got the King to ſeize into his Hands the Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers for tranſporting of *white undreſſed Cloths*. But by reaſon of the *Hollanders* Prohibition, and *Cockain's dying* and *dreſſing Cloths* worſe and dearer than they were in *Holland*, infinite Numbers of poor People lay idle, and were reduced to a ſtarving Condition. So the Matter fell to the Ground. *Coke. p.* 70.

1608. *England*, and prohibited the Importation of foreign *Allum*, by Proclamation *.

*Dispute between the King and the* Hollanders, *about the Fishery.* ibid.

Whether the King had a Mind to be revenged of the *Hollanders* for having broke all his Measures with respect to the *Woollen Manufactures*, or intended only to draw Money from them, he issued out a Proclamation, prohibiting all foreign Nations, that they should not come and Fish upon the Coast of *Great-Britain*. This occasioned the next Year a Treaty, whereby the *Hollanders* engaged to pay such a Sum Yearly for leave to Fish. The King would have broke the Treaty afterwards, and taken from them the License he had granted them: but they knew how to maintain their Privilege in spite of him, by guarding their Fishing-Boats with Men of War. *James* being a *pacifick* Prince, did not think this a sufficient Motive to quarrel with them.

Bancroft *persecutes the* Puritans.

Archbishop *Bancroft* never ceased to plague the *Puritans*, in order to compel them to conform to the *Church* of *England*. For this Reason great Numbers of these People resolved to go and settle in *Virginia*, which was discovered in the late Reign by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Accordingly some departed for that Country; but the Archbishop seeing abundance more were ready to take the same Voyage, obtained a Proclamation, commanding them not to go without the King's express License. The Court was apprehensive this *Sect* would become in the end too numerous and potent in *America*. This very Year the Archbishop made a fresh Attempt concerning the 21 Articles formerly mentioned: But the *Judges* opposed them so strongly, that the King durst not go any farther, how much soever he was inclined to content the Prelate.

*He repeals the Exhibition of his Articles.* Coke.

The

* At this Time Sir *John Bourchier* brought the making of *Allum* to Perfection in *England*, which with great Charges had been fetched from foreign Parts, and the King took the whole Traffick thereof to himself. *Baker*, *p.* 413.

1608. *Continuation of the Treaty for a Peace in the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

The Negotiation which was carrying on at the *Hague* about a Peace, between the Archdukes and the *States*, was a Matter of very great Importance, which one would have thought the King ſhould have had a great Hand in, and yet he did not ſeem to concern himſelf much in it. However he made two Treaties with the *States*, the firſt whereof was about the Payment of what was due to him. The other contained an Alliance, which was not to take Place till after they had concluded a Peace with *Spain*. Then he ſent *Robert Spencer* to the *Hague*, to aſſiſt at the Negotiations of Peace, together with Sir *Ralph Winwood*, his Ambaſſador in Ordinary. An infinite Number of Difficulties occurred in this Affair, the chief whereof was, that the King of *Spain* refuſed to ſpeak plainly with reſpect to the Liberty of the *States*. He had ratified the Archduke's Declaration; but it was only upon Condition the Peace were made, and the *States* would not treat but upon the Foot of *Free-States*. Beſides, in the King of *Spain*'s Ratification were certain ambiguous Expreſſions which the *States* were not pleaſed with. They knew alſo that whilſt they were negotiating at the *Hague*, the *Spaniſh* Court was endeavouring to gain the King of *England*, and to that End, had ſent to him *Don Fernando de Gironne*, a Lord of great Diſtinction in quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary. This made the *States* extremely uneaſy, and the more as *James* affected on all Occaſions to hint that he looked upon them as Rebels. He applied to their Caſe, the general Maxims of Sovereignty, and firmly believed what he would fain have had all the World perſwaded of, that Subjects ought not to withdraw their Allegiance from their Prince upon any Account whatever. Hereby may be judged what Effect his Mediation could have. Accordingly his Ambaſſadors made a very poor Figure throughout the whole Negotiation. *Jeannin* managed every Thing, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors acting but faintly, and ſhowing little or no Deſire that the Treaty ſhould ſucceed.

*James openly blames the* States.

What

1608. What Endeavours soever *Jeannin* might use, it was not possible for him to get the Parties to consent to a Peace. And therefore he proposed at last a twelve or fifteen Years Truce, during which both Parties should remain in Possession of what they held, without Prejudice to their respective Rights. But the *States* rejected it, unless their *Liberty* were plainly established. Whereupon the Ambassadors of *Spain* and the Archduke withdrew, as seeing no likelihood either of a Peace or Truce. Nevertheless *Jeannin* continued his Instances to perswade the *States* to accept of the Ratification just as it was, and some other Articles, on which there had been great Debates. At length, by his many Representations he obtained of the *United-Provinces*, *Zealand* excepted, which stood out till the next Year, what he wanted in order to smooth the way to the Conclusion of the Truce.

*Testimony of President* Jeannin. Lettres de Jeannin.] King *James* did not get much Credit by this Negotiation. Besides his leaving every Thing to the King of *France*, he acted not with Sincerity, if we may believe President *Jeannin*, who in a Letter to the King his Master on this Occasion, speaking of King *James*, has these Words: *He makes as if he were willing to procure a Peace, and yet lays Obstacles in the way, by saying publickly, he cannot forbear condemning the* States *for rebelling against the King of* Spain *their Sovereign.* The Truth is, *Richardot* did not scruple to own in a Letter to *Jeannin*, that the King of *Spain*'s Firmness was entirely owing to the King of *England*'s Promise, that the *Liberty* of the *States* should not be mentioned in the Treaty of Truce *. *Henry* IV had no very good

* The Earl of *Salisbury* in a Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* of the 23d of *December* 1608, clears the King from this Imputation. And in another Letter of the 1st of *January* $160\frac{8}{9}$, to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* then Ambassador in *Spain*, he tells him, *That* Richardot *had reported, he was the Person that had given this Promise to* Spain. And adds, *I am sure you never received any such Direction from me that am appointed your principal Correspondent, so his Majesty is so much perswaded of your Faith and Discretion, that you will not intermeddle in any Thing beyond the Scope of your Direction.*

In

good Opinion of *James*, as appears from his writing to *Jeannin*, *that he knew what that —— was capable of, but however it did not break his reſt.* 1608.

The Province of *Zealand* having at length reſolved to follow the Opinion of the other Provinces, the Conferences were renewed at *Antwerp*, where a twelve Years Truce were ſigned, *April* the 9th 1609. By this Truce the *States* obtained that the King of *Spain* and Archduke owned them as a *free* and *independent* State, and they even avoided renouncing the Navigation and Trade to the *Indies*, which Point had obſtructed the Negotiation as much as any Thing. 1609. *Truce of twelve Years in the* Low-Countries. Grotius.

*James* diſcovered no manner of Satisfaction at the Advantages the *States* had lately obtained, becauſe he looked upon it as a Precedent very dangerous and prejudicial to the Sovereign Authority of Kings, of which he was always extremely fond. This evidently appeared at this very Time, by his licenſing two Books, which maintained the moſt extravagant Maxims of Arbitrary Power. The firſt writ by an Eccleſiaſtick, dalled *Cowel* * laid down theſe three Principles : James *diſcovers more and more his Principles concerning the Regal Power.* *Books upon that Subject.* Coke, *p.* 30.

1. That

In another Letter of the 27th of *January* 160$\frac{8}{9}$, to the ſame Sir *Charles*, the Earl ſays, Richardot *does not directly clear you, and caſt the Imputation upon the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador, who ſhould have given ſuch hopes by Letters, as having received them from the Mouth of us that are of his Majeſty's Council. But the Ambaſſador being challenged, did proteſt to the contrary with all the Vows that may be. So as we ſee it was a Device ſet on Foot at* Bruſſels, *to colour the Delays from* Spain, *and to ſave themſelves from being diſavowed in their Proceedings.* See the Collection of State-Papers in the Reign of *James* I, *p.* 469. 472. 474. where it ſeems to be plain that it was all a Fiction of *Richardot*'s to ſerve his Maſter's Turn.

* *Cowel* was not a *Clergyman*, but Doctor and Profeſſor of *Civil Law* in *Cambridge*, and *Vicar-General* to Archbiſhop *Bancroft*. He publiſhed a Book called the *Interpreter*, containing the Signification of ſuch Words and Terms as are mentioned in the Law-Writers and Statutes. It was printed at *Cambridge* firſt in *4to*, in the Year 1607. It has been ſince enlarged and re-printed in Folio; but in all the later Editions the dubious and offenſive Paſſages have been corrected or omitted.

1609.

1. That the King was not bound by the *Laws*, or his *Coronation*-Oath.

2. That the King was not obliged to call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it alone by his *Absolute Power*.

3. That it was a great Favour to admit the Consent of the Subjects in giving *Subsidies*.

The other Book was composed by Dr. *Blackwood* a *Clergyman*, who laid down this Principle, that the *English* were all Slaves by reason of the *Norman Conquest*.

*He disappoints the Justice of the Parliament upon the Authors of these Books.*

The Parliament which met the next Year, took this Affair to Heart, and would have severely punished the Authors of these Books; but the King interposed, and frustrated the Parliament's Design, by issuing out a Proclamation, forbidding the Reading of these Books, and ordering such as had any of them in their Hands to deliver them to the Magistrates. But such kind of Proclamations are usually ill-obeyed, especially when it is not the King's Interest to see them strictly executed.

1610.

*The People are dissatisfied.*

The King's Behaviour grew more and more displeasing to the greatest Part of the *English*. The Proclamations which daily increased, and whereof several were about Matters which former Kings were not wont to determine, without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and the indiscreet Speeches of the Courtiers, who made a Jest of the People's Privileges, bred Suspicions and Jealousies, which the King was not careful enough to stifle in their Birth. On the other Hand, the regard he had for the *Roman-Catholicks*, whose Cause he espoused on all Occasions, the Access and Credit they had at Court, even to their being admitted to the most important Offices, and into the Ministry itself, begot Fears in the People, and caused them to suspect some Plot was formed against the *Protestant*-Religion. The Ministers knowing how the Nation stood affected, were justly apprehensive

*The* Papists *are countenanced.*

1610.

henſive of meeting with great Difficulties in the enſuing Parliament, which was to ſit on the 19th of *February*. The King intended to get ſome Money, which he was in great want of, though he had no War upon his Hands, nor any Affair which ſeemed to require an extraordinary Aid. It was neceſſary therefore at leaſt to give the Parliament good Words, and try to palliate his extravagant Expences, ſince his coming to the Crown. But *James* believing it to be repugnant to the Dignity of a Sovereign, to make an Apology himſelf to his Subjects, ordered the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury* to do it for him.

*Speech to the Parliament from the King.* Wilſon, p. 43.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, who was the Spokeſman, declared to the two *Houſes*, that they were met, firſt, to ſupply his Majeſty's Wants: Secondly, to redreſs the People's Grievances. Then he told them, that the King willing to ſhow them a ſingular Mark of his Favour, had reſolved to create Prince *Henry* his eldeſt Son, *Prince of Wales*, during the Seſſion of the Parliament, though he was free to do it at any other Time, as by many *Precedents* was evident. Having thus endeavoured to procure the King the Good-will of both *Houſes*, by ſo ſtrong an Argument of his Majeſty's Regard for them, he ſtrove to ſhow it was not without juſt Reaſons that the King demanded Money, ſince what he had already received had been laid out in very neceſſary Expences. Firſt, as for the three Hundred Thouſand Pounds due in the late Queen's Time, he no ſooner received the Money with one Hand, but he paid it away with the other, in redeeming the *Crown-Lands* ſhe had mortgaged to the City of *London*. Secondly, he was forced to keep on Foot for ſome Time, an Army of nineteen Thouſand Men in *Ireland*, not deeming it proper to make Peace with *Spain* without the Sword in his Hand. 3. He was obliged to bury Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe *Obſequies* were very expenſive. 4. His own Journey from *Edinburgh* to *London* could not be performed without Money; for it would not have been decent for a King to come the firſt Time to his Kingdom like a

1610. private Person, and without a numerous Train. 5. Neither was it fit that his Royal Consort, with his Children, the Kingdom's future Hopes, should be exposed to Robbers, without a Guard and Retinue, and consequently their Journey must have been very chargeable. 6. The King of *Denmark*'s Visit was so honourable to his Majesty, that he could not dispense with giving him a suitable and magnificent Reception. 7. The Ambassadors who came from all Parts to congratulate him upon his Accession to the Crown of *England*, could not be sent back without Presents, which should do Honour to the *English* Nation, besides the Charge he was at, to entertain them during their Stay (*a*). 8. The King was obliged to send Ambassadors to the Princes who had sent to congratulate him, and to return their Civilities in kind.

These were the Causes, according to the Orator, of the King's Wants, and not, as some affected to give out, his indiscreet Bounty to some of his *Servants*. But, added he, how could a Bounty so worthy of a King be blamed? If he did not give to his *Servants*, they would be *miserable* in a Country abounding with Riches. As for the *Scots*, it must be remembered, that although they were not born in the Kingdom, his Majesty was born among them, and not to have them taste of the Blessing he had attained, were to have him change his *Virtue* with his *Fortune*. Upon all these Accounts, his Majesty desires the *Commons* to supply his Wants, which Mark of Esteem could not be denied to a King, who is not only the wisest of Kings, but the very *Image* of an *Angel*, that has brought Good-Tidings to the *English*, and secured them in the Enjoyment of perfect Happiness; to a King, who by his vast Knowledge and noble Endowments, deserves the Title of *Defender of the Faith*: to

(*a*) When the Marquis of *Rosni* the *French* Ambassador landed at *Dover*, the King sent him Word, he could not bear the Charges of the Ambassadors, by reason of their Number. See *Mem. de Sully*.

to a King who has ſhut the Back-Door by which *England* was liable to Invaſions, and who only ſtudies to order it ſo that every Man may live happy under his own Vine and Fig-Tree. That none will wonder or ſtartle at the King's deſiring a Supply, but ſuch as mind to ſerve their own Turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the *Stories* of their own *Ignorance*. Among whom are to be reckoned thoſe, who hearing of an Order to bind up the printed *Proclamations* in a Book, that the better notice may be taken of the Things contained in them, have ſpread a Report, that the King intended [this Parliament] to make *Proclamations* equal to the *Laws*, which never entered into his Thoughts. That ſo far is he from governing by *Will* and *Pleaſure*, that he is ready to hearken to any *Motion* from the two *Houſes*, provided they ſhall keep a juſt Proportion, and obſerve what is due to a great and gracious King. 1610.

*Complaint againſt the King in the Houſe of* Commons Wilſon, p. 45.

This Speech had not the Effect which the King and his Miniſters expected. Some of the *Commons* loudly complained of the King's Prodigality, and extravagant Bounty to the *Scots*. They ſaid, the whole Wealth of *England* would not ſerve to ſatisfy their Avidity, that ſince the King's coming to *England*, Gold and Silver were as common in *Edinburgh*, as Stones in the Streets, and that all the Riches of *England* flowed thither where they were ſwallowed up as in a Gulph, and never returned. Others ſaid, it was viſible, the King was undermining by degrees the Nation's Privileges by continual Incroachments. That he deſigned to eſtabliſh the *Civil* Laws of the *Roman* Emperours, in the room of the *Common* Law, and had not been able to forbear dropping ſome Expreſſions to that Purpoſe at his own Table. Finally, that he had approved of a Book lately written, the Scope whereof was to render the *Common-Law* contemptible.

*particularly about the* High-Commiſſion. Wilſon, p. 46.

But what made the greateſt ſtir in the *Lower-Houſe* was the *High-Commiſſion*, which exerciſed in the Kingdom a kind of *Inquiſition* for Matters of *Religion* and *State*.

1610. *State.* For the better understanding this occasion of Complaint, it must be remembred, that when *Henry* VIII was declared *Supreme Head* of the *Church* of *England*, he appointed *Cromwell* for his Vicegerent in religious Affairs, and empowered him to exercise the *Supremacy* in his Name. After the tragical End of this first and only Vicegerent, this Office was executed by Commissioners. And this is what was called the *High-Commission*, which continued during the Lives of *Henry* VIII, and *Edward* VI, and ceasing in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was revived by *Elizabeth*. In her Reign the *High-Commission* exercised its Authority with great Moderation. But the Case was otherwise under *James* I. This Prince bore a mortal Hatred to the *Puritans*, as I have said more than once, and after he had published his Proclamation for *Uniformity*, it was the *High-Commission's* Business to see his Injunctions executed. It may easily be guessed that the *Commissioners* who were all named by the King, were not favourable to the *Puritans*. So they exerted their Power with the utmost Rigour. Had they stopped here, this Severity of theirs, upon such as were counted a set of obstinate People, and whose Number was small in comparison of the *Episcopalians*, would not have excited the Complaints of the *Lower-House*. But they went a great deal farther. I have observed already, that because the *Puritans* were against the *Hierarchy* in the *Church*, the King inferred they were also against *Monarchy* in the *State*, and there were but too many who made it their Business to confirm him in this Notion. For this Reason, they affected to consider as *Puritans* all who were not submissive enough to the King's Orders, or too great Sticklers for the Privileges of the People. Under this Pretense the *High-Commission* proceeded against them, and wanted not means to vex and trouble them. Thus in order to be really a *Protestant* and *Member* of the Church of *England*, the *communicating* in that Church, and complying with the external Worship were not sufficient, the King's Authority

thority was also to be acknowledged as extensive as his Flatterers were pleased to make it. They who were so bold as to censure his Conduct, and question his unlimited Power, were looked upon as infected with *Puritanism*, and accounted to reason upon *Puritanical* Principles. There were then at this Time two sorts of *Puritans*, Church-*Puritans*, and State-*Puritans*. But the *High-Commission* affected to confound them one with another, in order to have room to exercise Authority upon both. This was the Occasion of the Complaint in the *House* of *Commons*. 1610.

The King being informed of what was in Agitation in the Parliament, sent for the two *Houses* to *Whitehall*, and strove to let them see that he was complained of without Cause. But withal, he made them sensible by some Expressions which plainly enough discovered his Sentiments, that if he did not Rule with an absolute Sway, it was not for want of Power, but entirely owing to his Equity.

*The King's Speech to both Houses* Wilson, p. 682.

He told them, "Though the King's Heart be in "the Hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before "the Eyes of the People; assuring them, That he "never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law "of the Land; though it be disputed among them, "as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and "govern by the absolute Power of a King. He "knew, he said, the Power of Kings, resembling it "to the *Power Divine*: For as God can create and "destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure, so Kings "can give *Life* and *Death*, judge *All*, and be judged "of *None*. They can exalt low Things, and abase "high Things, making the Subjects like *Men* at "*Chess*, a *Pawn* to take a *Bishop* *. And when he "had raised the King's Power to the Height, with, "*Ye are Gods*, he brings them down again with, *They*

* But the King left out the Power of a *Pawn* to *take* a Queen, or *check* a King. *Wilson*.

1610. " *ſhall dye like Men:* And that all Kings, who are " not Tyrants or perjured, will bound themſelves " within the Limits of their Laws; and they that " perſwade them the contrary, are *Vipers* and *Peſts* " both againſt them and the Common-wealth. *Yet* " *as it is Blaſphemy to diſpute what God may do, ſo it* " *is Sedition in Subjects to diſpute what a King may do* " *in the Height of his Power. And as he will not have* " *his Subjects diſcourſe of what he may, ſo he will do* " *nothing but what ſhall be conſonant to Law and Rea-* " *ſon.* Then he ſtrives to mitigate the ſharpneſs of " the Words dropped from him at his Table, to the " Diſparagement of the *Common-Law*, on which he " beſtows very high *Encomiums*; but recalling himſelf, " he points out ſome Corruptions in it.

" After which, he addreſſes himſelf to the *Houſe* " of *Commons*, and not only thanks them for the " *Bonfire* they made of certain Papers, which were " preſented as *Grievances* from ſome diſcontented " murmuring Spirits; inſtructing them how to re- " ceive *Grievances* hereafter: In which he would " have them careful to avoid three Things.

" The Firſt, That they meddle not with the main " Points of Government, that is his *Craft*. To med- " dle with that were to leſſen him, who hath been " thirty Years at the *Trade* in *Scotland*, and ſerved " an *Apprenticeſhip* of ſeven Years here [in *England.*]

" Secondly, He would not have ſuch ancient " Rights as he hath received from his *Predeceſſors* ac- " counted *Grievances*; that were to judge him un- " worthy to enjoy what they left him.

" And Laſtly, That they ſhould be careful not to " preſent that for a *Grievance*, which is eſtabliſhed " by a *Law*; for it is very undutiful in Subjects to " preſs their King wherein they are ſure to be de- " nied. Complaints may be made unto them of the " *High-Commiſſioners*, let the Abuſe appear then, and " ſpare not, there may be *Errours* among them; " but to take away the *Commiſſion*, is to derogate

" from

" from him; and it is now in his Thoughts to rectify 1610.
" it in a good Proportion.

" Then he ſhews the emergent Cauſe of his great " Expences, ſince his coming to the Crown, which " makes him deſire a Supply from them. And if " they refuſe to grant it him, his Reputation will ſuf- " fer at *Home* and *Abroad*; for the World will " think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, " that both leſſened their Hearts, and tied up their " Hands towards him ".

*The Commons hide their Reſentment.*

There was need of no great Penetration to perceive in the King's Speech, the Maxims on which he pretended to have a Right to govern the *Engliſh* Nation, and his Idea of Monarchy in all Countries without Diſtinction. He ſpoke ſo plainly that it would have been a hard Matter not to underſtand him. If it was *Sedition* in Subjects to diſpute about the Extent of the Regal Power, it neceſſarily followed, that the King might do any Thing, and if he ruled not like a Tyrant, it was not for want of Power, but purely owing to his Juſtice and Clemency. In ſhort, if the whole Speech be examined, there is ſcarce one Word but what tends either plainly or ambiguouſly, to eſtabliſh in the King an abſolute and deſpotick Power. The *Engliſh* had not been uſed to hear their Kings talk at this rate. *Henry* VIII, the moſt Arbitrary of all, managed the Parliament in order to procure *Acts* in favour of the Sovereign; but never pretended to build his Authority upon ſuch Principles. So the *Commons* evidently perceiving what the King had in his Thoughts, reſolved ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe his Deſigns. But however it was no proper Seaſon now to begin. Such great Bodies require ſome Time to form and execute their Projects. They made therefore as if they took no notice of the Maxims the King would have eſtabliſhed, and granted a Subſidy, though a much ſmaller than he expected *. This done, the

* They granted him one *Subſidy*, which brought into the *Exchequer* 69666 *l.* and a *Fifteenth* and *Tenth*, which amounted to 36500 *l.* *See Truth brought to Light*, p. 13. 81.

1610. Parliament having ſat till the Month of *July*, was prorogued to the 16th of *October*.

*Henry created Prince of Wales.* Echard. Wilſon, p. 52.

Before the End of the Seſſion, the King created *Henry* his eldeſt Son, *Prince of Wales*, and ſettled his Houſhold, ſo that the young Prince kept his Court at St. *James*'s, whilſt the Queen kept hers at *Somerſet-Houſe*, to which ſhe gave the Name of *Denmark-Houſe*; but it was called ſo only during her Life, and among her own People. Thus the King had three Courts to maintain, which put him to a great Expence.

*Character of the Prince of Wales.* Wilſon, p. 52.

All the Hiſtorians affirm, that the Prince of *Wales* was of a very different Character from that of the King his Father. Though he was but ſixteen Years old, there appeared in him Principles of Equity, Juſtice, Moderation, Magnanimity, which gained him the Love and Eſteem of the *Engliſh* to ſuch a degree, that the King could not help being ſomewhat jealous. His Court was well regulated: no Extravagancies or Indecencies were ſeen there, except perhaps the too frequent Maſquerades which were then much in vogue, becauſe the Queen was paſſionately fond of them. As for the King, it is ſaid, he did not ſpend much of his Time in the Affairs of the State, but left every Thing to his Miniſters. It may be this Matter is a little aggravated; though after all it is not very unlikely that a Prince who was in Peace with all the World, and a great Lover of *Books* and *Hunting*, ſhould leave common Affairs to his Miniſters.

*War about the Succeſſion of the Duke of Cleves.* Grotius.

Whilſt *James* lived in profound Tranquillity, the Eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon *Henry* IV's grand Project, to humble the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. This *Houſe* daily grew ſo formidable, that it might very juſtly raiſe the Jealouſy of the other *States*. What had lately happened on account of the Succeſſion of *John-William* Duke of *Cleves*, was a clear Evidence how intent the *Houſe* of *Auſtria* was upon aggrandizing it ſelf on all Sides. The Duke of *Cleves* dying the 25th of *March* 1609, his four Siſters or their Heirs, claimed his Inheritance, containing the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and the Earldoms of *la Marck*, *Bergh*,

*Ravensbergh*, and *Raveſtein*. The chief Competitors were; *Wolfgang-William*, Son to the Duke of *Newburg*, *John* Duke of *Deuxponts*, both of the *Palatin*-Family, *John Sigiſmond* Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Chriſtian* II, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Marquiſs of *Burgaw*. Whilſt theſe Princes contended about the Succeſſion, the Emperour *Rodolphus* II, pretended it ſhould be committed to his keeping in Truſt, till the Affair was decided. To that Purpoſe he ſent his Orders to *Leopold* of *Auſtria*, Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, who entering the Dutchy of *Juliers* at the Head of an Army, took the Capital City, and left a Garriſon in it. Theſe Proceedings making the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Newburgh* ſenſible, that whilſt they were contending about the Duke of *Cleves*'s Succeſſion, they both ran the riſk of loſing it, they joined in a League together, and taking Poſſeſſion of the reſt of the deceaſed Duke's Dominions, implored the Aſſiſtance of *France* and *Holland* to ſupport them in it. *Henry* IV, who had already made great Preparations againſt the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, promiſed to come and aſſiſt them in Perſon. At the ſame Time he ordered the Troops he had in *Holland* to be in a readineſs to join him in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and deſired the *States* to ſend thither alſo Prince *Maurice*, with part of their own Forces. But whilſt he was preparing for this Expedition, he was aſſaſſinated by *Ravaillac* [a Fryar] in his own Coach, in the midſt of *Paris*. 1610. *Henry IV is ſtabbed.* May 14.

The Murderer's Confeſſion * diſcovered that this Regicide was committed in Conſequence of that *Doctrine* of the *Romiſh-Church*, which was ſo grating to King *James*, and all the World believed the *Jeſuits* had a great Hand in it. And therefore *James* find- *Proclamation to baniſh the* Jeſuits. Wilſon, *p.* 51.

* At his Examination he boldly confeſſed he did it, becauſe the King did not take Arms againſt the *Hugonots*, and that his making War againſt the Pope, is the ſame as to make War againſt God, *Seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope.* Thuan.

1610. ing how much he himſelf was concerned to remove from his Perſon, Men who held ſo deteſtable a Doctrine, iſſued out a freſh Proclamation, commanding all *Jeſuits* [and *Prieſts*] out of the Kingdom, and all *Recuſants*, not to come within ten Miles of the Court. Then he cauſed all his Subjects to take the Oath of *Allegiance*, the Parliament which was ſtill ſitting, having led the way.

*James has a Mind to marry Prince* Henry *in* Spain.

The Court of *Spain* was generally ſuſpected of having contrived the King of *France*'s Murder, becauſe every one knew this Prince was making great Preparations againſt the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, and that *Houſe* was not ſeen to prepare to oppoſe his Deſigns. Mean while, whether *James* did not believe it, or thought it prudent to gain the Friendſhip of a *Houſe* ſo formidable to the *Proteſtants*, he diſpatched the Lord *Cornwal* * to go and negotiate a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the King of *Spain*'s eldeſt Daughter.

*Death of* Bancroft. Wilſon.

*Richard Bancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and grand Adverſary of the *Puritans* died much about this Time. He had procured the King's *Patent* to found a College at *Chelſey*, for the Maintainance of a certain Number of able *Controverſiſts*, who were to combat with their Sermons and Writings, the Adverſaries of the *Church* of *England*, as well *Puritans* as *Papiſts*: But his Death put an end to the Project *1.

Abbot *ſucceeds him.*

*George Abbot*, who ſucceeded him, was of a very different Temper. He was even ſuſpected and accuſed of being a *Puritan*, becauſe he would not, like his Predeceſſor, perſecute that *Sect*, nor blindly follow the Maxims of the Court with reſpect to Government.

The

* This is a Miſtake, there was no ſuch Lord. The King ſent to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, who was his ordinary Ambaſſador in *Spain*, and had been ſo for ſome Time.

*1 There is a formal *Act* of Parliament in being for the Eſtabliſhment of this College. *Wilſon*, *p.* 53.

The Parliament meeting on the 16th of *October*, the *Commons* were not in a Temper at all pleaſing to the King. And therefore he determined to diſſolve the Parliament by Proclamation the 31ſt of *December*, having firſt prorogued it. The Miniſters finding by the *Motions* made in the *Lower-Houſe*, that a Reſolution was taken to uſe the moſt effectual Methods to redreſs the *Grievances*, thought it would be againſt the King's and their own Intereſt, to ſuffer the *Commons* to put this Project in Practice. The Pretences for diſſolving the Parliament ſet forth in the Proclamation, were, 1610. *The Parliament is diſſolved.*

*That the King had propoſed many Things far differing and ſurpaſſing the Graces and Favours of former Times, both in Nature and Value, in Expectation of a good Concluſion of ſome weighty Cauſe, which had been there in Deliberation, not only for the Supply of the Neceſſities of his Majeſty's Eſtate, but for the Eaſe and Freedom of his Subjects: But theſe being the two laſt Seſſions little taken notice of; and that the Members, by reaſon of the length of the Parliament, were debarred from the Hoſpitality they kept in the Country, and that divers Shires, Cities, and Boroughs, had been burdened with Expenſe of maintaining their Members; for theſe Reaſons he diſſolved them.* This Parliament, being the firſt of this Reign, had ſat ſeven Years. From the Time of its Diſſolution, to the Year 1614, it was the *Miniſtry*'s Buſineſs to deviſe Ways and Means to ſupply the King's Wants. Coke, p. 64.

On the 1ſt of *September* Prince *Maurice* became Maſter of *Juliers*, with the help of the Troops the *Marſhal de la Chatre* brought him from *France*, and the *Engliſh* Forces that were in the Service of the *States*, under the Command of Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*. *Taking of Juliers.*

The King being freed from the Trouble the Parliament created him, and reſolving never to call another, the Courtiers applauded his Deſign very much. An abſolute Government was a great deal more for their 1611. *The Court-Diverſions* Wilſon, p. 53.

1611. their Benefit, than a Government bounded by the Laws, wherein the King in ſome Meaſure depends on the People. The whole Court was filled with Joy at the King's ſhaking off the troubleſome Yoke of the Parliaments. The three Courts were a continued Scene of Mirth and Diverſions, and eſpecially the Queen's, where ſcarce any Thing elſe was minded. She had her Favourites, as the King had his, that is to ſay, Perſons whoſe Avidity was to be ſatisfied *.

*The Engliſh and Scots ſtrive to give the King a Favourite.*

The King however had not yet a Favourite, according to the uſual Senſe of that Word, though whilſt he reigned in *Scotland*, he had plainly ſhowed he could hardly do without one. Perhaps the ill Offices the *Engliſh* and *Scots* did one another, had till now, prevented the King from fixing. Beſides this Prince's Taſte was very different from that of moſt others. Neither Virtue, nor Merit, nor eminent Qualities had any Charms for him. He was to be captivated only by ſomething External and Dazzling, as Youth, Gracefulneſs of Perſon, fine Cloaths, and the like. Never was Prince ſo much taken with ſuch ſort of outward Accompliſhments. I ſpeak upon the Teſtimony of my Lord *Clarendon* *1 and ſeveral others, and upon the Characters of the Favourites this Prince had as well in *England* as *Scotland*, in whom no other Merit was ever known. Be this as it will, among the *Engliſh* and *Scots* who approached the King, there was not yet found any one poſſeſſed of the Qualities requiſite to become his Favourite. He wanted an unexperienced Youth, whom he might mould as he pleaſed. The *Engliſh* and *Scots* accounting it a ſort of Miracle that he could live thus long without abandoning himſelf to ſome Perſon, ſtrove with Emulation who ſhould give him a Favourite, without his perceiving

* Her chief Favourite was the elder Brother of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the King's the younger, *Philip Herbert* Earl of *Montgomery*.

*1 Of all wiſe Men living he was the moſt delighted with *handſome Perſons* and *fine Cloaths*. Clar. Vol. I. p. 9.

perceiving it, by cauſing all the Youths of their Nation to appear in his Sight, whom they thought moſt capable of winning his Heart. But hitherto neither had been able to compaſs their Ends. It was not till 1611 that the *Scots* found means at laſt to get the better of their Rivals, by giving the King a Favourite of their Nation. 1611.

*Robert Carr*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, about twenty Years of Age, who was juſt come from learning his Exerciſes in *France*, going to Court to wait upon the Lord *Hayes* his Countryman, to whom he was recommended, that Lord had no ſooner caſt his Eyes upon him, but he imagined him a fit Perſon to fix the King's Affection. With this view, he reſolved to ſhow him at Court, and ſurprize the King, by preſenting to him this new Object, as it were by Accident. One Day at a Tilting, he pitched upon *Carr* to carry his *Shield* and *Deviſe* to the King, according to Cuſtom. The King being on Horſeback, and *Carr* advancing to perform his Office, his Horſe by ſome Accident happened to ſtart, threw him down and break his Leg. The King, ſorry for this Misfortune, aſked who the young Man was, and hearing his Name was *Carr*, remembred he had a Page of that Name in *Scotland*, which proved to be the ſame. This made him ſtill more concerned for his Fall, and was the Cauſe of his ordering him to be lodged in the Palace, and all poſſible Care to be taken of him. The Tilting was no ſooner over, but he went and viſited *Carr* in his Room. Next Day he came again, In ſhort, as long as *Carr* kept his Bed, not a Day paſſed but the King went and ſtayed an Hour or two with him. He found in this young *Scot* a Perſon without Learning, unexperienced, plain and ſimple, without much Education, and without any Knowledge either of the World or a Court. Upon theſe Accounts, in all Appearance, it was that he reſolved to fix his Inclination upon this Object, hoping to render him by his Inſtructions as great a Man as any of his Miniſters. As ſoon as *Carr* was recovered, the King made

Robert Carr *becomes the King's Favourite.* Wilſon. *p.* 54.

1618. made him a Knight and Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and took the Pains himself to teach him *Latin*. In a word, *Carr* became a perfect Favourite. All *Suits*, all *Petitions* were addressed to him, and no Favours granted but by his Means. Fortunately for him the Earl of *Dunbar* a *Scotchman*, who was very much in the King's good Graces, died about this time. So *Carr* was alone in Favour without a Rival, and succeeded the Earl of *Dunbar* in his Post of Treasurer of *Scotland*.

James *sides against the* Arminians *in* Holland.

The King's new Inclination hindered him not from concerning himself in the Disputes which the Diversity of Opinion about certain Religious Points raised in *Holland*, between the *Gomarists* and the *Arminians* or *Remonstrants*. These Disputes are so well known, that it would be lost Time to give a particular Account of them. It will suffice to relate what made the King to meddle in this Matter, without being applied to, and even with an extraordinary Zeal, in order to preserve *Orthodoxy* in this *Church*, though foreign and *Presbyterian*.

*See* Wilson, p. 119.

*Franciscus Gomarus* and *Jacobus Arminius* *, both Divinity Professors in the University of *Leyden*, had some Years since made known that they differed in Opinion concerning *absolute Predestination*, *Inamissibility* of *Grace*, and some other *Theological* Points. They begun their Disputes at the Close of the last *Century*; but the War, which at that time took up People's Minds, not permitting any great heed to be given to their Controversy, it was confined to their *Schools* till the Year 1608. *Gomarus* followed the Opinion of the first *Reformers*, and *Arminius* steered a contrary Course. At last, the *States* of *Holland* perceiving a sort of *Schism* was forming in their Church, endeavoured to put a stop to it by means of a Conference, which served only to make the Matter worse. The Disputes were carried on: Each strengthned his Party, and the *States*, being then busy in the important Affair

fair

* He is called in *Dutch*, *Van Hermine*.

fair of the Truce, could not attend to this, in order to prevent its Conſequences. *Arminius* dying in 1608, his Diſciples and Followers continued the Diſpute. At length they preſented to the *States* a *Petition*, containing the *Articles* of their *Faith*, and as, inſtead of the Term *Petitioners*, they made uſe of that of *Remonſtrants*; they continued to be ſo called, and gloried in the Name. The *Gomariſts* preſented likewiſe their *Petition*, ſtiling themſelves, *Contre-Remonſtrants*. For a good while the two Parties were known by no other Names. But in time that of *Contre-Remonſtrants* was ſcarce heard of, whilſt *Arminius*'s Followers are ſtill called *Remonſtrants* or *Arminians*. 1611.

*Arminius*'s Profeſſorſhip was filled with *Conrade Vorſtius*, *Divinity*-Profeſſor at *Steinfort* in the County of *Bentheim*. This *Divine* had already publiſhed a Treatiſe *concerning God*, which had ſtirred up the *Gomariſts* againſt him to ſuch a Degree, that he was obliged to clear himſelf in a printed *Apology* from their Imputations. But for all that, before he came to *Leyden* he was cried down as a real *Socinian*. In 1611 ſome *Divines* attacked him, and offered to ſhow *damnable Errors* both in his Treatiſe *concerning God* and in his *Apology*. Theſe two Books being ſent into *England*, the King read them, and preſently after ſent to Sir *Ralph Winwood* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* a Liſt of the *Errors* he had remarked, ordering him withal to declare to the *States*, that he was reſolved to make known to the World publickly in print, how much he deteſted ſuch abominable *Errors*, and *the Allowers and Tolerators of them*. This was directly falling upon the *States*, who had acquitted *Vorſtius*. The Ambaſſador preſented therefore on this Occaſion a *Memorial*, to which the *States* returned a very modeſt Anſwer, though they had reaſon to complain of the Haughtineſs the King treated them with. Before the King received the Anſwer, he had ordered ſome of *Vorſtius*'s Books to be publickly burnt at *London*, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. Notwithſtanding all this, *Vorſtius* was received at *Leyden*, and the King wrote againſt

*King James's Works*, p. 351.

Ibid p. 355.

1611. * againſt him to the *States* with ſo much Vehemence, that, in his Opinion, Burning was too good for him. Nay he threatned, that in caſe they continued to tolerate this ſame *Profeſſor*, he would cauſe the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* to withdraw from the *Communion* of that of *Holland*, and exhort all other *Reformed* Churches to do the like. *Winwood* when he delivered this Letter, added a Speech of his own to the *States*, wherein he perfectly ſeconded his Maſter's Purpoſe.

Though the *States* of *Holland* thought it ſtrange to be thus checked, they believed it however to be convenient to keep fair with the King of *England*, not by complying with what he required, but by ſhowing ſome Regard for him. To this End they anſwered the Ambaſſador, That they had proviſionally ordered that *Vorſtius* ſhould forbear the Functions of his Office till the next *Aſſembly* which ſhould be held on this Occaſion, and in the mean time ſhould remain at *Leyden* only as an Inhabitant. *Winwood* took this Anſwer for a Denial, and complained in very haughty Terms of the little Reſpect they had for the King his Maſter. Not long after the King publiſhed a *Declaration* againſt *Vorſtius*, wherein he uſed no great Ceremony with the *States* of *Holland*. Then the *States* having no mind to quarrel with him, ordered *Vorſtius* to remove from *Leyden* to *Goude*, where he had another Settlement provided for him.

*Remark on this Subject.* It is a hard Matter to gueſs at the true Cauſe of the great Zeal the King ſhowed on this Occaſion. It ſeems, on the contraay, that he ought not upon many Accounts to have meddled in a *Theological* Diſpute, about which the *States* had not asked his Advice, and which concerned a *Church* where he could not pretend to the leaſt Juriſdiction. How could he, who in his Speech to both *Houſes* of Parliament, called the Queſtions about *Tranſubſtantiation* and the Number of the *Sacraments* mere *School*-Queſtions, how could he,

* The King's Second Letter was ſent, though not delivered, before *Vorſtius* was ſettled at *Leyden*. *King James's Works*, p. 358.

he, I ſay, account the Queſtions concerning *Grace* in *Holland* to be of ſo much greater Moment? And what is more, he who thought the *Papiſts* might be tolerated in *England*, provided they would behave like good Subjects, could not bear that *Vorſtius* ſhould be tolerated in *Holland*, or even ſo much as ſuffered to live *. Theſe are Contradictions which I durſt not undertake to explain, but by theſe Three Conjectures. Firſt, As he pretended to be very learned in *Divinity*, he imagined that having declared for one of the Opinions, he was bound in Honour to ſupport it. Secondly, Looking upon himſelf ſtill as *Protector* of the *States*, he had a mind to exert his Authority on this Occaſion, and oblige them to do as he required. Thirdly, He was willing to favour Prince *Maurice*, who had declared for the *Gomariſts* againſt the *Arminians*, who had Penſionary *Barnevelt* at their Head. I return to the Affairs of *England*. 1611.

The King's Fondneſs for his new Favourite continually encreaſed by ſwift Degrees. The Favours the King loaded him with ſeemed to be beyond all Bounds. Having made him Knight, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Lord-Treaſurer of *Scotland*, he created him on the 25th of *March* 1612, Baron of *Branſpeth*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*. A Month after he made him *Privy-Counſellor*, and then *Knight of the Garter*. Every thing at Court paſſed through his Hands, and whoever had a mind to obtain any Favour of the King, muſt firſt make the Viſcount *Rocheſter* his Friend. So many 1612. Carr *is made Viſcount* Rocheſter. Wilſon.

* King *James* in his *Declaration* againſt *Vorſtius*, ſays, "If the "Subject of *Vorſtius's Hereſies* had not been grounded upon "Queſtions of higher Quality than touching the *Number* and *Nature* of the *Sacraments*, the Points of *Merit*, of *Juſtification*, of "*Purgatory*, of the *viſible Head* of the *Church*, or any SUCH "MATTERS, as are in Controverſy at this Day betwixt the "*Papiſts* and Us —— in that caſe we ſhould never have troubled our ſelves with the Buſineſs in ſuch Faſhion, and with that "Fervency as hitherto we have done". *p.* 365 *of his Works*. As if *wrong Notions* or *Errors* concerning the *Eſſence* of God, were more pernicious than ſuch corrupt Notions and Principles as are deſtructive of *Morality*, and repugnant to God's Moral Character!

1612. many Favours heaped upon the Head of this Favourite, made the Miniſters and Courtiers ſenſible it would be in vain to try to ruin him, and that the very attempting it would be exceeding hazardous. So every one reſolved to pay his Adorations to the Perſon the King was pleaſed to honour. The Earl of *Salisbury* however did not care to ſee himſelf overtopped by this new Comer, and continually obliged to ſet his Wits to work to find Money, in order to have it ſhowered on a Man whoſe Services as yet were ſo inconſiderable. All the Hiſtorians agree, the King was liberal beyond Meaſure in his Preſents to his young Favourite, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible Fountain of Treaſure, though he was ever in want. One Day, as the Story goes, the King having given him an Order under his own Hand to receive Five Thouſand Pounds out of the *Exchequer*, the Lord-Treaſurer *Salisbury* ſurprized at the Largeneſs of the Preſent, conſidering how little Money there was then in the Treaſury, uſed this Stratagem ſucceſsfully, to let the King ſee his exceſſive Bounty. He ordered the Money [ all in Silver ] to be laid in heaps in a Room of his Houſe, and inviting the King to an Entertainment, cauſed him to paſs through the Room as it were by Accident. The King failed not, as the Lord-Treaſurer foreſaw, to ask whom all that Money was deſigned for; to which *Salisbury* careleſly anſwered, It was for the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, according to his Majeſty's Command. Whether the King perceived his Drift, or had not conſidered what he did when he made the Preſent, he ſaid, it was too much for one Man, and bid the Treaſurer give him but Two Thouſand Pound *.

*The Treaſurer's Artifice to limit the Kings Bounty.*

*Prudent Behaviour of the Favourite.*

It is agreed on all Hands, that *Carr* behaved very wiſely in his Poſt of Favourite. He was neither greedy nor inſolent: He did every body what Service he

* *Coke* and *Osborn* ſay, it was 20,000 *l.* which the Lord-Treaſurer laid upon four Tables in heaps of 5000 *l.* each in Silver.

he could, and eſpecially the *Engliſh*, whoſe Friendſhip he preferred before that of his Countrymen. He had but one *Scotch* Servant and one Friend of that Nation, a Couſin-German of his. This Conduct rendered him agreeable to the *Engliſh*. The Prince of *Wales* alone affected ſometimes to mortify him, becauſe they were both in love with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, who gave the Preference to the Favourite. This was enough to gain him the Prince's Enmity, who nevertheleſs would not be revenged of him. He choſe rather to turn into Contempt his Love for the Lady, who, as we ſhall ſee preſently, was not worthy of ſuch a Lover. Except this Amour, which proved his Ruin, the Favourite carried himſelf very prudently, being guided by the Counſels of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a Man of Parts and great Wiſdom, who took care to keep him clear of thoſe Shoals on which Favourites ſeldom fail of being ſhipwracked. 1612.

*The King loads him with Favours.*

But although the Viſcount *Rocheſter* carefully avoided being troubleſome, his Modeſty ſerved only to inflame the King's Deſire to render him out of Hand rich and powerful. This, added to the many Bounties he beſtowed on his Courtiers, both *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, and to the Maintenance of Three ſeveral Courts, threw him perpetually into Straits. His Miniſters were inceſſantly at work to deviſe Means to raiſe Money without the Help of a Parliament, of which he would not hear the leaſt word. It may be eaſily conceived that theſe ſame Means were not all *legal*, but that many of them occaſioned Murmurings among the People, as *Monopolies*, *Benevolences*, and *Loans*. A King of *England* can very hardly encreaſe his Revenues by ſuch Methods, without making his Subjects believe he intends to incroach upon their Privileges, and *James* was already but too much ſuſpected of ſuch a Deſign.

*The Miniſters are put to it to find Money.*

*Death of the Earl of* Salisbury.

The King, to his great Misfortune, loſt in the Month of *May* the next Year 1613 the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was perfectly acquainted with the Affairs of the State, and Genius of the *Engliſh*. He was a Check

1622. Check to the reſt of the Miniſters, and kept them from running upon Precipices, the Danger whereof they did not know ſo well as he. Moreover, he had a wonderful Art of diverting the King himſelf from Reſolutions which might be hurtful to him, though he did not always ſucceed *. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord-Treaſurer: but he was very different from the Perſon he came after, both for Parts and Honeſty. Beſides, he had a Wife who was exceeding greedy of Money, and made no ſcruple to take Bribes from all Parties, and that largely.

*Suffolk is made Lord Treaſurer.*

During the great Tranquillity the King enjoyed, he cauſed the Body of the Queen his Mother to be removed to *Henry* VII's Chapel at *Weſtminſter*, from *Peterborough*, where it was interred at firſt, and had lain ever ſince.

*Queen Mary's Body is removed to Weſtminſter. Wilſon, p. 61.*

About the middle of the Year the Lord *Sanquir* a *Scotch* Nobleman was condemned to be hanged, for hiring two of his Countrymen to murder a *Fencing-Maſter* *1. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſeveral great Men interceeded for him in vain. Nothing could

* *Osborn* ſays of him, what was in another Caſe ſaid of *Gregory the Great*, that *he was the firſt ill Treaſurer and the laſt good one ſince Queen* Elizabeth's *Days*. The worſt thing he lays to his Charge was, *the Sale of the Crown Timber*, Millions of *Engliſh* Oaks being felled and ſold at vile Prices, not only during the Life of the Earl of *Salisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*, to the great Detriment of the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom, p. 461. He died at *Marlborough* on *Sunday*, *May* 24. 1612, according to *Dugdale*, and was buried at *Hatfield*.

*1 This young Lord, it ſeems, having a mind to diſgrace one *Turner* a *Fencing-Maſter* in his own Art, had one of his Eyes thruſt out by him. Some time after the King of *France* asked him, *How he loſt his Eye?* And *Sanquir* telling him, *it was done with a Sword:* The King replies, *Does the Man live?* This Queſtion made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the young Lord, that at his return to *England* he cauſed *Turner* to be piſtoled at his Houſe in *White-Fryars*. *Wilſon*. p. 60. *Osborn* ſays, it was thought the King would not be prevailed with to pardon *Sanquir* as he had done ſome other of his Countrymen for the like Offence, by reaſon of his Love to the King of *France*, and not making any Reply, when he ſaid in his Preſence to one that called our King *James*, *Solomon*, that *he hoped he was not* David *the Fidler's Son*, p. 457.

could prevail with the King to pardon him, who thought the making him an Example was neceſſary to curb the Inſolence of the *Scots*, who had already committed ſundry Outrages in *England*. The Clemency he had ſhown to ſome had been of ſuch ill Conſequence, that he thought it improper to keep on the ſame Courſe, for fear in the End it might breed a general Quarrel between the two Nations, wherein the *Scots* muſt needs have the worſt on it *. 1612.

*Sir* Robert Sherley *arrives as Ambaſſador from the King of* Perſia.

Shortly after arrived in *England* a very extraordinary Embaſſy. Sir *Robert Sherley* an *Engliſhman*, who had ſerved the King of *Perſia* many Years in his Army, having a Deſire to ſee his native Country, obtained of that Monarch the Character of his Ambaſſador and a *Letter of Credit* to the King. His Inſtructions were only to pay his Compliments to the King, with the Offer of a free Trade to the *Engliſh* throughout the *Perſian* Dominions. This ſame Ambaſſador had paſſed through the *Hague*, where he demanded Audience of the *States*, in order to propoſe to them a Treaty with the King of *Perſia*. But becauſe he came from *Spain*, where he had made ſome Stay, the *States* ſuſpecting he had ſome other Deſign, asked to

* *Ramſey* ſwitched *Philip Herbert*, the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Brother, over the Face at a *Horſe-Race*, which he not reſenting, the King made him a *Knight*, a *Baron*, a *Viſcount*, and an *Earl* in one Day. Mr. *Edward Hawley* of *Grey*'s-*Inn*, coming to Court one Day, *Maxwel* led him out of the Room by a Black-ſtring he wore in his Ear, a Faſhion then much in uſe. But this had like to have coſt warm Blood; not only *Grey*'s-*Inn* Society, but all the Gentry in *London* thought themſelves concerned in the Affront, and *Hawley* threatned to kill *Maxwel* wherever he met him, if he refuſed to fight, which ſo frighted the King, that he ſent for the *Benchers* and made up the Quarrel. One *Murry* a *Scot* killed a Serjeant that came to arreſt him; which Things, with *Sanquir*'s piſtoling *Turner*, and other Inſolencies, occaſioned the following Verſes on the *Scots*:

They *Beg* our *Lands*, our *Goods*, our *Lives*,
They *Switch* our *Nobles*, and lie with their *Wives*;
They *Pinch* our *Gentry*, and ſend for our *Benchers*;
They *Stab* our *Serjeants*, and *Piſtol* our *Fencers*. Osborn, p. 752.

1612. ſee his Inſtructions, and upon his ſcrupling to ſhow them, he was deſired to withdraw. As he had been likewiſe at other Courts, it was believed he had put the King of *Perſia* in hopes of engaging all the *Chriſtian* Princes in a War with the *Turks*, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a *Perſian* Wife, who was delivered of a Son in *England*, to whom the Queen ſtood Godmother, and Prince *Henry* Godfather. After a Year's Stay in *England* he returned into *Perſia* *.

*The Elector Palatine's Arrival,* Octob. 16. Wilſon, p. 72.

The Arrival of this Ambaſſador did not make ſo much Noiſe as the coming of *Frederick* V, *Elector Palatine*, who came in the Month of *October* to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the King's Daughter. He was received with all the Reſpect imaginable; and for ſome time nothing was ſeen at Court but Entertainments and Diverſions on this Occaſion. But amidſt the univerſal Joy for this Marriage, the Prince of *Wales* was ſeized with a Diſtemper which was not thought dangerous at firſt. It took him on the 10th of *October*, a few Days before the Elector *Palatine*'s Arrival: but he himſelf imagined it to be of ſo little Conſequence, that he accompanied the Elector every where for ſome Days. He was not forced to keep his Bed till the 25th of the ſame Month, and died the 12th of *November*, being Eighteen Years old *1.

*Death of the Prince of* Wales.

*His Encomium.* Wilſon, p. 62. Coke.

He was one of the moſt accompliſhed Princes that ever was, not in *England* only, but in all *Europe*, if we may believe what Hiſtorians ſay of him. He was ſober, chaſte, temperate, religious, full of Honour and

* He was Third Son to Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suſſex*, and had been abroad ſixteen Years, five whereof he had ſpent in the Service of divers *Chriſtian* Princes, eſpecially the Emperour *Rodolphus*, who made him a *Count* of the Empire. He afterwards travelled into *Perſia*, and ſerved that Emperour ten Years, who made him *General of the Artillery*, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Tereſia*, Siſter to one of the Queens of *Perſia*. He left his young Son in *England*.

*1 He died on the 6th of *November*, being eighteen Years, eight Months, and ſeventeen Days old, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* the 7th of *December* following. *Coke. Wilſon*, &c.

and Probity. He was never heard to ſwear an Oath, 1612.
though the Example of the King his Father, and of the whole Court, was but too capable of corrupting him in that Reſpect. He took great Delight in the Converſation of Men of Honour; and thoſe who were not reckoned as ſuch, were looked upon with a very ill Eye at his Court. He had naturally a Greatneſs of Mind, noble and generous Thoughts; and was as much diſpleaſed with Trifles, as his Father was fond of them. He ſaid frequently, if ever he mounted the Throne, his firſt Care ſhould be to try to reconcile the *Puritans* to the Church of *England*. As this could not be done without each of the two Parties making ſome Conceſſions, and as ſuch a Proceeding was directly contrary to the Temper of the Court and *Clergy*, he was ſuſpected to countenance *Puritaniſm*. He was mild and affable: but however, in his Carriage had noble Statelineſs without Affectation, which commanded Eſteem and Reſpect from every body. He ſhowed a warlike Genius, in his paſſionate Fondneſs for all martial Exerciſes. A *French* Ambaſſador coming to take his Leave of him, found him *toſſing the Pike*, and asking him, *what Service he would command him to the King his Maſter?* The Prince bid him tell him *what he was doing*. In ſhort, to ſay all in one word, though he was Eighteen Years old when he died, no Hiſtorian has taxed him with any Vice. The King his Father is ſaid to have been jealous of him, and to ask one Day, *If his Son would bury him alive?* I paſs over in Silence a Thouſand Things ſaid upon this Occaſion, particularly what ſome Authors would inſinuate, that the King cauſed him to be poiſoned. In ſuch a Caſe, the Proofs ought to be as clear as the Sun, and I don't find in the Hiſtorians, who were moſt bitter againſt King *James*, any thing but bare Suſpicions and naked Conjectures, which in all appearance were only Fruits of the blackeſt Malice. Others are contented with accuſing the Viſcount *Rocheſter* of this Crime, but without any manner of Proof. Some ſlight Preſumptions, which

*Suſpicions againſt the King.* Wilſon, p. 62.

1612. I shall have Occasion to speak of elsewhere, may have helped to breed this Suspicion, which indeed was spread abroad immediately after the Prince's Death. Whereupon his Head and Body were laid open in the Presence of a great many Physicians and Surgeons, who gave their Opinion upon Oath *, that no Marks of Poison were to be seen. But what reflected most upon the King, was his commanding that no Person should appear at Court in *Mourning*; whether he was willing to remove all melancholly Objects from his Sight that might renew his Concern, or did not think proper to interrupt the Diversions which were prepared for his Daughter's Marriage. Decency obliged him however to put off the Nuptials a few Weeks, as the Prince's Funeral could not be performed till the 7th of *December*.

*The Elector and Prince* Maurice *are made Knights of the Garter.*

Just after the King held a *Chapter* of the *Order* of the *Garter* at *Windsor*, wherein the Elector *Palatine* and Prince *Maurice* Stadtholder of *Holland* were made Knights. They were installed in the *February* following, both on the same Day, the one at *Windsor*, the other at the *Hague* *1.

1613. *Marriage of the Elector and the Princess.* Stow. Wilson, p. 64.

The Beginning of the Year 1613 was wholly spent in Preparations for the Princess's Wedding, which was solemnized on the 14th of *February*, the Elector being first installed *Knight* of the *Garter* [on the 7th.] No cost was spared to render the Entertainments on these Occasions as magnificent as possible. To this End the King demanded *Aid-Money* of his Subjects, according

* They gave their Opinions under their Hands as follows, *His Liver wan and paler than ordinary.* His *Gall* without *Choler*, and distended with *Wind.* His *Spleen* unnaturally Black, his *Lungs* spotted with much Corruption. The *Diaphragma* blackish; and the Head full of *Blood* in some places, and in others of *Water.* As if (says *Wilson*) no Poison could produce such Effects, *p.* 63.

*1 They were both installed on the 7th of *February*, *Lodowick* Count of *Orange* being Prince *Maurice*'s Deputy. Prince *Maurice* it seems wore his *Garter* constantly, till a Groom of his Chamber happened to strangle a *Jeweller* with one of his blue Ribbons in order to rob him. After which he would never wear it. *Wilson*, p. 64.

according to the antient Cuſtom obſerved when the Kings married their eldeſt Daughter. Though it was now a Hundred Years ſince this Cuſtom had been out of uſe, there having been no occaſion for it ſince the Reign of *Henry* VII, yet few or none durſt refuſe to give what the King demanded. Great Sums were raiſed by this Means, which were all laid out upon the Marriage *. The Elector and the Princeſs ſtayed in *England* till *April*, during which time there was nothing but Entertainments, Balls, Maſquerades, and other Diverſions. The City of *London* made the new married Couple a ſplendid Feaſt; after which, the Lord *Mayor* [and *Aldermen*] preſented the *Bride* with a Chain of *Oriental Pearl*, worthy the Greatneſs and Riches of the Metropolis of *England*. 1612.

By the Departure of the *Elector* and Electoreſs, the Court became a little more quiet, as to publick Rejoicings which had held ſeveral Months without ceaſing. But at the ſame Time a private Scene was acting, the Plots whereof began to open this Year, but were not quite unravelled till two Years after. I mean, the annulling of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Marriage, his Counteſs's ſecond Marriage with the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and the violent Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*. As theſe three Incidents did not fall out all at once, and by Accident, but were brought in gradually, by diabolical Practices, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome Things already paſſed, and which were deferred till now, that the Thread of the Story might not be broken off.

*Account of the diſſolving of the Earl of Eſſex's Marriage.* Wilſon, p. 66.

I have already ſaid that *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, was a mortal Enemy to the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and one of the chief Inſtruments of his Ruin. This Earl left a Son, who being but nine Years old, did not give *Cecil* much Diſturbance, though the King at his coming to *England* reſtored him to his Eſtate and Honours. Mean while, as this able Miniſter could

* The *Aid-Money* came but to 20500 *l.* and the Elector's Marriage, *&c.* coſt the King almoſt four times that Sum, as will be ſeen hereafter.

1613. not be ignorant of the King's Affection for the Father, he was apprehenſive that one time or other he ſhould be made to pay for all the Stratagems he had put in Practice to ruin that Lord. It was chiefly upon this Account, that, in order to keep in the King's Favour, he judged it proper to unite cloſely with the Family of the *Howards*, by a Match between his Son and the eldeſt Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*. After which, perceiving the Earl of *Eſſex* to grow up, and fearing he might one Day prove a Thorn in his Side, he believed it for his Intereſt to be reconciled to him, and to confirm their Reconciliation with the Marriage of this young Lord to the Earl of *Suffolk*'s ſecond Daughter, younger Siſter of his Daughter-in-law. Beſides, the Advantage he himſelf reaped by this Alliance, he gave the King the Pleaſure to ſee in ſtrict Union the Three Families, which he had the greateſt Kindneſs for; namely, thoſe of *Howard*, *Devereux* and *Cecil*. This Marriage was made in 1606, the Earl of *Eſſex* being then in his Fifteenth, and *Frances Howard* his Bride in her Thirteenth Year. As the married Couple were as yet very young, their Relations thought fit the Earl ſhould travel into *France* and *Germany*, till they were both a little more advanced in Years. During his Abſence, his Counteſs became a perfect Beauty, and eclipſed all the reſt of the Court-Ladies.

The Earl of *Eſſex* came not back to *England* till the Year 1610. He found his Counteſs in the Prime of her Age and Beauty: but withal, highly conceited of her own Worth, by reaſon of the Praiſes beſtowed on her by all the World. He was himſelf charmed with her Merit: but met not with that Return he expected. She daily coined freſh Excuſes to put off the Conſummation of the Marriage, and ſhowed as much Reluctancy as he did Eagerneſs on that Score. He bore it patiently for a while, being unwilling to uſe Compulſion, for fear of giving his Bride an Averſion to him. Shortly after, he fell ill of the *Small-Pox*, and was in ſuch Danger, that his Life

Life was deſpaired of: but the Strength of his Conſtitution got the better of his Diſtemper, though it was a good while before he was quite recovered. 1613.

In this Interval *Robert Carr* became the King's Favourite. When he won his Maſter's Heart, he made a Conqueſt almoſt at the ſame Time of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s, who ſuffered herſelf to be taken with the Charms of this youg *Scot*, and entirely gave herſelf over to this new Paſſion, without daring however to reveal it to the Perſon that cauſed it. Mean while, the Earl of *Eſſex* finding himſelf perfectly recovered, preſſed his Bride to conſent to the Conſummation of their Marriage: but he found her Reluctance the greater, as ſhe was enamoured of another. In ſhort, after having tried all ſorts of Ways to prevail with her, without being able to ſucceed, he had recourſe to the Earl of *Suffolk* his Father-in-law, and entreated him to uſe his Endeavours to overcome his Daughter's Obſtinacy. The Earl of *Suffolk*, ſurprized at what his Son-in-law told him, ſharply reprimanded his Daughter, and told her poſitively, that ſhe muſt reſolve to conſummate the Marriage. Then the Counteſs, not daring to diſobey her Father directly, deſired only a little longer Time. She verily believed, in caſe ſhe could avoid conſummating her Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*, it would not be impracticable to get it annulled, and then to marry the Viſcount *Rocheſter*. Indeed, the Viſcount knew nothing yet of what ſhe felt for him: but ſhe had too good an Opinion of her Charms, not to flatter herſelf with the Hopes of an eaſy Conqueſt, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have occaſion to let him know it. On the other Hand, the great Credit of *Rocheſter* and the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, did not ſuffer her to queſtion, that if the Favourite had a mind to take her to Wife, he might eaſily bring it to paſs. But ſhe wanted ſome Time to lay her Meaſures well, wherein however ſhe met with great Oppoſition both from her Husband and Father.

1613. In this Extremity, not knowing how to get out of the Streight she was in, she opened her Mind to one Mrs. *Turner* a Physician's Widow, a Woman of a dissolute Life, and capable of the baseſt Actions. As this Woman had no good Advice to give her, she perſuades her to apply to one Dr. *Foreman*, who passed for a *Magician*. He had perhaps some Secrets of *Nature*, but was not sorry to be thought skilled in the *Magick-Art*, becauſe abundance of Women came to consult him, and payed him well for it. To this Man the Counteſs of *Eſſex* went and told her Secret. She desired two Things of him: First, to manage it so, that the Earl of *Eſſex* should not be able to consummate his Marriage. Secondly, to make the Viscount *Rocheſter* in love with her. *Foreman* very confidently promiſed both, and gave her certain *Powders* for her Husband to take, and to be put amongst his Linnen, with Inſtructions how she should behave to him. As for *Rocheſter*, he himself undertook to perform upon him the Operations that were neceſſary.

Mean while, the Counteſs could no longer diſobey her Father's Command, so was forced at last to go home to her Husband's Houſe. But although they lay together, the Marriage was not conſummated, whether it was owing to *Foreman*'s Powders, or to some other more effectual Means uſed by the Counteſs to render her Husband's Efforts of no Effect. However this may be, the Earl of *Eſſex* imagined that his Living in *London* and at Court might contribute to his Misfortune, and therefore reſolved to carry his Lady to a Country-Seat, about a Hundred Miles from *London*. The Counteſs could not help going with her Lord: but all the while she was there, she shut herself up in a Room, and would not so much as ſuffer the Light of the Sun to enter, giving herself over to an exceſſive Melancholly, whether out of Vexation or Policy, the better to deny her Husband. After this manner she lived for some time with her Husband in the Country, who did not underſtand the Meaning of this ſtrange Behaviour. In the mean while she wrote ſeveral Letters

Letters to Mrs. *Turner* and *Foreman*, telling them, *She was afraid* Foreman's *Powders were not ſtrong enough: her Husband was as luſty as ever: it would be very difficult for her to hold out for ever, and if ſhe ſhould chance to yield, ſhe ſhould become the moſt unfortunate Woman in the World: She intreated them to free her from her Miſery, and they ſhould have what Money they deſired.* Theſe Letters were found in *Foreman*'s *Study*, and read in open Court, upon an Occaſion which I ſhall mention preſently *. 1613.

At laſt, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſeeing himſelf in ſo uneaſy a Situation, reſolved to carry his Lady back to *London*, and give her full Leave to live as ſhe pleaſed. He began to perceive there was ſomething extraordinary in her Carriage, which he had rather be ignorant of than endeavour to dive into.

The Counteſs being returned to Court, and finding ſhe was her own Miſtreſs, no longer delayed to let *Rocheſter* know what ſhe endured for his ſake. There was no manner of occaſion to uſe *Magick* to produce the Effect ſhe promiſed herſelf. He was young, and ſhe the fineſt Lady in the Kingdom. So any Advances from the Counteſs, were more than ſufficient to kindle a Flame in the Favourite's Breaſt. As ſoon as they begun to underſtand one another, Aſſignations became frequent. They were at firſt ſomewhat private: but in time, the two Lovers uſed ſo little Caution, that not a Soul at Court was a Stranger to their Amours. The King very probably was informed of the Matter, ſince nothing delighted him more than to hear of the Love-Intrigues of his Courtiers. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had alſo notice of the Buſineſs, choſe to ſhut his Eyes, and ſcorn an Object ſo unworthy of his Love.

The

* There was alſo a *Note* produced in Court made by *Foreman* and written on Parchment, ſignifying what *Ladies* loved what *Lords* in the Court; but the Lord *Chief Juſtice* would not ſuffer it to be read. *Truth brought to Light*, p. 65.

1613. *The Countess of Essex designs to get her Marriage annulled.*

The Countess of *Essex* having succeeded in her intended Conquest, and finding herself sure of her Lover's Heart, would not allow his Passion time to cool. Every thing seemed to favour the Execution of her Designs, that is, the annulling of her Marriage with the Earl of *Essex*, and the espousing the Viscount *Rochester*. The Earl of *Essex* saw her no more, and seemed to concern himself very little about her, and *Rochester* was so beloved by the King, that, in all appearance, he would be able to do every thing. So she let her Lover know what she desired, and without much difficulty brought him to second her Projects. But as he was wont to impart his most serious Affairs to *Overbury*, he believed he should not hide this from him, and the rather, as he expected some good Advice from him to bring it about. But so far was *Overbury* from approving such a Project, that on the contrary, he did all he could to dissuade him from it. He represented to him the Injustice and Indignity of the Thing, the Risk he would run of being ruined by a Deed of that Nature; and lastly, the light Account he ought to make of a Woman, who, though married, scrupled not to throw herself into the Arms of another Man: That she had already lost her Reputation in the World, and when she should be his Wife, all the Ignominy would light upon him. *Rochester*, who did not expect to meet with so great Opposition from his Friend, could not forbear showing some Displeasure at it. He had the Address however to contain himself so far, as not to give him any reason to think he would proceed, notwithstanding his Advice, and continued as usual to communicate to him his other Affairs. The Countess fell into a violent Fury when she heard *Overbury*'s Advice, and from that Moment ceased not to stir up her Lover to Revenge. She was the more incensed against *Overbury*, as she was afraid that being acquainted with the Design, he would labour to render it abortive. In short, *Rochester* was so complaisant and blind, as to promise to make her a Sacrifice of his Friend. He

Overbury *is acquainted with it, and opposes it.* Coke.

might eaſily have diſmiſſed him: but it would have been too hazardous to ruin him by halves only, after truſting him with the Secret. It is ſaid, that in order to make ſure of his Blow, he conſulted the Earl of *Northampton*, Uncle to the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and by his Advice uſed this Stratagem to ruin him. He extolled to the King *Overbury*'s Abilities: but intimated withal, that this Man had taken too much upon him, and was grown ſo inſolent, that there was no bearing him: And therefore he ſhould be very glad to get rid of him, by helping him to ſome honourable Employment, praying his Majeſty to ſend him Ambaſſador to the Great Duke of *Ruſſia* (*a*). The King liking the Propoſal, appointed *Overbury* immediately for the Embaſſy. *Rocheſter* having managed Matters thus far, acquainted *Overbury* with the King's Intent, and pretending he could not live without him, entreated him to refuſe the Employment which would be offered him, promiſing to procure him a better at Court. He added, that indeed he believed it would not be in his Power to hinder the King from being angry at firſt, who very probably would reſent his Refuſal, however he did not queſtion but he ſhould be able to appeaſe him in a few Days. *Overbury* fell into the Snare; and when the King ſent for him to tell him of the Employment he deſigned him for, he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to make Choice of ſome other Perſon. As ſoon as he was gone, *Rocheſter* aggravated his Pride and Inſolence, in daring thus to refuſe his Maſter's gracious Offer, adding, it was requiſite to chaſtize him: That himſelf had a Concern in the Affair, becauſe the World would not fail to blame him for uſing his Intereſt for him. In a word, by *Rocheſter*'s Inſtances, the King commanded *Overbury* to be ſent to the *Tower*. Some Days before, the Favourite had cauſed Sir *Jervaſe Elways*, a Creature of his, to be made Lieutenant of *the Tower*. *Overbury* was cloſely confined in a Room, and not ſuffered to

1613.

Rocheſter's *Artifice to ruin* Overbury. Coke.

Overbury *is ſent to the Tower, and cloſely confined.*

(*a*) Some ſay, into *France*, others into *Flanders*.

1613. to keep one of his own Servants, or receive any Visits from his Relations and Friends, a Strictness not used even towards the greatest Offenders. It was here that the Viscount *Rochester* and the Countess of *Essex* wished him to be, that they might dispatch him out of the way the more easily. However, there were still some Difficulties. It could not be done by stabbing, because the Lieutenant of *the Tower*, who is to answer for the Prisoners, would not have suffered it; and besides, a Murder openly committed in one of the King's Prisons, would have made too great a Noise in the World. It was resolved therefore to make use of Poison. To that End Mrs. *Turner* provided a trusty Person, one *Weston*, who had been a Servant to her Husband; and Sir *Thomas Monson* recommended this Man to the Lieutenant of *the Tower*, to wait upon the Prisoner as Footman. But even this was not sufficient. Whatever was brought to *Overbury* to eat being dressed in the Lieutenant's Kitchin, it was almost absolutely necessary to engage him in the Plot. Some say, the Earl of *Northampton* spoke to him of it, hinting that every Thing was done with the King's Privity. Others affirm, that the Lieutenant refusing to have any Hand in the Matter, and not daring however to discover it, by reason of the Quality of the Parties concerned, took care to seize the Victuals sent from time to time by the Viscount *Rochester* to the Prisoner, and to throw them into the House of Office; and this is most likely, since, otherwise, *Overbury* would have been soon dispatched. He could not however hinder *Weston* from giving him a certain *Jelly* sent by Sir *Thomas Monson*, which brought him to Death's Door. Whereupon the Lieutenant of *the Tower* was still more careful to order it so, that no body should see *Overbury* but *Weston* only. This was a Check upon *Weston*, because he perceived none could be accused but himself: wherefore he durst not make such haste as *Overbury*'s Enemies desired. There arose however one Inconveniency from this Delay, which was that all the World

*The Design of taking away his Life is formed.*

was

was ſurprized to ſee the King uſe ſo great Rigour upon a Friend of the Viſcount *Rocheſter* for ſo ſlight an Offence, if the refuſing to go in Embaſſy to *Ruſſia* could be deemed any Crime at all. No body thought it a Fault, and People ſtrove in vain to find out the Cauſe of the extreme Severity which *Overbury* was treated with. 1613.

*The Earl of Eſſex's Marriage is annulled.*

Whilſt the unfortunate Priſoner languiſhed in his Confinement, the Viſcount *Rocheſter* and the Counteſs of *Eſſex* were thinking of executing their Project, that is to ſay, of annulling the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Marriage, to the End ſhe might afterwards eſpouſe the Viſcount. To bring about this Affair, without *Rocheſter*'s appearing to be concerned in it, the Earl of *Northampton*, who was in the two Lovers Secrets, took upon him to ſpeak to the King. Some ſay, the Viſcount *Rocheſter* had already acquainted the King with the Counteſs's Deſign to get her Marriage annulled, and had prayed his Majeſty to help him to the Lady when the Marriage ſhould be diſſolved: but I do not know if this be well atteſted. However, the Earl of *Northampton* preſented to the King the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s *Petition* to this Effect: That the Earl her Husband being incapable of conſummating their Marriage, ſhe beſought his Majeſty to let her Complaint be examined, to the End if it was found well-grounded, ſhe might have the Liberty to marry another. Upon this *Petition*, the King iſſued out a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop, ſeveral other Biſhops, and ſome *Laymen*, to hear and determine the Affair. This *Court* proceeded very gravely to the Trial of the Cauſe, and entered into ſuch particular and ſecret Examinations, as did not very well become *Clergymen*. The Earl of *Eſſex* being examined, briefly anſwered, He had never conſummated his Marriage, neither did he think he ſhould be ever able to do ſo: but however, did not feel the ſame Inability with regard to other Women.

Wilſon.

*Annals of* James I.

(a) The Author of the *Annals* of *James* I. ſays, the Earl of *Suffolk* preſented the *Petition*. Here he begins his Account, without any mention of what went before.

1613. Women. Though this Confeſſion made very much for the Counteſs's Cauſe, the Court deemed it proper to be certain of the Truth by another Method, ordering the Counteſs to be inſpected by a *Jury* of Matrons, aſſiſted by ſome *Mid-wives*. This Inſpection being made, the Matrons declared ſhe was a *Virgin*. But it is ſaid the Counteſs, under a Pretence of Modeſty, got leave to appear in a Veil before the Matrons, and that Mrs. *Fiennes*, a young Gentlewoman of her Age and Stature, was introduced in her Place*. I omit a Thouſand Circumſtances of this Trial, which are to be found in ſeveral Authors, and which it is againſt Decency to relate. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that by the Sentence given, the Marriage was diſſolved, contrary to the Opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who even publiſhed his Reaſons for being againſt it. But the King himſelf took the Pains to anſwer the Archbiſhop's Arguments, and to maintain the Juſtice of the Sentence, upbraiding the Prelate with founding his Opinion on *Puritan*-Principles. Dr. *Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, one of the Judges, having ſpoken very ſtrenuouſly to prove the Nullity of the Marriage, his Son was ſoon after knighted. But the World was ſo malicious as to call him Sir *Nullity Bilſon*. This Buſineſs made a great Noiſe, and brought little Honour to the Judges, moſt of whom could not be ignorant of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s ill Character*1.

Weldon, p. 80, &c.

*Annals of* James I. p. 3.

If

* Sir *Anthony Weldon* declares upon the Reputation of a Gentleman, that he had this *verbatim* from a *Knight*, who did uſher the Lady into the Place of Inſpection, and told it often to his Friends in Mirth. *The Court of King* James, p. 80.

*1 Of the Judges *Delegates*, *Thomas Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Richard Neile* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and *John Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; with *Julius Caſar*, *Thomas Parry*, *Daniel Dun*, Knights, ſigned the Decree. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *John King* Biſhop of *London* were againſt it. The Earl of *Southampton*, in a Letter of *Auguſt* 6. 1613, to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, has theſe Words: "Of "the

If after the Diſſolution of the Marriage, the Counteſs had married any other than the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, her Conduct might have been eaſily juſtified. This was not the firſt Marriage annulled upon the like Account. But the Sentence was hardly publiſhed, when the Viſcount openly made his Addreſſes to the Lady, and their Marriage was concluded out of Hand. The King not only gave his Favourite leave to marry the Counteſs, but made him alſo *Earl of Somerſet* on the 4th of *November*, that the Second Huſband might be of equal Rank with the Firſt. The Nuptials were ſolemnized a Month after with ſuch extraordinary Rejoicings, that had the King's own Son been married, they could not have been greater. The City of *London* ſignalized itſelf on this Occaſion, by a ſplendid Entertainment which the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen gave the new-married Couple, and to which the King, Queen, and whole Court were invited. For ſome time nothing was talked of but Banquets, Balls, Maſquerades, and other Diverſions, in honour of the new Earl of *Somerſet*'s Nuptials.

1613. Rocheſter *marries the Counteſs of* Eſſex.

*He is made Earl of* Somerſet.

Decem. 26.

Coke.

Theſe things gave occaſion to the diſaffected to talk freely of the King. They ſpread abroad, that in *Scotland* the Earl of *Arran*, formerly the King's Favourite, married the Earl of *Athol*'s Daughter, having firſt procured, by the like Means, and on the ſame Account, a Diſſolution of that Lady's Marriage with the Earl of *March*. They would inſinuate thereby, that the King had taught his Favourite the way to come at his Miſtreſs. But theſe Inſinuations reached not the King's Ear, thoſe about him not being ſo ill Courtiers as to carry him ſuch Reports.

Johnſon's *Hiſtory of* Scotland.

Whilſt

" the *Nullity* I ſee you have heard as much as I can write, by " which you may diſcern *the Power of a King with Judges*, for " of thoſe which are now for it, I knew ſome of them when I " was in *England* were vehemently againſt it, as the Biſhops of " *Ely* and *Coventry* ". *Collection of Papers in the Reign of* James I. Vol. III. p. 475.

1613. *Violent Death of* Overbury. Wilson, p. 73. Weldon, p. 74.

Whilst the annulling of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Marriage was in Hand, the unfortunate *Overbury* was cloſely confined, without having the Comfort of ſeeing any of his Friends, as if he had been guilty of the moſt heinous of Crimes. He had been ſick to Death with the Poiſon which had been given him, without knowing the Cauſe of his Illneſs. But as ſoon as he heard what was doing, he was no longer in doubt concerning the Author of his Miſery. In this lamentable Condition he ſaw no other Remedy but to write to the Favourite, intreating him to deliver him out of the wretched State he was in. *Rocheſter* anſwered, that the King being ſtill highly incenſed, he had not yet been able to ſpeak in his behalf; but hoped to do it in a few Days: Nay, 'tis ſaid, he ſent a certain *Powder* in this Letter, as a ſure Remedy to cure his Diſtemper. But *Overbury* was wiſe enough not to take it *. In ſhort, the two Lovers being impatient to ſee a Perſon live ſo long, who might one Day be their Ruin, cauſed an impoiſoned *Gliſter* to be given him by one *Franklin* an Apothecary's 'Prentice, which ended his Miſeries with his Life. Some ſay, that *Weſton* and *Franklin* ſeeing the extraordinary Effects of the *Gliſter*, and fearing if they ſuffered the Poiſon to operate any longer it would leave Marks on the Body, which would riſe up in Judgment againſt them, ſmothered him with the Bedcloaths. When he was dead, he was buried out of Hand without any Ceremony, and a Report ſpread, that dying of the Pox he was ſo rotten, that there was no keeping him any longer. This was the Earl of *Northampton*'s Account in his Letter to the Favourite, to acquaint him with *Overbury*'s Death, admiring withal, the Juſtice of God upon that wicked Wretch *(a)*.

Weldon.

The

* *Wilſon* ſays, he took the *Powder*, which having a poiſonous Quality, added to his Affliction, p. 73.

*(a)* King *James*'s Friends have given *Overbury* a very bad Character, probably to leſſen the Horror of the Viſcount *Rocheſter*'s Crime.

The Earl of *Somerſet* thought he had done a great Matter in diſpatching *Overbury* out of the way. But on the other Hand, he found himſelf much more incumbred with the Management of Affairs, ſince he was no longer aſſiſted by that faithful Counſellor. As his ſmall Experience made every thing difficult to him, he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity to chuſe another Friend, and it was the Earl of *Northampton* that ſupplied *Overbury*'s Place. But there was a great Difference between theſe Two. *Overbury*'s ſole View was to procure his Friend Honour and Glory; and the Earl of *Northampton*'s chief Aim was to make uſe of his Credit to countenance the *Roman-Catholicks*. Ever ſince his being in Favour he had all along protected them to the utmoſt of his Power; as was obvious to all the World. But after he came as it were to have an abſolute Sway over the Favourite, he acted without ſcarce any Reſerve in that Reſpect. As he was *Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports*, he managed ſo, that the *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh Prieſts* might ſafely land there without being examined at their Arrival. By this means their Number increaſed to ſuch a Degree in a very ſhort ſpace, that the People loudly murmured at it, and caſt the Blame on the Earl of *Northampton*. Whereupon, to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch as talked too freely, he took out a *Writ* of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt ſome of them. He believed it was not poſſible to convict him of a Thing grounded only upon common Report, and that ſuch ſort of Evidence not being valid in Law, he ſhould ſilence his Enemies by puniſhing ſome of thoſe who had been moſt forward to ſpeak againſt him. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* broke his Meaſures, by producing a Letter under the Earl's own Hand to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, wherein he ſaid, *That however the Situation of the Affairs of* England, *and the Inſtances of the King compelled him to be a* Proteſtant *in Show, nevertheleſs his Heart ſtood firm with the* Catholicks, *and he would be ever ready to countenance them to*

1614. *The Favourite gives himſelf over to the Earl of* Northampton, *who countenances the Papiſts.* Wilſon. p. 74.

*Narration of the firſt 14 Years of* K. James.

Wilſon, P 79. Coke.

1614. *the utmost of his Power.* Upon this Letter the Parties accused were discharged. Nay the King reproached the Earl in such a Manner, as obliged him to withdraw to his Country-House, where he died soon after *. He declared in his last *Will* and *Testament*, that he had always been a *Catholick*, and would die in that Religion. Thus several Historians speak of him. But the Anonymous Author of the *Annals* of *James* I. and *Charles* I, who makes it his Business to vindicate these Princes, their Ministers and Government, in every Thing without Exception, forgets not to justify also the Earl of *Northampton*. He says among other things, that the Charge of being concerned in *Overbury*'s Murder was only a Rumour spread abroad after his Death, as if that were a certain Proof of his Innocence. As to the Earl's Religion, the same Author says, *He died suspected more* Catholick *than some will think reasonable, though in the Form of a* Church-Papist.

*Death of* North-ampton.

*Annals of* K. James, P. 4.

The Court was not so well-affected to the *Puritans* as to the *Papists*. The *Puritans* were looked upon as Enemies to the King and to Monarchy, but the *Papists* as hearty Wishers that the King might meet with no Opposition to his Will. This was sufficient to induce the Court to countenance the latter, and cause the former to endure continual Mortifications. In the Spring this Year some *Presbyterian* Families resolved to go and settle in *New-England*, in order to enjoy there that Peace which they could not find at Home. The Author I just mentioned about the Earl of *Northampton*, says, these People were notorious *Schismaticks*

*The Puritans are mortified.*

Wilson, P. 74.

*Annals of* K. James, P. 7.

* He died at the House he had built at *Charing-Cross*, called in his Life-time *Northampton House*, but leaving it to the Earl of *Suffolk*, it was for a Time called *Suffolk-House*, and now is *Northumberland House*. His Body was carried to be buried at *Dover*. He was *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*, and Constable of *Dover*-Castle; Lord *Privy-Seal*, and *Chancellor* of the University of *Cambridge*. It was vulgarly rumoured (says *Wilson*) that his Body was carried to *Dover* in order to be transported to *Rome*, P. 74.

*Schiſmaticks* of ſeveral *Sects*, known by the general Name of *Puritans*, which Term included *Good* and *Bad* in their diſtinct Kinds, truly and ingeniouſly diſtinguiſhed into the *Puritan-Knave*, and the *Knaves-Puritan*. As it was not impoſſible but by the increaſe of *Presbyterian* Families the *Engliſh* Plantations might become Nurſeries for *Non-Conformiſts*, the Court gave Orders not to let them go. But afterwards, ſuch as had a mind to remove beyond Sea being examined, ſome were allowed to continue their Voyage, and others were detained as Sureties for thoſe that went away. 1614.

It was now four Years ſince the King had called a Parliament. It was a great Comfort to him to have no Diſputes with a *Houſe of Commons*, ever ready to complain of *Grievances*, and to take Occaſion from thence to examine the Conduct of the Sovereign or his Miniſters. He liked it much better to command abſolutely and without controul. But this was attended with a great Inconveniency. He was forced continually to invent new Methods to raiſe Money, and theſe Methods grounded upon abſolute Authority, cauſed loud Murmurs among the People. Neither did theſe Ways and Means bring in ſufficient Sums for the King's Occaſions, who loved Magnificence, and was always ready to give. From hence ſprung his Wants, which increaſed without ceaſing, his Revenues as well ordinary as extraordinary not ſufficing for his Expences. One would have thought however, that he had an inexhauſtible Fund, ſo very profuſe was he, without conſidering how he ſhould get again what he gave away without any Occaſion. The following Inſtance of his Bounty may ſerve to ſhow his Character. Being one Day in the *Gallery* [ at *Whitehall*,] and no body with him but Sir *Henry Rich*, afterwards Earl of *Holland*, and *James Maxwel* [ one of his Bed-Chamber, ] ſome *Porters* paſſed by with Three Thouſand Pounds, going to the *Privy-Purſe*. *Rich* ſeeing the Money, turned to *Maxwel* and whiſpered

*The King's Profuſeneſs* Wilſon, p. 76.

Wilſon, p. 76.

1614. pered him. The King perceiving it, asked what he ſaid: *Maxwel* told him, *Rich* ſhould think himſelf very happy if he had ſuch a Sum. Whereupon the King calling to the *Porters*, ordered them to carry the Money to *Rich*'s Lodgings, ſaying at the ſame time, *You think now you have a great Purchaſe; but I am more delighted in giving you the Money than you can be in receiving it.*

*Remark on this Subject.* If the King had been thus laviſh out of his *Abundance* or out of his *Savings*, his Generoſity muſt have been Praiſe-worthy. But unhappily, in order to be thus profuſe to a few private Perſons, he gained the Ill-will of all the reſt of the Nation, and was forced to put in Practice, to raiſe Money, ſeveral extraordinary Methods, which were looked upon as ſo many *Grievances*, and loudly complained of as ſuch. What is more, he was under a Neceſſity never to call a Parliament, or to be upon ill Terms with the *Houſe* of *Commons*. *James* was however the *Solomon* of the Age, the Wiſeſt, moſt Prudent, and moſt Juſt of Kings. Theſe at leaſt are the *Epithets* generally beſtowed upon him, and which are even to be found in ſeveral Hiſtories penned ſince the Reſtoration of *Charles* II.

*Creation of Baronets. Annals of K. James, p. 8.* The King's exceſſive Liberality reducing him continually to Straits, he had recourſe at length to a Project formed by the late Earl of *Salisbury*. This was to create *Knights-Baronets*, a ſort of middle Nobility, between *Barons* and *Knights Batchellors*. Their Number was not to exceed Two Hundred: but the King at the firſt Promotion made a Hundred only *.

To

* They were to have theſe *Privileges* to them and their *Heirs* for ever; *Place* before all *Knights Batchellors* and of the *Bath*, and all *Bannerets*; to be *impleaded* by Addition *Baronet*, and the Title *Sir*, and their Wives *Lady*; the King ſhall not create any *Degree* under the Dignity of a *Baron*, that ſhall be ſuperior or equal to them; no more to be made, but the full Number of Two Hundred, until ſome die; but the younger Sons of *Viſcounts* and *Barons* (by Decree of the King and Council upon Controverſy) were

To purchaſe this *Honour*, which was to be Hereditary, every *Baronet* was obliged to pay to the King Two Thouſand Pounds. But in order to give ſome colour to this new Inſtitution, the *Baronets* were obliged by their *Patents* to maintain Thirty Foot-Soldiers in *Ireland* for Three Years, at Eight-pence a Day each Soldier *. Afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the King, and pay the whole Sum down in ready Money, part ſhould be abated, and the King would maintain his Troops in *Ireland* himſelf; and there was not one but what cloſed with this Offer. The Author of the *Annals* before-mentioned affirms, that the King receiving only about a Hundred Thouſand Pounds, loſt by the Bargain, the Maintenance of the Troops in *Ireland* amounting to a great deal more. So according to him, this new *Order* was inſtituted purely to eaſe the Subjects. 1614.

Beſides this Method, the King made uſe of others to fill his empty Coffers, without being obliged to have recourſe to the Parliament. I ſhall only juſt mention them, without pretending to determine whether the King exceeded his *Prerogative* or not. 1. The King by his *Letters-Patents* granted *Monopolies* to private Perſons excluſive of all others, and raiſed great Sums by theſe ſorts of Favours. 2. He iſſued out *Commiſſions* for reviving *obſolete Laws*, for making Men who could expend Forty Pounds a Year, to *Other Means to raiſe Money.* Coke.

were adjudged to take Place before them, and that their Heirs-Male at One and Twenty ſhall be *Knighted*, and ſhall have either a *Canton* in their *Coat of Arms*, or in a *Scutcheon*, at their Election, the Arms of *Ulſter*, *Argent*, a *Hand Gules*; their Place in the King's Armies to be in the Groſs, near the King's Standard for Defence thereof. *Annals of King* James, p. 8. There were made at firſt but Ninety.

* Which comes juſt to One Thouſand Ninety-five Pounds, and not Two Thouſand, as the Author ſays juſt before. And it has been cuſtomary for thoſe who have ſince been admitted into this *Order* without Money, to have a Receipt endorſed on their Patent for the ſaid Sum of 1095 *l.* to be appropriated to the ſame Uſes; and for want of ſuch Endorſement, ſeveral *Baronets* were compelled in King *Charles the Second's Time* to pay 1095 Pounds.

1614. compound for not being *Knighted*. Formerly an Eſtate of Forty Pounds a Year in Land was conſiderable: and therefore the Owners of ſuch an Eſtate were deemed proper to be made *Knights*, and as ſuch to ſerve the King in his Wars, or to find Soldiers. But in King *James the Firſt*'s Time, ſuch a Revenue was no great Matter: there were Thouſands who had more, but not caring to be *Knights*, choſe rather to give the King Money, than be obliged to receive an *Honour* which rendered them very dependent. 3. The King made a certain Number of *Knights of Nova Scotia*, each of which paid him ſuch a Sum. 4. The Dignities of *Baron*, *Viſcount* and *Earl* had a fixed Price ſet upon them. The King received for making a *Baron* Ten Thouſand Pounds, for a *Viſcount* Fifteen Thouſand, and Twenty Thouſand for an *Earl*. Thus, whoever had Money enough, might be made a *Peer* of the Realm. 5. The ſame *Honours* were rated likewiſe in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, though at a lower Price. 6. Thoſe who had defective *Titles* were obliged to compound with the King for ſetting them to Rights, otherwiſe they were declared null and void *. 7. The *Star-Chamber* condemned in exceſſive *Fines* to the King's Uſe ſuch as were cited thither. I have related ſome Inſtances already, and ſhall have occaſion to take notice of ſome others hereafter. 8. To all this may be added the Sums levied by the King upon his Subjects, when the Prince his Son was knighted, and when his Daughter was married.

He would have had alſo a good Means of raiſing Money, if he had demanded of *the United-Provinces* the Sums they owed him. But if we may believe certain Hiſtorians, he durſt not claim his Debt for fear of engaging in a War in caſe of Refuſal. A more probable Reaſon might be given, by ſaying the Places he held in *Holland* and *Zealand* kept the *States* in a ſort of Subjection, if he had not ſhown two Years

* And likewiſe Compoſitions for *Aſſart*-Lands, (*i. e.*) for grubbing the Thickets and Coverts for the Deer in *Foreſts*. *Coke*, p. 67.

Years after that this was not the true Reaſon, by receiving his Debt when offered him by the *States*. 1614.

*The King reſolves to call a Parliament.* Wilſon, P 77.

In fine, the King's Revenue not anſwering his Expences, recourſe muſt be had to a Parliament. The Earl of *Somerſet* having with him neither *Overbury* nor the Earl of *Northampton*, was at a Loſs which way to find the King Money, and the Lord-Treaſurer his Father-in-law was no leſs at a Stand. All extraordinary Means ſeeming to be exhauſted, they propoſed to the King the Calling of a Parliament. To induce him to it, they put him in hopes, that by their Intereſt and Management they would ſo order it, that the Majority of the *Commons* ſhould be at his Devotion. The King was very loth to conſent to it: but at length was prevailed with, and a Parliament was ſummoned to meet the 1ſt of *April*.

*The Parliament meets.*

This Parliament conſiſted not of ſuch Members as the King was made to expect. The People, who were diſcontented, choſe *Repreſentatives* of a quite different Character from what the Miniſters deſired. So far were they from ſuffering themſelves to be gained by the Practices of the Court. The very firſt Day, the King demanded an Aid of Money for the Marriage of his Daughter, and told the *Commons*, after they had diſpatched that Affair, he would give them leave to examine the *Grievances* of the Nation. But the *Commons* thought proper to invert the Method he preſcribed them, and begin with the *Grievances*. Inſtead then of granting the Money firſt, as the King expected, they fell upon examining to what Uſes the Revenues of the Crown had been put. The Reſult was, That the King had beſtowed on the *Scots* exceſſive Gifts both in Land and Money, and that the *Scots* having ſold theſe Lands to the *Engliſh*, had conveyed the Money into *Scotland*, to the great Detriment of *England*. If what the King had given to the *Engliſh* had been as carefully enquired into, it would have been found Ten-times more, by the

*The King demands Money.* Coke.

*The Commons examine the Grievances.*

1. *Grievances.*

*The King's Revenue put to ill Uſes.* Weldon, p. 59.

1614. Confeſſion of the Hiſtorians themſelves *: but herein was ſeen no Inconveniency at all.

*2 Grievance. Increaſe of Papiſts.* Then, the *Houſe* enquired into the Cauſes of the Increaſe of *Popiſh Recuſants*, conſidering, as was thought on the contrary, that the Laws enacted ſince the *Gun-Powder*-Plot, ſhould have very much leſſened their Number. The firſt Cauſe appeared to be the King's admitting into his Council *Popiſh* Lords, publickly known for ſuch. A Second were, the Negotiations abroad for the Marriage of the late Prince *Henry* and Prince *Charles* with *Popiſh* Princeſſes.

*3. Grievance. Monopolies.* After this, the *Commons* took into Conſideration the *Monopolies* authorized and licenſed by the King's *Letters-Patents*, to the great Prejudice of Trade; and the extraordinary Levies of Money, without the Conſent of the Parliament. Upon all theſe Grievances, it was reſolved to repreſent them in a Petition to his Majeſty, and to pray him to redreſs them, and eſpecially to hinder for the future the Settlement of the *Scots* in *England*.

*The Commons vote an Addreſs.*

*The Parliament is diſſolved.* Wilſon, p. 77. Coke. The harſh Carriage of the *Commons* was ſo different from that of the Courtiers, who never ſpoke to the King but with Admiration, that his Majeſty had not Patience to bear it. So, on the 7th of *June* he diſſolved the Parliament, after a Seſſion of about two Months, wherein not one *Statute* was enacted. The Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but the King committed to Priſon ſeveral Members of the *Houſe* of *Commons*,

*Some Members impriſoned.*

* Of this Sir *Anthony Weldon* gives a notable Inſtance. He ſays, *Salisbury* would make the *Scots* buy *Books* of *Fee Farms*, ſome 100 *l. per Annum*, ſome 100 *Marks*, and would compound with them for a Thouſand Pound, which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſs without any Controul or Charge; then would *Salisbury* fill up this *Book* with ſuch prime Land, as ſhould be worth Ten or Twenty Thouſand Pound, which, as Treaſurer, he might eaſily do, and ſo enriched himſelf infinitely, and caſt the Envy on the *Scots*, in whoſe Names theſe *Books* appeared, and are ſtill upon Record to all Poſterity, p. 60.

*Commons*, who had ſpoken the moſt freely, without admitting them to *Bail* *. 1614.

The Parliament not anſwering the King's Expectation, and his *Exchequer* being empty, there was a neceſſity of recurring to new Ways and Means to bring in Money. But before we ſpeak of theſe Means, it will not be amiſs to ſhow one of the chief Cauſes of the King's being reduced to ſtraits. I mean the Marriage of the *Electreſs* his Daughter, which had coſt him very near a Hundred Thouſand Pounds, according to the following Account inſerted in his Book by the *Anonymous* Author of the *Annals* above-mentioned. *Account of the Electreſs's Marriage-Expences.*

| | *l.* | |
|---|---|---|
| For the *Palſgrave*'s Diet at his ſtanding Houſe | 6000 | *Annals of K. James*, p. 9. |
| For his Diet at his Inſtalment of the *Garter* | 4000 | |
| For Diet at his Marriage | 2000 | |
| For Lodging for his Servants | 830 | |
| To the *Wardrobe* for Apparel for the Princeſs *Elizabeth* | 6252 | |
| For furniſhing her Chamber | 3023 | |
| Apparel and Neceſſaries for her to my Lord *Harrington*'s | 1829 | |
| Jewels and Apparels for her Servants | 3914 | |
| To divers Merchants for Silk, *&c.* | 995 | |
| The Lords Mask at her Marriage | 400 | |
| For the Naval Fight of Fire-Works on the *Thames* at her Marriage | 4800 | |
| More Fire-Works on the *Thames* at her Marriage | 2880 | |
| To Sir *Edward Cecil* as Treaſurer, for her Journey from hence to *Heidleburgh*, and for her Purſe | 2000 | |
| For ſettling her Jointure, and Charges to ſome of the Gentry to go thither and to take the Aſſurance | 800 | |

For

* This (ſays *Coke*) was the greateſt Violation of the Privilege of Parliament that ever was done by any King of *England* before, p. 79.

1614.

| | *l.* |
|---|---|
| For her Transport to *Flushing* ------- ------- | 5555 |
| Paid over to the *Palsgrave*'s Agent for her Portion -------- ------- ------- | 40000 |
| (a) Total -------- | 93294 |

*The King levies a Benevolence.* Wilson, p. 78.

The King resolving to call no more Parliaments, extraordinary Means were to be devised to supply his Wants, his ordinary Revenues being far from sufficient. To that End, certain Persons diligently raked into History, to find out what former Kings had done on the like Occasions, or when they had not Time to call a Parliament. Among all these Methods, the Court pitched upon the Way of *Benevolence*, invented by *Edward* IV, abolished by *Richard* III, and once revived, if I am not mistaken, by the Parliament itself in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. Nevertheless, the Author of the *Annals* I have often cited, pretends, that *James* only followed the constant Example of all his Predecessors; and upon these pretended Examples, as well as upon what is practised in *France* and *Spain*, he undertakes to vindicate him. But there would be too many Things to be said upon this Head, if one had a mind to insist upon it.

*Annals of K. James*, p. 10. Coke, p. 43.

The Resolution being taken not to demand barely but to extort a *Benevolence*, all the *Sheriffs* were ordered by the Council, to ask of all private Persons within their District a free Gift, in proportion to the King's Wants. At the same time they were expressly commanded to return to the Council the Names of such as should refuse to contribute, or should not give according to their Abilities. This is a clear Evidence that the King did not mean the *Benevolence* should

(a) Though this Account seems of little Moment, it may serve however to show the liberal Temper of the King, and his Opinion that the Parliament was obliged to find him Money for these Expences.

ſhould be entirely voluntary. This Method however was not ſo ſucceſsful as the King had expected. The more eager the *Sheriffs* and Court-Party were to excite the People's Liberality, the more induſtrious were others to diſſuade them from it, by ſetting before them the Conſequences. So, if we may believe the Author of the *Annals*, the *Benevolence* brought the King in but 52909 *l. which yet* (continues he) *madded the ill-minded Men* (*Pillars, ſo ſome called them, to the Kingdom's Liberties*) *always Plotters to the Kingdom's Miſeries, who being aſhamed to be out-done in Honeſty and Honour, they juſtly drew upon themſelves a Mark of Malignity ------- And yet they would be medling, deviſing poor Arguments, to pretend it was againſt the Subjects Liberties, though accuſtomed evermore by Examples of all former Sovereigns.* Others ſpeak of this Matter in a quite contrary Strain, and repreſent this way of raiſing Money upon the People, as a real Extortion and Incroachment on the Nation's Liberties. Thus do King *James*'s Hiſtorians run-counter to one another, not in Facts but in Principles, ſome reckoning as *Illegal*, what others maintain to be the *undoubted* Prerogative of the Crown. 1614. *Remark on K. James's Hiſtorians.*

The Money which accrued to the King from the *Benevolence*, though no great Sum, came however in Seaſon for the Reception of the King of *Denmark*, who made him a ſecond Viſit, with a Train of Forty Perſons only. During the Fortnight he ſtayed in *England*, Entertainments and Diverſions never ceaſed. *The King of Denmark's Viſit.* Wilſon. Annals.

Shortly after the King received with great Pomp the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador ſent by the *Czar*, to deſire him to be Mediator between him and the King of *Sweden*, upon Occaſion of their Differences. *The Ruſſian Embaſſy.*

Hitherto, the Earl of *Somerſet* engroſſed the King's Affection ſo entirely, that the Queen herſelf grew jealous. Some ſay, the Death of Prince *Henry* ſat heavy upon her Mind, and that ſhe ſuſpected him to be the Author of it. Others ſay only, that his Greatneſs had ſo blinded the Favourite, that he was wanting in his Reſpect to the Queen. However this be, *Project againſt the Favourite.* Wilſon, p. 79.

ſhe

1614. she had conceived a very violent Animosity against him, and to ruin him the more easily, she thought proper to gain Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who was Secretary of State, but without exercising the Office, at least in Matters of Importance, because the Earl of *Somerset* had taken upon himself the Management of every Thing. *Winwood* readily closed with the Queen to ruin this Lord, who left him only the Title of Secretary. This was one Step tending to the Revolution, which fell out the next Year.

Weldon, p. 93.

*Water conveyed to all parts of* London.

Before I end the present Year, I must not forget to mention the memorable Undertaking of Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, found Means to bring Water from *Hertfordshire*, to the principal Parts of the City, for the Conveniency of the Inhabitants *.

1615. *The King's Progress to* Cambridge. Coke. *Comedy called* Ignoramus.

The King was wont twice a Year to take a Journey into some Part of the Kingdom. These Journies were called *Progresses*, one whereof was made in Winter, the other in Summer. In his Winter-Progress, in the Year 1615, he passed through *Cambridge*, where the *Scholars* entertained him with a Comedy called *Ignoramus*, which turned the *Common-Law* into ridicule. Nothing could more hit the King's Humour. The *Civil-Law*, or the *Laws* made by the supreme Authority of the *Roman* Emperours, were in his Eyes of much greater Value than the *Common* or *Statute* Law; and he could not forbear now and then throwing out his Jests upon these last, which discovered the little Account he made of them. Wherefore he was so delighted with this Play, that he caused it to be acted twice before him, during the short Stay he made at *Cambridge*.

At

* He cut a Channel from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell*, in which the Water was conveyed to a large Pond at *Islington*, and from thence in Elm Pipes to all Places of the City.

At this Play it was that the King was ſtruck with a new Object, which made the ſame Impreſſion upon his Mind as *Robert Carr* did the firſt Time he ſaw him. This was *George Villiers*, a young Gentleman who appeared before him with all the Advantages of a good Mien, a fine Shape, and a handſome and well-made Suit of Cloaths. Every body perceived he looked upon this young Man with Pleaſure, and from that Moment it was thought *Villiers* might be able to ſupplant the Earl of *Somerſet*. And indeed with this view it was that certain Lords had brought him before the King, and placed him at the Play juſt over againſt him. 1614. George Villiers.

*George Villiers* was of a good and antient Family in *Leiceſterſhire*, Son of Sir *George* * *Villiers*, [ of *Brokeſby* ] by a ſecond Wife, who bore him Three Sons, of whom this *George* was the Second *1. After the Death of Sir *George*, his Widow married Sir *Thomas Compton*, Brother to the Lord *Compton* *2. As *George Villiers* was but a younger Son of a ſecond Bed, his Fortune could be but ſmall; nevertheleſs, his Mother took great care of his Education. After he had finiſhed his Studies, ſhe ſent him into *France*, where he made himſelf perfect Maſter of the *French* Tongue, with all the Exerciſes proper for a Gentleman, and eſpecially Dancing, wherein he excelled. When he came *His Extraction.* Wilſon, p 79. Coke.

* *Rapin* by miſtake calls him Sir *Edward*.

*1 My Lord *Clarendon* by miſtake ſays he was the Eldeſt. Vol. I. p. 9.

*2 *Mary Beaumont*, Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont*, younger Son to *William Beaumont* of *Cole-Orton*, Eſq; was entertained in Sir *George Villiers*'s Family, in a mean Office in the Kitchin; but taking notice of the beautiful and excellent Frame of her Perſon, he prevailed with his Lady to remove her out of the Kitchin into her Chamber. My Lady dying ſoon after, Sir *George* became ſo enamoured of *Mary*, that he married her, and at his Death left her a Jointure of 200*l.* a Year. This Account *Roger Coke*, Eſq; had from a Lady, whoſe youngeſt Siſter was married to the Viſcount *Purbeck*, eldeſt Son of Sir *George Villiers*, by *Mary Beaumont*. After Sir *George*'s Death, ſhe was married firſt to Sir *Thomas Rayner*, and afterwards to Sir *Thomas Compton*, Knight of the *Bath*. *Coke*, p. 80. *Dugdale*. *Weldon*.

1615. came back from his Travels, his Mother would have him go to Court to make himself known, and see to get Friends and a Place. He no sooner appeared there, but the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and some other Lords, Enemies to the Favourite, and who sought his Destruction, fancied this young Man might be subservient to their Design. They knew the King well enough to hope he would be wrought upon by the outward Accomplishment of this New-Comer. To that end they liberally supplied him wherewith to deck himself out, in order to attract the King's Eyes. Their Project succeeded to their Expectation. The King being at the Play, looked with Admiration on *George Villiers*, and could not help showing some Signs of his growing Inclination. He took care however to hide it as much as possible, that he might not alarm the Earl of *Somerset:* nevertheless, he resolved from that instant to have *Villiers* near his Person, imagining he might easily keep them both. So, in order to have time to manage this Affair, he privately caused *Villiers* to purchase a *Cup-Bearer*'s Place, and to be instructed how he should behave.

*Annals*, p. 30.

*Beginning of his Fortune.*

*He is made Cup bearer to the King.*

What care soever the King might take to conceal his new Affection, the Courtiers did not fail to discover it. *Somerset*, as most concerned, was harder to be deceived than the rest. His Office of Lord *Chamberlain* giving him a great Authority over the King's Servants, he did not want Opportunities to plague *Villiers*, and mortify him in some measure. *Villiers* bore all with Patience, and the King made as if he took no notice of it. But at last, an Accident happened which suffered not the King to dissemble any longer. It was customary for the Cup-bearer, whose Turn it was to be in waiting, to have the first Place at the Table where the Cup-bearers dined. *Villiers* having begun his Month, sat at the Upper-end during the whole Time of his serving, without any body's disputing it. But offering to sit in the same Place after his Month was out, the Person, whose Turn

*Adventure that befel* Villiers.

Turn it was to wait, thruſt him from thence ſomewhat rudely, which greatly confounded him. Some Days after, the ſame Cup-bearer carrying a Glaſs of Wine to the King, let it fall accidently or deſignedly on *Villiers*, who gave him a Box on the Ear. It is a Law of a long ſtanding at Court, that whoever ſtrikes another in the King's Palace, is to loſe his Right-Hand, with abundance of Formalities. It is the Lord Chamberlain's Buſineſs to ſee Crimes of this Nature puniſhed, and the Earl of *Somerſet* failed not to do all that lay in his Power to have the Law executed to the utmoſt Rigour. But the King granted *Villiers* a Pardon, without enjoining any Satisfaction to the Party offended. This was the firſt publick Mark he gave of his Affection for *Villiers*. 1615.

*The King gives him a great Mark of his Favour.*

From thenceforward, the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Enemies laboured inceſſantly to ruin him in the King's Favour, which they could bring about no better way than by cheriſhing the King's new Inclinations by their extravagant Commendations of *Villiers*. The Truth is, that even before he had ſeen *Villiers*, the King began to be weary of *Somerſet*, who was not ſo agreeable as when he was firſt taken into Favour. Since his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, he was given over to melancholly, whereof, in all appearance, *Overbury*'s Death was the Occaſion. He was grown more carleſs of his Perſon and Dreſs. He had loſt that Vivacity which rendered him ſo agreeable to the King, and his Temper, grown quite gloomy and ſullen, carried him harſhly to oppoſe ſome wanton and waggiſh Tricks which were now and then played in the King's Anti-Chamber, and wherein his Majeſty took a ſingular Pleaſure. Nay, he was become ſo ſelfiſh, that he did nothing for any one without Money. His Enemies omitted not to acquaint the King with it, or to hint the ſame to him, knowing how much it might help to make him forfeit his Favour, ſince there was no Vice more contrary to the King's Humour than Avarice. The Queen for her part ſlipped no Opportunity to do him ill Offices: So that,

*The King is diſguſted with Somerſet. Coke.*

1615. that, in all appearance, the Project of making *Villiers* the King's Favourite was formed altogether upon the visible Signs of the Earl of *Somerset*'s beginning to sink.

*The Queen is perſuaded to ſpeak for* Villiers. Coke. Abbot's *Vindication in* Rushworth. Anno 2. *of Chap.* I.

The whole Court perceived the Alteration in the King ſince his having *Villiers* about him, and every one ſtrove to thruſt the old Favourite down the Precipice. The beſt way to that End was to get the King to declare for *Villiers*: but here was a great Difficulty to be got over. The King, by a very groſs Piece of Deceit, would have no Favourite but of the Queen's recommending, that in caſe ſhe complained of him afterwards, he might ſay he had received him at her Hands. This was an Artifice of his Majeſty's, who fancied by ſuch a Device, he could impoſe upon the Queen and the whole Court. The Buſineſs then was to get the Queen to recommend *Villiers* to the King. But ſhe was already prejudiced againſt this young Man, and not ſeeing with the King's Eyes, ſhe perceived nothing in him worthy of ſo great an Advancement. It may be too, ſhe had thoughts of helping ſome other to this happy State. *Somerset*'s Enemies knowing how the Queen ſtood affected to *Villiers*, thought that none but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* could bring her to do what they deſired. The Archbiſhop, who neither loved nor valued the Earl of *Somerſet*, readily undertook to ſpeak to the Queen: but his firſt Attempt was in vain. The Queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the King's Temper, told the Prelate, that neither he nor they who ſet him at work knew what they did, adding, *I know the King better than you all, for if this young Man be once brought in, the firſt Perſons he will plague muſt be you that labour for him; yea, I ſhall have my Part alſo. The King will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may ſeem to be beholden to none but himſelf.*

Rushworth, p. 456. Edit. 1721. Coke, 83.

For this time the Archbiſhop could not prevail with the Queen; but afterwards he preſſed her ſo, that at length ſhe deſired the King to receive *Villiers*

as

as a Favourite. The King, who only waited for this, ſent immediately for *Villiers*, knighted him with the Prince of *Wales*'s Sword, and ordered him to be ſworn as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. *Somerſet*, who had notice of it, came out of Hand, and intreated the King to make *Villiers* a *Groom* only; but the Archbiſhop and other Lords beſought the Queen to compleat what ſhe had begun; and at laſt *Villiers* was admitted to the Poſt the King had at firſt ordered. As ſoon as he was gone out of the King's Preſence, he waited upon the Archbiſhop, and acknowledging that he was beholden to him for his Good-Fortune, deſired him to give him ſome Inſtructions how to carry himſelf. The Prelate told him, he had Three Leſſons to give him: Firſt, to pray to God without ceaſing for the King's Proſperity, and for Grace for himſelf to ſerve his Maſter faithfully. Secondly, to labour continually to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the King, Queen and Prince. Thirdly, to tell the King nothing but the Truth. Then he cauſed him to repeat theſe Three Leſſons before him, to ſee if he retained them. The King hearing of it was extremely well-pleaſed with it, and ſaid, theſe Leſſons were truly worthy of a Biſhop. The Queen's Prediction was but too fully accompliſhed with regard to the Archbiſhop, who was one of the firſt to whom *Villiers* became ungrateful. Mean while, *Villiers* being come to Court without a great Stock of Money, the King eaſily gueſſed he ſtood in need of a Supply. Had it been in his Power to follow his Inclination, this Supply would have been very conſiderable: but he was himſelf ſo deſtitute of Money, that a Preſent of a Thouſand Pound was all he could give at that Time.

1615. *He is made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber.*

*The Archbiſhop inſtructs him how to behave.*

*The King gives him* 1000 *l.*

After *Villiers* was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, ſeveral Courtiers adhered to him, in hopes he would ſoon get the better of his Rival. Others continued firm to the Earl of *Somerſet*, whether out of Gratitude, or for fear of ruining their Fortune by falſe Conjectures. Two Parties therefore were formed

*Two Parties are formed at Court.*

1615. at Court, which mutually croſſed one another upon all Occaſions. If the King had gone roundly to work and diſmiſſed *Somerſet*, Peace and Quietneſs would have enſued: but he had taken it into his Head to keep them both, not ſo much out of Love to *Somerſet*, of whom he was tired, as to avoid the Imputation of Inconſtancy. Thus the King ſtill affecting to ſhow he loved his old Favourite as well as ever, the Courtiers found themſelves very much at a Loſs. But *Villiers* daily ſtole the Hearts of the Courtiers from his Rival, by his noble and generous Way of ſerving all the World.

Coke, p. 84.

*The Earl of* Somerſet *procures a Pardon*; Wilſon, p. 80.

Mean while, the Earl of *Somerſet* perceiving that he daily declined in Favour, before all things thought of ſcreening himſelf from the Danger which he might be expoſed to by *Overbury*'s Murder. Though he well knew the King had not the ſame Affection for him now as formerly, he was in hopes however that as ſome ſmall Sparks yet remained, he ſhould be able to procure what at leaſt would free him from Uneaſineſs. So ſpying a favourable Opportunity, he caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, and repreſented to him, that having ſerved him ſome Years in a very ſlippery Poſt, it was a difficult Matter not to fall into ſome Miſcarriages, and therefore beſought him to grant him a general Pardon, which might ſecure him from the Malice of his Enemies. The King very readily complied with his Requeſt, and ordered as ample a Pardon as poſſible to be drawn up out of Hand. This was done accordingly; but whether through the Ignorance or Malice of the Perſon who drew up the Inſtrument, the King was made to ſay in it, that *he pardoned not only all manner of Treaſons, Murders, Felonies and Outrages whatever already committed, but alſo thoſe which ſhould be hereafter committed by the Earl of* Somerſet. The King ſigned this Pardon without any Scruple, and it may be without peruſing it. But the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* refuſed to put the Seal to it, ſaying, as there had never been an Inſtance of ſuch a Pardon, he ſhould incur a *Præmunire* if he paſſed it;

*But the Chancellor would not paſs it* Coke, 84.

it; and when he told the King the Reaſon of his Refuſal, he eaſily ſatisfied him he could not anſwer ſetting the Seal to the Pardon. Nothing was more eaſy than to draw up another without the Clauſe, which the Chancellor ſtuck at: but whether the Queen was againſt it, as ſome affirm; or whether *Somerſet* did not care to diſcover too far the Occaſion he had for a Pardon; or laſtly, whether, in the mean time, the King was informed of the Circumſtances of *Overbury*'s Death, nothing more was ſaid of the Matter. Indeed it is likely the King knew ſomething now of the Uſage *Overbury* had met with: but perhaps not enough to ſatisfy him of the Earl's Guilt. However this be, he began his Summer-*Progreſs* before the Affair became publick. 1615.

*Uncertainty of the Courtiers with reſpect to the Favourites.*

The King's Diſſimulation with reſpect to his two Favourites held the Court in continual Suſpenſe. Many were afraid of adhering to *Villiers*, for fear his Credit was not yet firmly ſettled. Others declared openly againſt *Somerſet*, in order to make a Merit of it with the new Favourite. *Winwood* was one of theſe, and ſtudied upon all Occaſions to thwart the Earl of *Somerſet*, who ſcarce had it in his Power to be revenged. During the whole *Progreſs* there were many Diſputes and Quarrels between the two Parties, to the King's great Diſguſt. At length, the fatal Blow was given at the Court's Return to *Royſton*.

*The King is informed of Overbury's being poiſoned.* Weldon, p. 94.

*Franklin*, who adminiſtred the poiſoned Gliſter to *Overbury*, made uſe, in compoſing the ſame, of one *Reeve* an Apothecary's Boy, who was afterwards ſent into *Flanders*, or perhaps run away from his Maſter. This *Reeve* being at *Fluſhing*, where ſome Buſineſs had brought Sir *William Trumbull* his Majeſty's Envoy at *Bruſſels*, got acquainted with ſome of his Servants, and whether unadviſedly or with deſign, informed them of what he knew concerning *Overbury*'s Death. The Servants telling their Maſter what they had heard, he examined *Reeve* himſelf, and having drawn from him what he deſired, found means to detain him at his Houſe. Then, he writ to *Winwood*,

1615. desiring him to get the King's Leave for him to come to *England*, because he had some Matters to reveal which he could not trust to Paper. Leave being granted, he acquainted *Winwood* with what he had learned, and *Winwood* told it the King, who commanded them both to keep it private till further Orders.

*He keeps it private.*

*He tries in vain to make his two Favourites Friends.* Weldon, p. 98.

Some time after the King being returned to *London*, wanted to reconcile his two Favourites together, that he might be freed from the continual Vexation occasioned by their Contests and those of their Adherents. He thought he had hit upon a notable Expedient to bring it about, by obliging *Villiers* to make the first Step, and desire the Earl of *Somerset*'s Favour and Protection. To that purpose he ordered Sir *Humphry May*, a Creature of *Somerset*'s, but one that kept very fair with *Villiers*, to go and tell the Earl, as from himself, that he was told from good Hands, *Villiers* would come and desire his Friendship and Protection; and therefore advised him to receive him civilly, and by giving the King that Token of his Compliance he would still be very much in Favour, though he must not flatter himself with reigning alone in the King's Affection. Sir *Humphrey May* having discharged his Commission, and perceiving the Earl of *Somerset* averse to follow his Advice, was fain at length to tell him in plain Terms, that what he had said was by the King's Order, and warned him to consider seriously the Consequence of a Refusal. About half an Hour after, *Villiers* came to the Earl's, and used these very Words: *My Lord, I desire to be your Servant and Creature, and to take my Court-Preferment under your Lordship's Favour, and your Lordship shall find me as faithful a Servant as ever did serve you.* To this so submissive a Compliment, the Earl returned this short and quick Answer, *I will have none of your Service, and you shall have none of my Favour. I will, if I can, break your Neck, and of that be confident.* These words exasperated the King exceedingly,

ceedingly, who from that inſtant reſolved to get rid of the Earl of *Somerſet*. 1615

It is hard to gueſs whether, in caſe the Earl of *Somerſet* had behaved with more Condeſcenſion to the King, and been Friends with *Villiers*, *Overbury*'s Affair would have been buried in eternal Oblivion. This ſeems at leaſt to be the Courſe the King had reſolved to take, if the Earl had been inclined to do what he deſired. Be this as it will, the King being come to *Royſton* in order to begin his Winter-Progreſs, expreſſed no Diſpleaſure againſt *Somerſet*, but lived with him juſt as he was wont, without the leaſt Sign of any Alteration in his Friendſhip. But ſome Days after he diſpatched in the Night a Meſſenger to Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, with a Letter, ordering him to make a Warrant to apprehend the Earl of *Somerſet* at *Royſton*, and his Counteſs at *London*, with *Franklin*, *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, and Sir *Jervaſe Elwes* Lieutenant of the *Tower*. The Meſſenger was ſent back to *Royſton* at four a Clock in the Morning, with an Officer of Juſtice to execute the Warrant. At his Arrival, the Officer found the King with his Arms about *Somerſet*'s Neck, who was juſt going to ſet out for *London*, and ſaying to him in an affectionate Manner, *When ſhall I ſee thee again*, Somerſet? At that very inſtant the Officer arreſted the Earl by Sir *Edward*'s Warrant, who exclaimed that ſuch an Affront was never offered to a *Peer* of the Realm in the King's Preſence. The King feigning to know nothing of the Matter, and being told what it was, ſaid jeſtingly, *Nay, Man, there's no Remedy, for if* Coke *ſends for me I muſt go too.* Then accompanying him to the Steps before the Door, he deſired him as he was going down to return ſpeedily, ſaying, he could not live without him. As ſoon as *Somerſet* was in his Coach, the King ſaid, in the hearing of ſome Perſons who told it again afterwards, *Now the Deel go with thee, I will never ſee thy Face more.* If this be true, it muſt be owned that it was a needleſs and

*Somerſet with the reſt of the Complices of* Overbury's *Death.* Wilſon, p. 81. Coke, p. 87.

*The King's extreme Diſſimulation.* Weldon, p. 102.

1615. very ſtrange Piece of Diſſimulation: but King *James* took delight in Things of this Nature.

*The King's Injunction to Chief Juſtice Coke.* Coke, p. 87.

At his coming to *London* the Earl of *Somerſet* was ſent to the *Tower*, his Counteſs and the reſt of the Complices having been arreſted and committed, whilſt he was on the Road. The ſame Day Chief Juſtice *Coke* going to *Royſton*, the King told him all he had heard from *Trumbull*, and enjoined him to ſearch into the Bottom of the Affair, without Partiality or Reſpect of Perſons. He concluded with ſaying, *God's Curſe be upon you and yours, if you ſpare any of them: And God's Curſe be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them.*

*The Guilty are condemned and executed.* Wilſon, p. 90. Weldon, p. 112.

*Coke* receiving ſuch ſtrict Orders, was very active in the Buſineſs. Nay ſome pretend he was too much ſo, and that finding among the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Papers, Indications of his being concerned in the Death of Prince *Henry*, he had not the Prudence to conceal them. However this be, moſt of the Parties accuſed were tried in the Months of *October* and *November*, and being found guilty were condemned and executed. Sir *Thomas Monſon*, who was arreſted alſo, appeared twice before the Judges, and at the ſecond Time *Coke* received a Note from the King which obliged him to ſend back the Priſoner to the *Tower*, with theſe Words, *Take him away, we have other Matters againſt him of a higher Nature.* It is ſaid, *Coke* cried out one Day, as he was ſitting on the Bench, *God knows what became of that ſweet Babe Prince* Henry, *but I know ſomewhat*, and then ſtopped ſhort. This gave Occaſion to think he had made ſome Diſcovery concerning the Prince's Death.

Weldon, p. 231.

Weldon, p. 106.

*Simon* [*Maſon*] Servant to *Monſon*, who had been employed to carry a poiſoned Tart to *Overbury*, being likewiſe brought before the Court, the Judge ſaid to him, Simon, *thou hadſt a Hand in this poiſoning Buſineſs.* *No, my good Lord* (anſwered *Simon*) *I had but one Finger in it, which coſt me all my Hair and Nails.* He had, it ſeems, out of liquoriſhneſs, as he was carrying the Tart, taken with his Finger a little of the Syrrup

Syrrup which ſwam a Top and taſted it. This ingenuous Anſwer cauſed him to be acquitted: for it was thought he would not have taſted of the Syrrup, had he known it to be poiſoned. 1615.

*The Earl of Somerſet's Trial.*

The Trial of the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Counteſs was put off till *May* the next Year, 1616, but that I may not be obliged to return to this Affair, I ſhall relate here the Circumſtances of the Trial. If we may believe Sir *Anthony Weldon*, Author of a little Book entitled, *The Court and Character of King* James, which is properly but a *Satyr*, the King had aſſured the Earl of *Somerſet*, that he ſhould not be brought to a Trial. For this reaſon, when *George More* Lieutenant of *the Tower* came and told him he muſt prepare for his Trial on the Morrow; he anſwered, That poſitively he would not appear, unleſs he was carried by force in his Bed. The ſame Author adds, that the King being informed of it, ſent him word, he could not hinder his appearing before the Judges, but would prevent the paſſing any Sentence upon him *. By this Artifice, ſays *Weldon*, the Earl was prevailed with to appear in Court, where he pleaded in his Defence from Eight a-Clock in the Morning, till Seven in the Evening, when, contrary to his Expectation, Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him, as guilty of *Overbury*'s Murder. The ſame Author ſays, the King was terribly uneaſy all that Day, neither was he at reſt till the News came of his Condemnation. This Author's Aim, in relating theſe and abundance of other Circumſtances which I have omitted, was to inſinuate that the King was afraid the Earl of *Somer-*

Weldon, p. 115, &c.

*He is condemned to die.*

* *Weldon* ſays, when *More* told the King how much he was ſurprized at *Somerſet*'s ſaying he would not appear, and that the King durſt not bring him to a Trial. The King falls into a Paſſion of Tears, and ſays, *On my Soul*, More, *I wot not what to do, thou art a wiſe Man, help me in this ſtrait, and thou ſhalt find thou doſt it for a thankful Maſter.* Whereupon *More* aſſures the King, he would do his utmoſt to ſerve his Majeſty, and leaving him, went and uſed the Stratagem above-mentiond. This Relation the Author ſays he had from *More*'s own Mouth. *Court of King* James, p. 115—117.

1685. *set*, to save his Life, would reveal some Secrets he had a Mind to keep concealed. But these Secrets are not explained, and probably are only Chimeras. If the King was apprehensive of any Thing from the Earl of *Somerset*, he would never have brought him to a Tryal, or commanded the Judge to examine him strictly. Nevertheless, though *Weldon* be satyrical, and there be no depending upon his Testimony, one cannot help seeing some Truth in what he relates, since the King's Conduct, after the Earl of *Somerset*'s Condemnation, discovers there was in this Business some Circumstances which perplexed and troubled him.

*The Countess is condemned also.*

The Countess of *Somerset* being brought before the Court, pleaded only with a Shower of Tears, which raised some Compassion in her Judges, but however, hindered her not from being condemned to die as well as her Lord.

*They are reprieved, and at length pardoned.*

The King granted them a Reprieve, which was often renewed till the Year 1621, when they had Liberty to go and live at a Country-Seat, without however being released from their Sentence. At last, in 1624, about four Months before the King's Death, a Pardon was granted them. After the Earl of *Somerset* was condemned, the King gave him four Thousand Pounds a Year in Land, which he took in his Servants Names. This noble Present, the Pardon granted the Earl, notwithstanding the Curse the King had denounced against himself and Posterity, if ever he pardoned the Guilty, his Restlessness during the Trial, the Note sent to the Chief Justice whilst he was trying Sir *Thomas Monson*, *Coke*'s imprudent Words concerning Prince *Henry*, and his Disgrace which fell out presently after, all these Things, I say, have given Occasion to King *James*'s Enemies to insinuate that he was conscious of some Guilt, and they have been pleased to apply the whole to Prince *Henry*'s Death. But besides, that all these Circumstances taken together could only form at most a bare Presumption, who can affirm them to be all percisely true? Amidst the perpetual Clashing which occurs among

Weldon. p. 120.

*Occasion of the King's being suspected to be concerned in Prince Henry's Death; with his Vindication.*

among the Authors who write of King *James* I. it is no eaſy Matter to know the Truth diſtinctly. Some paſs over in Silence Particulars which are chiefly inſiſted upon by others, or flatly deny Facts, which the others advance as inconteſtable. Some there are whoſe Aim was to give a very ill Notion of the Manners and Qualities of this Prince, whilſt others were deſirous to make him paſs for a very Wiſe, Juſt and Religious King. Some penned his Reign while the Civil War raged in *England*, or when the Monarchy was changed into a Common-wealth. Theſe thought they did their Country Service, by demonſtrating that the Project of enſlaving *England* was begun in the Reign of *James* I. and carried on in that of *Charles* I. Others wrote after the *Reſtoration* of *Charles* II, at a time when the Civil War was talked of only as an unnatural Rebellion, and when the fear of falling under an Arbitrary Government was termed an idle Notion. Hence ariſes the Difficulty of making a Choice amidſt all the Contrarieties among the Hiſtorians. Unhappily the ſame Parties are ſtill in being with the ſame Prejudices. So there is ſcarce any Hopes of ſeeing an impartial Hiſtory of *England*, from the beginning of King *James the Firſt*'s Reign, to our Time. Let a Hiſtorian turn which way ſoever he pleaſes, he will be looked upon as Partial, by one or other of the two Factions. This is a Remark abſolutly neceſſary as well for the Point in Hand, as for the whole Reign of *James* I, and ſtill more for thoſe that follow. 1615.

To finiſh what relates to the Earl and Counteſs of *Somerſet*, I ſhall briefly add, that their *Love* which had carried them to commit ſuch abominable Deeds, turned in the end to Hatred. They lived many Years together in one Houſe, as Strangers to each other, and at laſt the Counteſs died of an uncommon Diſeaſe. The Earl lived long enough to ſee his Daughter married to the Duke of *Bedford*, who had by her the Lord *Ruſſel*, beheaded in the Reign of *Charles* II. Wilſon, *p.* 83.

*Arabella*

1615. *Death of* Arabella Stuart. Annals, p. 17. Wilson, p. 90.

*Arabella Stuart* First-Couſin to the King, died in the *Tower* the 17th of *September* 1615, a little before the Trial of the Complices in *Overbury*'s Murder. Many ſeeing that on Occaſion of theſe Trials, Prince *Henry*'s Death began to be talked of afreſh, took it into their their Heads that this Kinſwoman of his Majeſty might be poiſoned alſo. This is what ſome Hiſtorians, Enemies to King *James*, have advanced, or at leaſt inſinuated, without any other Foundation than this malicious Report, grounded upon the Chimerical Project in the Beginning of the preſent Reign, of ſetting *Arabella* on the Throne. She was Daughter of *Charles Stuart* younger Brother to *Henry* his Majeſty's Father. Conſequently, ſhe could have only very remote Pretenſions to the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, which *James* enjoyed not by the Title of the *Stuart*-Family, from whence he was deſcended by the Father's Side, but by his Mother Queen *Mary*'s Right, to whom *Arabella* was only a very diſtant Relation. The King therefore muſt have carried his Suſpicions beyond all Imagination, to reſolve to diſpatch by Poiſon this Kinſwoman at a time when there was no Commotion either in *England* or *Scotland*, and when ſhe was actually in Priſon. The Cauſe of her Diſgrace was her privately eſpouſing without the King's Conſent, Sir *William Seymour*, Grandſon of the Earl of *Hertford*, for which reaſon the King ſent them both to the *Tower*, from whence ſome time after they made their Eſcape with Deſign to fly into *France*. *Seymour* had the good luck to get away: But *Arabella* was taken and ſhut up in the *Tower*, where ſhe died *.

*She is ſuſpected to be poiſoned. Vindication of the King.*

The

* Sir *William Seymour* upon his Marriage was committed to the *Tower*, but *Arabella* was confined to her Houſe at *High-gate*. After ſome time they appointed to meet at a certain Place upon the *Thames*, in order to fly beyond Sea. He leaving his Man in his Bed to act his Part with his Keeper, got out of the *Tower* in Diſguiſe, and came to the Place appointed. She dreſt like a young Gallant, followed him from her Houſe, but happening to ſtay beyond

1616. Villiers *rules all at Court.*

The Earl of *Somerſet*'s Affair having put an end to the Diſpute between the two Favourites, the Court was reſtored to its former Tranquillity, under the Management of *Villiers*, who engroſſed the King's Affection without a Rival. The new Favourite behaved in much the ſame manner as his Predeceſſor. He ſuffered himſelf at firſt to be guided by ſuch as he thought wiſer and more experienced than himſelf: But in time he looked upon himſelf as the moſt able Perſon in the Kingdom. His firſt Care was to diſmiſs by degrees the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Creatures, and confer the Places on his own Relations and Friends. Nothing elſe of Moment was tranſacted at Court for ſome Years, except the two ſtanding Affairs of this Reign, wherein the Promotion of the new Favourite made no Alteration. I mean the keeping up the Prerogative Royal, and the Methods of raiſing Money without the Parliament. The firſt of theſe two Points bred in the Year 1616, between the King and the Judges, a pretty ſharp Conteſt, the Occaſion whereof was this.

*Diſpute between the King and the Judges, concerning the Prerogative.* Annals, *p.* 17.

The King deſigning to give in *Commendam* a vacant Church *, it was diſputed in the Court of *Common-Pleas*, not only whether the King might give a *Commendam* to a Biſhop, either before or after his *Conſecration*, but alſo whether *Commendams* were to be granted without Neceſſity. The Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas* finding the Caſe difficult to be decided, deſired to have it further argued by all the Judges, as is uſually done in nice Points. The King, who was at *Royſton*, being informed of the Matter, commanded

yond the limited time, he went away, leaving Word if ſhe came he was gone before to *Dunkirk*. She, full of Fears, and lagging in her Flight, was apprehended and ſent to the *Tower*. After her Death Sir *William* got leave to come home, and married afterwards the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Earl of *Eſſex*. *Wilſon*, *p.* 90.

* *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, a *vacant Biſhoprick*. When a *Parſon* or *Vicar* is made a *Biſhop*, there is a *Ceſſion* of his *Benefice* by the Promotion: But if the King gives him Power to retain his *Benefice*, he is ſaid to hold it in *Commendam*.

1616. manded his *Attorney-General* [*Bacon*] to ſignify by Letters to all the Judges, that they ſhould put off the Determination of the Buſineſs till his Return. Notwithſtanding this Order, the Judges met and argued the Caſe. After which, with one accord, they ſigned a Writing, wherein they declared, they could not obey the King's Order, becauſe they were ſworn to have no regard to the King's Orders or Letters, in Matters which concerned private Perſons *. The King exaſperated at their Proceedings, returned them Anſwer by Letter, that it was not his intent to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice; but however he would not indure that under Colour of determining Matters between private Perſons, they ſhould attack the Prerogative Royal, or, *That any Perſon ſhould be allowed to diſpute or argue on that Head*: That the Argument drawn from their Oath was impertinent, ſince the Oath was injoin'd *by the Kings his Predeceſſors*, only to prevent the Importunities of *Suitors* [to the Prince,] and not to give the Judges Authority to determine in Points of *Prerogative*. He concluded with a peremptory Command, not to proceed till they had conſulted him.

It muſt be obſerved that in this Letter, the King took for granted two or three Things, which neither the Judges, nor the Generality of the *Engliſh* Nation did agree to. The Firſt, that no Perſon had a right to argue concerning the Extent of his *Prerogative*, ſince the Judges of the Realm, being conſidered as of a middle Nature between the King and People, were the only Perſons who could, and commonly did decide the Queſtions which were ſtarted upon that Head. The ſecond Thing was, That the Oath the Judges took at their Admittance into their Offices, was injoin'd by the Kings his Predeceſſors, for Juſtice-ſake, to avoid the Sollicitations of Suitors, whereas it

* They told the King their Oath was, *That in caſe any Letters come to them contrary to Law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to Juſtice.* Annals, p. 17.

it was the common Opinion that the Power aſcribed to the Judges of refuſing to obey the King's Letters, was given them by the whole Nation repreſented in Parliament *. The Third Principle was, that nothing ought to be decided *1 without conſulting him, as much as to ſay, their Determination was to be founded upon what he ſhould himſelf injoin. People for the moſt part affirmed, the King would thereby eſtabliſh a new Prerogative unheard of before in *England*. 1616.

*The Council decides in Favour of the King.*

The King being returned to *London*, ſent for all the Judges to the Council-Table, and reprimanded them ſeverely. He told them among other Things, that ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, he had obſerved that the Counſellors at the *Bar* *2, took the Liberty to *argue* the Extent of the Prerogative-Royal, which they trod upon under that Pretenſe, and it was the Judges Buſineſs to bridle this Inſolence in their reſpective Courts. Then ſpeaking of the Order he had ſent them, he told them roundly, there was no Reaſon that could excuſe their Non-Compliance *3. The King's manner of expreſſing himſelf terrified the Judges, who choſe rather to give way than reſiſt him to his Face. *Coke* alone conſtantly maintained that the King's Order being contrary to Law, they were not to blame for refuſing to comply with it. Whereupon the King ſaid with ſome Emotion, that whether they had done well or ill, he would not ſuffer his *Prerogative* to be conteſted. In fine,

* The Judges themſelves in their Anſwer to the King's Order by the *Attorney-General*, built their Non-Compliance upon two *Acts* of Parliament, 25 *Edward* III, and 25 *Henry* VIII. Annals, p. 17.

*1 In Matters of *Prerogative*. See the King's Letter. *Annals*, p. 17.

*2 And in the *Parliament-Houſe*. Annals, p. 17.

*3 He told them, deferring upon juſt and neceſſary Cauſe, was not delaying of Juſtice, and therefore his Order was not againſt Law, or their Oath. But Chief Juſtice *Coke* affirmed, that his Majeſty's ſtay was a delay of Juſtice. *Annals*, p. 18.

1616. fine, the Judges being withdrawn, the Council unanimously determined the Cafe in Favour of the King *.

*The People's Murmurs.* This Affair made a great Noise among the People. They who were already prejudiced against the King said, it was evident he intended to reign with an absolute Power: That not only he made no account of the Determinations of the Judges, but would not so much as indure that his *Prerogative* should be argued upon, and pretended to be sole Judge of the Extent of his own Authority. But others admired his Courage in maintaining the *Prerogatives* of the Crown.

*Coke is turned out.* Wilson, p. 94. Coke. It was not long before *Coke* felt the Effects of the King's Wrath. The Chief Justice having brought a Complaint in the *Star-Chamber* against the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer*, concerning an Order issued out of the Court of *Chancery*, and having lost his Cause *1 wherein he was accused, 1. of having wrongfully attacked the Lord Chancellor *2. 2. Of having [when *Attorney-General*] concealed a *Statute* of twelve Thousand Pounds due to the King from the late Lord-Chancellor

* That the King's desiring the Judges to stop Proceedings till they had consulted him, was not against the Judges Oath, or the *Common-Law*. As to *Commendams*, it was agreed by the Judges not to draw the King's Power into doubt. *Annals*, p. 18.

*1 Sir *Edward Coke* having it seems determined a Cause at *Common-Law*, the *Plantiffs* thinking themselves injured, brought the Business into *Chancery*: The *Defendants* refused to obey the Orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor for Contempt committed them to Prison. They petitioned against him in the *Star-Chamber*, the Lord Chief Justice joining with them, and threatning the Chancellor with a *Præmunire*. The Chancellor applies to the King, who sent to Sir *Thomas Bacon*, Sir *Henry Mantague*, &c. to search for *Presidents* of such as complained in *Chancery*, and were relieved according to *Equity*, after *Judgment* at *Common-Law*. They returned Answer, That it had been the constant Practice ever since *Henry the Seventh's* Time, after *Judgment* at *Common-Law*, and many Times after *Execution*. Upon which *Coke* is worsted, and brought upon his Knees at the *Council-Table*. Wilson, p. 95.

*2 This was the whole Cause. The rest of the Articles were added to it in order to humble him. *Wilson*, p. 95.

lor *Hatton*. 3. Of having ſaid in open Court, that his Majeſty was labouring to overthrow the *Common-Law* of *England*. 4. Of having behaved very inſolently to the King, in Caſe of the *Commendams*. The Lord *Treaſurer* upbraided him likewiſe before the Council, for ſuffering his Coachman to drive him bare-headed, a Privilege not granted even to the Lord *Chancellor* himſelf. As the King was diſpleaſed with him, that was Cauſe ſufficient to turn him out of his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*. *Coke* was extremely well verſed in the *Common Laws* of *England*, of which he wrore a Book highly eſteemed, and which is cited every Day in the Courts of Juſtice, and the High-Court of Parliament. But as he was one of thoſe who ſuſpected the King of aſpiring to Arbitrary Power, and as he thought it his Duty to oppoſe it with all his might, he could not be agreeable to the Court. 1616.

*The Lord Chancellor delivers up the* Great Seal. Annals, *p.* 20.

Preſently after the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmer* being taken very ill, which made him deſpair of being able to continue the Functions of his Office, deſired the King to confer it on another. But the King, without granting his Requeſt, ſent for the *Seal*, telling him, he would himſelf be his *Deputy*. And indeed, he kept the *Great-Seal* till *Elleſmer*'s Death, which was not till *March* the next Year. After that Sir *Francis Bacon* Attorney-General, was made Lord *Keeper*, and then *Chancellor*. He was a Man of great Abilities, as appears by ſome of his Works, but a ſervile Flatterer, cringing to thoſe who were in Favour, and exceeding haughty to ſuch as he believed he had no need of *.

Bacon *is made Lord Keeper.* Wilſon. Annals, Weldon, 130.

Prince

* *Weldon* ſays, *Villiers* ſent this Meſſage to *Bacon* when he was made Lord *Keeper*: That he knew him to be a Man of excellent Parts, but withal of a baſe and ungrateful Temper, and an arrant Knave, apt in his Proſperity to ruin any that had raiſed him from Adverſity; yet knowing how fit an Inſtrument he was for him, he had obtained him the *Seals*; but with this Aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him as he had done ſome others, he would caſt him down as much below Scorn, as he had now raiſed him above any Honour he could ever have expected. *P.* 125, 126.

1616. *Prince* Charles *created Prince of* Wales. Wilson, 91.

Prince *Charles* the King's only Son, was created this Year (a) *Prince of Wales*, with the usual Solemnities. The King had Thoughts of marrying him; but it was no easy Matter to find a suitable Match for him. There was never a *Protestant* Princess of Royal Extraction in *Europe*, and the King his Father could not bear the Thoughts of his taking to Wife any one under a King's Daughter. Several of his Predecessors had not been so difficult: But for his Part, he was extremely nice on this Occasion. He would have thought it a Disparagement to the Prince his Son to marry the Daughter of any *German*-Prince. He chose rather, contrary to all the Rules of good Policy, to seek him a Wife in a *House* sworn Enemy to the *Protestant* Religion, than to marry him to one of his own Religion, who was not royally descended. This Infatuation, if I may be allowed to call it so, is to be considered as the Source of the rest of the Occurrences of this Reign, and of all the Vexations which *James* had to endure, as well from Foreigners as his own Subjects. It may be farther added, that this made him better known than he was before, and in a manner not to his Advantage. He would have married his eldest Son Prince *Henry*, to *Ann* of *Austria*, who espoused afterwards *Lewis* XIII King of *France*: But having at last discovered that the Court of *Spain* carried on the Negotiation only to amuse him, he gave over his Design. The *French* King's Marriage being solemnized this Year 1616, *James* sent Ambassadors to *France* and *Spain* to congratulate the two Kings. The Lord *Hayes* a *Scotchman* was pitched upon for the *French* Embassy, and the Lord *Ross* for the *Spanish*. They had both Orders to sound the two Courts concerning the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the Princess, eldest Sister of *Lewis* XIII, or with the Infanta *Maria*, Daughter of *Philip* III. The Lord *Hayes* quickly found his Negotiation to be in vain

*The King thinks of marrying the Prince of* Wales *to a* French *or* Spanish *Princess.*

Annals, Wilson. p. 92.

(a) The 1st. of *November*. Others say the 4th.

vain, since the Princess of *France* was already promised to the Prince of *Piedmont*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*. 1616.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, and before the Lord *Ross*'s Arrival, Sir *John Digby*, his Majesty's Leiger Ambassador to *Philip* III, sent word to the King that the Duke of *Lerma* had made an Overture of a Marriage between the Infanta *Maria* and the Prince of *Wales*, and desired some private Instructions upon that Head. He advised him however not to break off the Negotiation with *France*, for fear the Duke of *Lerma*'s Offer should be an Artifice to create a Jealousy of him in the *Protestants*. *James* could the less doubt of *Digby*'s Suspicion, being well grounded, as Sir *Dudly Charlton* his Ambassador at the *Hague* had advertised him, that in order to weaken the good Intelligence between him and the *States-General*, a Report was spread that a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain* was on Foot, and in great forwardness. But he took no manner of notice of this Intelligence. On the contrary, he sent Orders to Sir *John Digby* to begin the Negotiation with *Spain*. At the same time, Count *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* received a Commission to treat with the King about the Marriage.

*He resolves for the* Spanish *Match.* *Annals*, p. 36.

*Annals*, p. 19.

*The* Spanish *Match is treated of.*

After *James* had taken this Resolution, he had not so much command of himself as to hide his extreme Desire to bring about this Match. Hence he gave occasion to the *Spaniard*, who had then no design to treat in earnest of this Affair, to feign that he passionately wished to conclude it to his Satisfaction, and to draw, from the Disposition he was in, considerable Advantages for the *House* of *Austria* and the *Catholick* Religion. By means of this same Desire it was that Count *Gondemar*, a Man of great Abilities, wrought himself so into the King's Good-liking, that for many Years together he made him do almost whatever he pleased, by putting him in fear that the Marriage would fall to the Ground, if he did not keep

James *is amused by the Court of* Spain.

1616. fair with the *Spaniſh* Court. We may judge of the Policy of that Court, by the Length of this Negotiation, which was made to laſt Seven Years. At firſt, the *Spaniard* had no other view than to hinder King *James* from concerning himſelf in the War of *Cleves*, and from aſſiſting the *Proteſtant* Princes. But in time, an Affair of greater Moment made it his Intereſt more than ever to amuſe the King of *England*, and to keep him, as one may ſay, at a Bay.

*The King's ſtrange Conduct*

Certainly *James*'s Conduct, who in the Opinion of ſome paſſes for the *Solomon* of his Age, was very extraordinary. Under colour of being at Peace with all the World, he meddled not with any foreign Affairs. He beheld, without Concern, *France* labouring openly the Deſtruction of the *Huguenots*, and growing daily ſo powerful, as to beget a juſt Occaſion of Fear in all States, and eſpecially the *Proteſtant*. Moreover, he expreſſed a ſtrong Deſire to be allied to *France*, by a Marriage which could not but be prejudicial to the eſtabliſhed Religion of *England*. In ſhort, if we examine his Management at Home, we ſhall be at a Loſs where to find the Capacity, the great Wiſdom which he thought himſelf bleſſed with. Without having any War upon his Hands, he had conſumed immenſe Sums, and alienated almoſt all the Crown-Lands, to enrich a Dozen of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Favourites, who had never done him any conſiderable Service. The Earl of *Somerſet* had, before his Diſgrace, amaſſed Two Hundred Thouſand Pound in Money, Plate and Jewels, beſides Nineteen Thouſand Pound a Year in Land, though he had been but five Years in Favour. The Earl of *Salisbury*, younger Son to the Lord *Burleigh*, who was never reckoned to have a great Eſtate, had left his Son as rich as any Peer in the Kingdom. The Earl of *Northampton*, younger Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, had built a ſtately Palace in *London* *, ſince called *Northumberland-*

Coke, p. 85.

* And alſo three *Hoſpitals*; one at *Riſing* in *Norfolk* for twelve poor Women and a Governeſs; a Second at *Clun* in *Shropſhire* for the ſame Number of Men; the Third at *Greenwich* in *Kent* for a Governour and twenty poor Almſmen.

*umberland-Houſe*, and left a vaſt Inheritanee to his Nephew the Earl of *Arundel*, though he had little or nothing from his Family. The Earl of *Suffolk*, youngeſt Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, had built in the Country a Seat, which coſt above Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds, and we may be ſure he did not lay out his whole Subſtance on this Structure*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Dunbar*, the Lord *Hayes*, had remitted great Sums into *Scotland*, and Sir *Henry Rich*, afterwards Earl of *Holland*, though a younger Son, had found means to raiſe an immenſe Eſtate. Amidſt all theſe Favourites ſo rich and powerful, the King was in extreme Want, continually giving more than he could afford, and making needleſs Expences, without ever taking any Courſe about his Treaſury. To all this was added a new Favourite, who muſt likewiſe be enriched, who was no leſs greedy than the reſt, and who had a numerous Kindred, whom he did not mean to leave unprovided for. Another Effect of the King's great Wiſdom was, his quarrelling with his Parliament, to maintain a *Prorogative* which he would have carried higher than any of his Predeceſſors had done, and his putting himſelf thereby under a Neceſſity of uſing Ways and Means to raiſe Money, which could not but alienate from him the Love of his People. Laſtly, let us add his Weakneſs, in ſuffering himſelf always to be governed by his Favourites, to a Degree that he could not or would not ſee but with their Eyes. At the Time I am now ſpeaking of, his Cabinet-Council conſiſted ſolely of the new Favourite, a young Man without Experience, through whoſe Hands never any Affair of Moment had paſſed, and who, notwithſtanding, thought himſelf the moſt able Man in the Kingdom *1. The Earl of *Suf-* 1616.

* *Audley-Inn* in *Eſſex*, the nobleſt Structure next to *Hampton-Court*, (ſays *Coke*) ever built by any Subject in *England*, which by moderate Eſtimates coſt above 190,000 *l.* *Coke*'s Detect. p. 85

*1 *Gondemar* is ſaid to tell King *James* in Raillery, *That he was the wiſeſt Prince in* Chriſtendom, *to make Privy-Counſellors ſage at the Age of Twenty-one, which his Maſter the King of* Spain *could not do till Sixty.* Sir E. P. p. 42.

1616. *folk* was more verſed in Affairs, though he was never reckoned a great Genius: but he was now upon the Decline of his Favour, *Villiers* being far from ſupporting the Father-in-law of the Earl of *Somerſet*. *Bacon*, Lord-Keeper, was well verſed in the Laws of the Land, and capable of giving good Advice: but he made it his whole Study to adapt himſelf to the King's Humour, and make his Court to the Favourite.

*He gives up the Cautionary-Towns for the third part of what is due to him.* Coke, 88.

The only Buſineſs which then employed the King and his Miniſters, was to find Money, and in plenty too, otherwiſe the King would have led a ſad Life. But all Methods ſeemed to be exhauſted, and they durſt not call a Parliament, the Wound given the impriſoned Members being ſtill too freſh to hope it was yet healed up. Mean while, the Treaty of the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the *Infanta* helped the King to an unexpected Means of procuring Money. Queen *Elizabeth* had ſettled, with the *States* of the United-Provinces, the Arrears they owed her, which amounted to Eight Millions of *Florins*. This Sum was due to *James* as *Elizabeth*'s Succeſſor. The *States* would have paid the Debt long ſince, had they not found their Account in remaining Debtors to *England*, becauſe they engaged thereby that Kingdom to ſupport them. But after the Twelve Years Truce was concluded, the Face of Affairs was ſomething altered. The *States* ſtood no longer in need of the King's Protection, and beſides, he held in their Provinces, Places which gave him Opportunity to treat them with Haughtineſs, as he had done in the Buſineſs of *Vorſtius*. It was time for them therefore to recover theſe Places, ſince they had not the ſame Reaſon to leave them in the King's Hands now, that they no longer dreaded *Spain* ſo much as they did before the Truce. But the Sum they were to pay was ſo conſiderable, that they waited for a favourable Opportunity which ſhould furniſh them with ſome Means to get part abated. This Opportunity offered not till the preſent Year 1616, which they embraced

the more eagerly, as they were under an urgent Neceſſity to withdraw their Towns out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The King treating about his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta*, it was to be feared the Reſtitution of theſe ſame Towns, to which the *Spaniard* laid claim, would be one of the Articles of the Marriage-Treaty, eſpecially as a *Clauſe* in the Treaty of 1604, between *England* and *Spain*, gave them juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion. On the other Hand, the preſent Juncture was favourable to them, becauſe the King's Coffers were quite empty, and there was no likelihood of his venturing to call a Parliament, by reaſon of the People's Diſcontent. All the Difficulty was to order it ſo, that the Offer of reſtoring the Towns ſhould come from the King himſelf, becauſe in that caſe the *States* might pretend Inability to pay ſo large a Sum, and that would naturally lead to a Negotiation to get part of the Debt retrenched. So, in order to bring the King to this, they left off for a time to pay the Garriſons of the Places in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, though, till then, they had punctually executed the Treaty which obliged them to it. The Garriſons complained, and the *States*, without however refuſing Payment, found ſeveral Pretences to put it off. Theſe Delays conſtrained the *Engliſh* Troops who were without Money to apply to the King, who was not in Condition to ſupply their Wants. He complained to the *States*, who replied with a great deal of Moderation, inſiſting upon the ill State of their Affairs, by reaſon of the vaſt Expence they had been at during the War. In a word, this Buſineſs came not to an Iſſue, and the *Engliſh* Garriſons continued all the while without their Pay. At laſt, *Caroon* the *Dutch* Envoy in *England*, hinted as of himſelf, to ſome one of the Miniſters, that he believed if the King made an Offer to the *States* to reſtore the Towns in his Poſſeſſion, they would do their utmoſt to diſcharge the whole Debt, by taking up Money at a high Intereſt. This Intimation ſucceeded as the *States* imagined. The King having no 1676.

1616. Money, and seeing a near Prospect of drawing from the *States* a large Sum, which the Courtiers had already devoured in their Thoughts, readily determined to give up the *Cautionary*-Towns. Pursuant to this Resolution he writ to the *States*, *That he knew them to be his good Friends and Confederates, both in point of Religion and Policy* *, *therefore he apprehended not the least Fear of Difference between them: In Consideration whereof, if they would have their Towns again, he would willingly surrender them.* Upon this Letter they sent Pensionary *Barnevelt* to the King, who knew how to manage this Affair so well, that they got off for Two Millions Seven Hundred Twenty-eight Thousand *Florins*, in lieu of Eight Millions, which they were bound to pay to *Elizabeth*, besides Eighteen Years Interest. By virtue of this Agreement, the *Cautionary*-Towns were delivered up to the *States* on the 14th of *June* 1616.

*Reflections to the K's Disadvantage.*

They who were not pleased with the Court, found great fault with this Treaty, which robbed the Crown of *England* of the Advantage of holding the United-Provinces in a sort of Subjection *1. It was said, that indeed *Elizabeth* was bound to give up these Places, upon payment of the Sums she had advanced: but there was no necessity to restore them for a great deal Less: That there was so much the less Occasion to hasten this Restitution, as the Garrisons of these Places were not kept at the Charge of the Crown; and if the *States* neglected to perform their Agreement with the Queen, the King should have made them feel they had not done it with Impunity. These things gained the King no Credit, and his Proceedings on this Occasion could not at the most but confirm

* Though (as *Coke* observes) the Religion of the *Dutch* was *Presbytery*, which the King hated, nor did ever imitate their Policy. *Vol.* I. *p.* 91 Coke's *Detect.*

*1 The *Cautionary*-Towns being *Flushing*, *Rammekins*, and the *Brill*, were deemed the Keys to the three famous Rivers, the *Scheld*, the *Rhine* and the *Maese*.

firm to him the Title of the *Pacifick King* *, which he affected above all others. But it was much worſe when it was ſeen in a very ſhort ſpace that the Money paid by the *States* was vaniſhed, without any one's being able to gueſs what was become of it. The King had payed none of his Debts: he ſuffered his Fleet to fall to decay, for want of Money to keep it in repair, and had ſent nothing to his Army in *Ireland*, which had not received one Penny for ſeveral Years paſt, and whoſe Wants had ſerved for Pretence to treat with the *States*. 1616.

*The Lord Treaſurer is accuſed of Miſmanagement.* Wilſon, p. 97. *Annals*, p. 22.

At length it was diſcovered that the Lord Treaſurer *Suffolk* had converted to his own Uſe good part of the Money received for the *Cautionary*-Towns. The Favourite omitted not this Opportunity to ruin a Man whom he could not look upon as his Friend, ſince he was Father-in-law to the Earl of *Somerſet*. The Lord Treaſurer then was accuſed in the *Star-Chamber* of ſundry Miſdemeanors in the Exerciſe of his Office, and eſpecially of having kept for himſelf great part of the Money received of the *Hollanders*. Sir *Edward Coke*, who was reſtored to his Place or had got another *1, was the Perſon who impeached him. He aggravated his Miſdemeanors, his Extorſions, his Miſmanagement of the King's Treaſure, his Boldneſs to apply his Majeſty's Money to his own Uſe, the inſatiable Greedineſs of his Counteſs, who took Bribes with both Hands, the Tricks and Artifices of his Deputy *Bingley* *2, to enſnare ſuch as had Buſineſs with his Maſter. After that, he cited many *Precedents* of *Treaſurers*, who in former Reigns had been puniſhed for ſlighter Crimes than thoſe of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and ſhowed the dangerous Conſequences reſulting from the ill Adminiſtration of the Treaſurerſhip, when it is not managed by upright

* *Rex Pacificus.*

*1 The King was ſo far reconciled to him, as to call him to the *Council-Board*. He had not his Place again. *Wilſon*, p. 97.

*2 Sir *John Bingly* was one of the *Tellers* in the *Exchequer*.

1616. Hands. If the Lord Treasurer had cast himself upon the King's Mercy, he would have come off at an easy Rate. But he would speak in his Defence, and not having done it to the Satisfaction of his Judges, he was fined Thirty Thousand Pound, and condemned to Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure, and *Bingley* was fined Two Thousand Pound. Till the King should make Choice of a Treasurer, that Office was executed by *Commissioners*, the first of whom was *Montague* the Favourite's Creature.

*He is fined 30,000 l.*

*Other changes at Court.*

The Earl of *Suffolk* was not the only Sacrifice to *Villier*'s Policy, who by degrees got rid of *Somerset*'s Creatures. Sir *John Bennet* Judge of the *Prerogative-Court* was turned out, and fined Twenty Thousand Pound. Sir *Henry Yelverton* the King's Attorney lost his Place likewise, as well as several others whom it is needless to mention. Secretary *Winwood* dying about this time, Sir *Robert Naunton* a Protestant, and Sir *George Calvert* a Papist, were made Secretaries.

*The King is ever full of his Prerogative.*

The Tranquillity the King enjoyed might have been looked upon as perfect, if the Fear of his Prerogative's being attacked had not continually disturbed his Repose. He might preach up and advance his Principles upon all Occasions as much as he pleased, no body minded him but his Courtiers and Dependants. For this reason he durst not call a Parliament, well knowing *the Commons* did not allow of his Maxims. He seems to have thought that it was pure Ignorance in the *English*, and that by frequently repeating to them what were the *Prerogatives* of Sovereigns, he should at length succeed in convincing them of the Truth of his Principles. This he took occasion to do in the Month of *June* this Year, in a solemn Assembly held in the *Star-Chamber*, on pretense of making known his Design, to correct certain Abuses which were crept into the Courts of Justice. He made there a very long Speech, full of Divisions and Subdivisions according to his Custom, and took for his *Text* these Words of *Psalm* lxxii. 1. *Give the*

*King*

*King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness to the King's Son* *.* 1616.

He begins with saying, "The *literal* Sense of these "Words runs upon *David* and *Solomon*, Godly and "Wise; the *mystical* upon *God* and *Christ*, Just and "Righteous; and from this Imitation all Govern-"ments, especially *Monarchies*, have been establish-"ed. *Kings* sit in the Throne of God, and thence "all *Judgment* is derived, from the *King* to the *Ma-"gistrates*, not *Privativé* but *Cumulativé*. So by "the Counsel of *Jethro* to *Moses*, the Judges were "deputed for *easier* Questions, the more *profound* "left to *Moses*; and in this manner all *Christian Kings* "govern, whereby appears the near Conjunction, "*God* and the *King* upward, the *King* and the *Judges* "downward; the *King* to settle the *Law* of God, "and his *Judges* to interpret the *Law* of the King". *The King's Speech in the* Star-Chamber. *Annals*, p. 23. Wilson, p. 99.

Then he teaches the Judges their Duty in administring Justice, and after dwelling upon abundance of common Places, he proceeds to the Limits prescribed them: "*Incroach not upon the Prerogative*; "*deal not in difficult Questions, before you consult with* "*the King and Council, for fear of wounding the King* "*through the Sides of a private Person*". Whereupon he takes occasion to commend some of the Judges for rebuking the popular Humour of certain *Pleaders* at the *Bar* who meddled with such Matters. "*That which concerns* (said he) *the Mystery of the* "*King's Power, is not lawful to be disputed, for that is* "*to wade into the Weakness of Princes, and to take* "*away the mystical Reverence that belongs to those who* "*sit in the Throne of God* *1".

After

* See the Speech at length in King *James*'s Works, p. 549.

*1 He farther says, "*The absolute Prerogative of the Crown is* "*no Subject for the Tongue of a Lawyer, nor is lawful to be dis-*"*puted. It is Atheism and Blasphemy to dispute what God can do:* "*good Christians content themselves with his revealed Will. So it*

"*is*

1616. After having ran through the ſeveral Courts of *Judicature*, and given his Opinion concerning each of them, he goes on, " It is the Duty of Judges to " puniſh ſuch as ſeek to deprave the *King's Courts*, " and therefore it was an odious and impertinent " Speech in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſay, that a *Præmu-* " *nire* lay againſt the *Court of Chancery*. I mean not, " the *Chancery* ſhould exceed it Limits, *but the King* " *only is to correct it, and none elſe*; and therefore I " was greatly abuſed in that Attempt: and for that " reaſon command that no Man hereafter preſume to " ſue a *Præmunire* againſt that Court".

He ſpeaks afterwards of the *Star-Chamber*, and ſays, " As a *Star* is a glorious Creature, next in " place to the *Angels*; ſo this *Court* is the moſt glo- " rious of all *Courts*, conſiſting of [ *Privy-Counſel-* " *lors*, ] *Judges*, *Peers* of the Realm, and *Biſhops*, " and conſequently the Learning of both Divine " and Human Law, the Experience and Practice of " Government are conjoined together in the Pro- " ceedings of this *Court*. He added, I have laboured " to gather Articles, like an *Index Expurgatorius* of " Novelties crept into the Law, look to *Plowden's* " *Caſes*, and if you find it not there, away with it".

Then he addreſſes himſelf to the Auditory, and gives them Advice with reſpect to the Law-Suits that were carrying on in the ſeveral Courts. " He chiefly " adviſes them in their *Pleas not to preſume to meddle* " *with things againſt the King's Prerogative or Honour*: If " they do, the Judges will puniſh them; and in caſe " the Judges do not, he muſt puniſh both them and " the Judges. *Plead not*, continues he, *upon new Pu-* " *ritanical Strains, that make all things popular, but keep* " *you within the antient Limits of Pleas*".

In

" *is Preſumption and high Contempt in a Subject to diſpute what a* " *King can do or ſay, that a King cannot do this or that, but reſt* " *in that which is the King's revealed Will in his Law*". King *James's* Works, p. 557.

In ſpeaking of *Recuſants*, that is, thoſe who refuſed to be of the *Church* of *England*, he ſays, "There "are three ſorts: The firſt are they, who inforced by "Law, come now and then to *Church*; theſe are "formal to the Law, but falſe to God (*a*). The ſe- "cond ſort are they that have their Conſcience miſ- "led, and therefore refuſe to come to *Church*, but "otherwiſe live as peaceable Subjects (*b*). The "third ſort are practiſing *Recuſants*, who force their "Servants and Tenants to be of their Opinion, theſe "are Men of Pride and Preſumption (*c*). He adds, "I can love the Perſon of a *Papiſt* ſo born and bred, "but an *Apoſtate Papiſt* I hate; ſuch deſerve ſevere "Puniſhment (*d*)*. I confeſs I am loth to hang a "*Prieſt* only for his Religion and ſaying *Maſs*; but if "they refuſe the Oath of *Allegiance*, I leave them "to the Law. 1616

He concludes his long Speech with exhorting the Judges to countenance the *Clergy* againſt the *Papiſts* and *Puritans*, adding, God and the King will reward their Zeal.

*Remark on this Speech*

It is eaſy to obſerve, as well in this as in the King's other Speeches in publick, and on ſundry Occaſions, Three Things which he had ever in view. The Firſt was, to eſtabliſh the Prerogative Royal according to his own Principles. The Second, to intimate, that the *Papiſts* muſt be let alone, provided they lived peaceably, and took the Oath of *Allegiance*. The Third was, to expreſs his Hatred of the *Puritans*, and to beget the ſame Averſion for them in the People. But it would be a great Miſtake, to aſcribe

(*a*) Theſe were the *Presbyterians*, of whom ſeveral made no ſcruple to be preſent at the Service of the *Church* of *England*.

(*b*) Theſe were the *Papiſts*, who were willing to ſwear *Allegiance*.

(*c*) Theſe were the zealous and furious *Papiſts*.

(*d*) There could be but few of theſe in the Kingdom.

* *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, a *Papiſt* in general. *King James's Works*, p. 567.

1616. aſcribe this Hatred to their refuſing to allow of the *Surplice*, the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, *Kneeling* at the *Communion*. Theſe were not the things that rendered them odious in his Sight. He fancied their Principles with reſpect to the Government of the *Curch*, made them Enemies to *Monarchy* in the *State*. For this Reaſon all Arguments againſt the Extent of the Royal Prerogative ſeemed to him to be founded on *Puritanical* Principles.

*Villiers is made Earl of Buckingham.*

On the 17th of *Auguſt* the King created Sir *George Villiers Baron of Brandſpach* and *Viſcount Whaddon* *, and on the 1ſt of *January* following he was made *Earl of Buckingham*.

1617. *Account of the Archbiſhop of Spalato. Wilſon, p. 102.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1617 arrived in *England Marco Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, who was come to make Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion in the Communion of the Church of *England*. As he was a Man already advanced in Years, and very corpulent, it was readily believed that no other Motive but that of Religion and Conſcience could have induced him to undertake ſo long a Voyage and quit his Archbiſhoprick. He preached and writ againſt the *Romiſh* Religion, and at length was preferred to the *Maſterſhip* of the *Savoy*, and the *Deanery* of *Windſor*. After ſome Years ſtay in *England* he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with by Count *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who put him in hopes of a *Cardinal*'s *Cap*, if he would go to *Rome*, and publickly abjure the *Proteſtant* Religion. This Man, upon the Brink of the Grave, being deceived by *Gondemar*'s Promiſe, went to *Rome* and abjured the Religion he had embraced in *England*, after which, inſtead of being a *Cardinal*, he was thrown into a Dungeon in the *Inquiſition*, where he died, and not-

* According to *Dugdale*, he was created *Aug.* 27. 1615. *Lord Whaddon*, the great Lordſhip of *Whaddon* in *Buckinghamſhire*, (then in the Crown by the Attainder of the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*) being given him at the ſame time. A little after he was created Viſcount *Villiers*, and on the 5th of *January* 1616, *Earl of Buckingham*.

notwithſtanding his Abjuration, his Body was publickly burnt *. 1617.

*The King is reſolved to compel the Scots to conform to the Church of England. Annals. p. 25.*

I have ſeveral times mentioned the King's Averſion to the *Puritans*, whoſe Government, which came very near the *Republican*, was directly contrary to the Principles he was ſtriving to eſtabliſh. Ever ſince his coming to *England*, he had kept the *Puritans* ſo low, that it was not in their Power to give him any Diſturbance. But the Church of *Scotland* was ſtill *Presbyterian*, to his great Mortification. Indeed *Epiſcopacy* was not entirely ſuppreſſed in that Kingdom: But it was at ſo low an Ebb, that the Biſhops had no manner of Juriſdiction. The ſeveral *Presbyteries* and the *General-Aſſembly* of the *Clergy*, had engroſſed the whole *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority, and left the Biſhops only an empty Name without Power. There were likewiſe many other Points wherein the *Scotiſh* Church differed from the *Engliſh*, ſo that *Puritaniſm* triumphed in *Scotland*, at the time it was looked upon in *England* as a ſort of Rebellion. *James* had then reſolved to put the Church of *Scotland* upon the ſame Foot with that of *England*: but being very ſenſible, the compelling the *Scots* all at once to a perfect Conformity with the *Engliſh* Church, would be too great an Undertaking, he had a Mind to bring them to it by Degrees. Purſuant to this Project, he had already ſent to the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, certain Articles which he deſired might be inſerted into the *Canons* of the Church, theſe Articles were:

1. For the future, the *Holy Communion* ſhould be received kneeling.

2. The *Euchariſt* ſhould not be denied to the ſick, with three or four Perſons to communicate with them.

3. *Chriſtmas*,

* It is ſaid that it was by his Means, and the Meaſures he had concerted with Father *Paul* before he left *Italy*, that Archbiſhop *Abbot* got that Father's Manuſcript *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent* tranſmitted in Parcels into *England*.

1617. 3. *Christmas*, *Easter*, *Ascension-Day*, and *Whit-Sunday*, should be kept as *Holy-Days*, and the Preachers should make choice of Texts suitable to the Occasion.

4. *Confirmation* should be practised after this manner, when the Children were seven or eight Years old, the Ministers should catechize them, and then the Bishops in their *Visitations* should *bless* them with Prayer for God's *Grace*, and the *Gifts* of the *Holy-Ghost* *.

As to this last Article, the King did not desire that *Confirmation* should be received in *Scotland*, as it was practised in the *Church* of *England*, because he was not very well satisfied of the usefulness of it. But as the Business concerned one of the *Episcopal* Functions, he would that the Bishops should have something at least to do in it.

*He meets with Opposition.*

The King's Aim being to compass his Ends by Degrees, he had pitched upon these four Articles as the least liable to give Offence to the Ministers, that he might leave them without Excuse in case they rejected them. The General-Assembly of the *Scotish* Church, perceiving the King's Drift, declared, that if the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* differed only in these four Articles, they might be received for Peace-sake; but as they were Innovations incapable of begetting a perfect Union, there was no Necessity of inserting them among the *Canons*. The King offended with this Refusal, resolved to compel the *Scots*, not only to receive these four Articles, but also many more which he had not thought fit to meddle with at first, being perswaded he had a Right, by Virtue of his Royal Authority, to impose upon his People of

* There were five Articles in all, the other which is placed third, was the Sacrament of Baptism, not to be deferred longer than the next *Sunday*, and in Case of Necessity to be administred in a private House, with Publication of the same the *Sunday* after in the *Church*.

of *Scotland* the Religion, which to him ſeemed the beſt. To that Purpoſe, he reſolved to go in Perſon to *Scotland*, under Colour of viſiting his native Country, where he had not been theſe fourteen Years. 1617.

*He takes a Journey into* Scotland.

Before he ſat out, he ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed in *Scotland*, wherein he ſaid, he was going to viſit his old Kingdom, *Not to alter the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State, but to reform certain Abuſes in the Church and Common-wealth.* At the ſame time, he ſent beforehand ſome Officers of his Houſhold all *Engliſh*, with Orders to adorn his Chapel at *Edinburgh* in the ſame manner as that at *Whitehall*; and theſe Men forgot not to carry with them ſome Pictures and even Statues of the Apoſtles. As ſoon as they began to adorn the Chapel, the People of *Edinburgh* exclaimed at the ſight, ſaying, *Images were begun to be introduced, and the Maſs would quickly follow.* Annals, p. 28.

*He treats the* Scots *with Haughtineſs.*

The King being come to *Berwick*, prorogued the Parliament of *Scotland*, that he might open it himſelf, as he actually did with a long Speech, according to Cuſtom. In order to conceal his real Deſign, he propoſed ſeveral Things; among which he did not forget the Article concerning Religion, the only Point he purſued in good earneſt. He contented himſelf at firſt with requiring that ſuch a Number of *Commiſſioners* ſhould be appointed to examine and *ſettle* the Affairs of Religion. The Parliament conſenting to his Demand, the King ſtaied not for the Parliament's nominating the Commiſſioners, but choſe them himſelf, and appointed the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, and the *Clerk of the Rolls*, who were all three his Creatures. But as the Parliament ſcrupled to ſtand to this Nomination, he fell out in a great Paſſion, thinking it very ſtrange they ſhould pretend to name others, after he had made known his Pleaſure. In ſhort, as they durſt not reſiſt him to his Face, he obtained whatever he had a Mind to.

*He gets an Article paſſed which gives him by full Power.*

Theſe *Commiſſioners* ſettled out of Hand an Article, after which there was nothing more to be examined. The Article was, *That whatſoever ſhould be concluded*

1617. *by the King and the Bishops in Matters of external Policy, should be an Ecclesiastical Law.* The King himself had dictated this Article, *Not* (said he) *that I am against the Advice of the grave and learned Ministers, but to be over-ruled, as in your former General Assemblies, I will never agree; the Bishops must rule the Ministers, and the King govern both in Matters not repugnant to God's Law.* Thus the King plainly showed, that since his being King of *England*, he claimed in *Scotland* a greater Authority than he had before.

*Protestation against this Article.*

Mean while, the Ministers in and about *Edinburgh*, perceiving that by the Prevarication of the *Commissioners*, their *Church* was going to be pulled down, since the King was impowered to make what Alterations he pleased, met together to consult how to help it. They found no other Remedy than a *Protestation* against the Article passed by the *Commissioners*, and when they had drawn it up, they committed it to one *Hewet*, to present it to the King. *Hewet* being come into his Majesty's Anti-Chamber, in order to execute his Commission, the Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s civily accosted him, desiring him to let him see the *Protestation*, which the Minister readily did. As soon as he had it in his Hands, he would have put it up in his Pocket, but *Hewet* seized the Paper, and thus striving, they could not help making some Noise. Upon which the King coming out and hearing the Occasion of the Bustle, spoke so roughly to the Minister, that the poor Man all in a fright, fell upon his Knees and begged Pardon, protesting never more to meddle in the Affair.

*He summons the Ministers, and makes a harsh Speech to them.*

But though the King had got what he wanted of the *Commissioners*, he found however he should never obtain his Ends without the Consent of the Ministers, especially as their *Protestation* was publick, and many Copies which continually increased, were already dispersed. He addressed therefore to the Bishops, an Order to summon the Ministers to meet on the 10th of *July*, at St. *Andrew*'s, where he would come and speak to them in Person. The Ministers obeying the Summons,

Summons, the King called them all to Witneſs how great his Care had been for the *Church* of *Scotland* ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, adding, he ſought no Thanks for the Zeal he had for the true Worſhip of God, and decent Order in the Church. Then he told them, that before he began his Journey for *Scotland*, he ſent them four Articles to be inſerted in their *Canons*, but they rejected them, and yet he was ſilent: And lately, having deſired it might be declared, that by Virtue of his Prerogative, he had Power to make *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, they mutinyed and proteſted againſt him: However he was very willing to paſs by all theſe, with many other Affronts received at their Hands. *But now*, continued he, *my Errand is to know your Arguments, why this ſame Power ought not to be granted. Reaſon ſhall ever guide me; and if my Demands are ſo* Juſt *and* Religious *too, I will not be refuſed, nor reſiſted.* He ſpoke theſe laſt Words knitting his Brows, and looking at them, ſays the Author of the *Annals*, with a majeſtical and ſtern Eye, which made them all fall down on their Knees. Then going on, he ſaid, *It is a Power innate, a Princely ſpecial Prerogative which* Chriſtian Kings *have, to order and diſpoſe external Things in the outward* Polity *of the* Church, *as we with our* Biſhop's *Advice ſhall think fit. And*, Sirs, continued he, *for your approving or diſapproving, deceive not your ſelves, me you ſhall not; I will have my Reaſon not oppoſed.* 1617. P. 29.

*They demand an Aſſembly General.*

The Miniſters ſeeing how peremptory the King was, deſired leave to go and confer among themſelves. Their Requeſt being granted, they returned in a few Hours, with a *Petition* for a *General-Aſſembly*, that what his Majeſty propoſed might be received with common Conſent. *Ay*, ſays the King, *but what Aſſurance have I of their conſenting?* Whereupon ſome of them ſaid, they ſaw no Reaſon to the contrary. *But*, ſays the King, *if the* General-Aſſembly *be of another Mind, and your Reaſon now be none of theirs then, and the Articles are rejected, my Difficulty will be the greater; for when I ſhall hereafter put my own Au-*

1617. *thority in use, I shall be pulpited a* Tyrant, *a* Persecutor; *Ye were wont to do so.* Then all cried out that none durst be so mad. *Yet Experience tells,* (says the King) *that it hath been so; therefore unless I be sure, I shall not grant your Assembly*

*The King refuses it.*

*He grants it afterwards.*

It was easy to perceive however, that without an *Assembly*, the King could not possibly compass his Ends. Though he should have extorted the Consent of the Ministers then with him, it would have been to no Purpose, seeing they were not authorized. And if the King had been minded to get these Articles passed by an Order flowing from his absolute Power, he must have been sure first of the Obedience of his Subjects, or at least of a sufficient Authority to compel them, both which were equally difficult, not to say impracticable. So the King having considered the Thing more maturely, agreed at length that a *General Assembly* should be held at St. *Andrew*'s in the Month of *November*. In the mean while, *Simson* the Minister, who drew up and signed the *Protestation*, was committed to *Edinburgh*-Castle, and *Catherwood*, who carried Letters to other Ministers to incourage them to adhere to it, was banished. After this the King returns to *England*.

*He is not satisfied with the Assembly.*

The *General-Assembly* which was held at St. *Andrew*'s in *November*, resolved to defer the admitting of the four Articles, till such time as all the Churches of the Kingdom were informed of the Matter, and so broke up. The King was extremely incensed, and looking upon this Delay as a Contempt of his Authority, ordered the Payment of the Ministers *Stipends* to be stopped for a Year *. But finding this only exasperated the People, and retarded his Design, he gave leave at length that another *General-Assembly* should be held at *Perth*, in the Month of *August* the next Year. And here by fair or foul means, he obtained

*He grants another, wherein he obtains his Desire.*

* And commands the *Bishops* of St. *Andrew's* and *Glascow* in their own Persons to keep *Christmas-Day* next, preaching upon *Texts* proper for the Time. *Annals, p.* 29.

tained the Churches Conſent to the four Articles. But withal, he ſowed in *Scotland* the Seeds of thoſe Troubles, which diſtracted the Kingdom in the following Reign, and deprived the King his Son and Succeſſor both of Crown and Life. Thus his Zeal againſt the *Puritans* cauſed him to caſt off the Principles of Equity and Moderation, which he thought ſo reaſonable in the Caſe of the *Catholicks*. He would not force the Conſcience of theſe, provided they lived like good Subjects: But the *Presbyterians* muſt comply, though never ſo much againſt the Grain, to whatever he ſhould think fit. What I have ſaid upon this Subject, is taken almoſt Word for Word out of the *Annals* ſo often mentioned, the Author whereof cannot be ſuſpected of having repreſented Things to the King's Diſadvantage. 1617.

Before he left *Scotland*, the King made the Earl of *Buckingham* Privy-Counſellor of that Kingdom, he having been ſo in *England* for ſome Time.

*Buckingham is made Privy Counſellor of Scotland.*

Whilſt the King was on his way to *London*, he received a *Petition* from ſome *Servants*, *Labourers*, *Mechanicks*, and other vulgar Perſons, complaining that they were debarred from *dancing*, *playing*, *Church-Ales*, in a Word, from all Recreations on a *Sunday* after *Divine-Service*. Whereupon it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the *Puritans* had a Mind to perſwade the People that ſuch Diverſions were contrary to the Regard due to the *Lord's-Day*. That theſe Men went upon erroneous Principles, namely, that *Chriſtians* were obliged to keep the Day of reſt with the ſame Strictneſs as the *Jews*, and therefore affected to call *Sunday* the *Sabbath-Day*. This was a ſufficient Inducement to the King to condemn this *Puritanical* Scruple, and the rather as he had none himſelf about theſe Matters. A Book therefore was publiſhed in his Name, wherein he maintained by ſeveral Arguments, that Paſtimes on *Sundays*, after *Evening Service*, were allowable, and withal commanded that none ſhould be hindered or diſcouraged from any lawful

*A Petition preſented to the King concerning Recreations on* Sundays. Wilſon, *p.* 105. Annals, *p.* 31.

*The King publiſhes the Book of* Sports.

1617. Recreations. This Book * made a great Noiſe, and they were not all *Presbyterians* who exclaimed againſt it *1. Many Church-Men, and particularly the Lord-*Mayor* of *London*, who, in ſpite of the Prohibition, commanded the King's own Carriages to be ſtopped as they were going through the City on a *Sunday* *2. But the King himſelf, regardleſs of theſe Murmurings, and willing to ſupport what he had done, injoined all Miniſters to read his *Book* publickly in their Churches; and thoſe that refuſed were ſeverely puniſhed by the *High-Commiſſion*. Some pretend that this Order was a Snare to entrap certain Miniſters, who though *Puritans*, made no Scruple to be of the *Church of England*, and to preach their *Doctrines* there *3.

*It makes a great Noiſe.*

*He orders it to be read in all Churches.* Wilſon, *p.* 105.

Theſe were the Affairs of the moſt importance then in *England*. The King, as I ſaid, never concerning himſelf in any foreign Matters, left the Government of the Kingdom to the Care of his Miniſters. The Earl of *Buckingham* was the Head Manager: He ruled with an abſolute Sway both in *Church* and *State*, diſpoſing of all Places and Preferments. If we may believe certain Authors, he beſtowed nothing without Money or a yearly Penſion *4. As the King

Buckingham *rules all.*

Weldon, *p.* 129.

* It was called the *Book of Sports*. No *Recuſant* was to have the Benefit of this Liberty.

*1 There were ſeveral Biſhops that declared their Opinion againſt the *Book of Sports*.

*2 The Court was to remove next Day to *Theobald's*. It put the King into a great Rage, *Swearing he thought there had been no more Kings in* England *but himſelf*. Cooling a little, he ſent a *Warrant* to the Lord-*Mayor*, ordering him to let them paſs, which he obeyed with this Anſwer, *While it was in my Power I did my Duty, but that being taken away, it is my Duty to obey*. The King upon ſecond Thoughts took this well, and thanked him for it. *Wilſon, p.* 106.

*3 Archbiſhop *Abbot* being at *Croydon* the Day it was ordered to be read in Churches, flatly forbad it to be read there, which King *James* winked at, notwithſtanding the daily Endeavours that were uſed to irritate the King againſt him.

*4 Chancellor *Bacon* paid a Penſion, Attorney-General *Heath* paid a Penſion, Dean *Bargrave* paid a Penſion, *Fotherby* Biſhop of *Sarum* paid 3500 *l.* with many others. Not were *Fines* or *Penſions*

King was always in want, the Favourite was obliged to find means to maintain and even inrich his numerous Kindred, who flocked to Court to partake of his Greatneſs. Not to return to theſe Matters again, I ſhall ſay here all at once, that the Favourite's elder Brother was made *Viſcount Purbeck*, his younger Brother, *Earl of Angleſey*; his Mother, though a *Papiſt*, was created *Counteſs of Buckingham*, without her Huſband's enjoying the ſame Honour. In a Word, all his Female Relations were matched into the richeſt and moſt noble Families of the Kingdom. The Favourite's Mother being a *Papiſt*, and ruling her Son, who was properly of no Religion at all, with the ſame eaſe as himſelf governed the King, it was no Wonder that the *Papiſts* conceived great Hopes and ſwarmed in the Kingdom. The King gave himſelf but little Trouble about it. As long as a Man took the Oath of *Allegiance*, and was not *Puritan*, every Thing elſe was indifferent to him. He was almoſt wholly taken up with his Diverſions, and as he went a hunting very frequently, his Admirers pretended he took thoſe Times to conſider of the Affairs of the Government *. 1617.

*The Papiſts ſwarm in* England.

Annals, p. 31.

I ſhall cloſe the Events of the Year 1617, with the ſed Cataſtrophe of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. He had been a Priſoner twelve Years, ever ſince his Condemnation, during which Time he employed himſelf in compiling his *Hiſtory of the World*. At laſt he obtained his Liberty, though without the King's Pardon. As his Eſtate was all forfeited, and given to the Earl of *Somerſet*, he was very much at a Loſs when he came

*Account of Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Death*. Wilſon, p. 112. Annals, p. 31. Coke.



*ſions* certain; but where Men were Rich, there *Fines* without Reſervation of *Rent*; where Poor, there *Penſions*, no *Fines*. There were Books of *Rates* (*Penſions* and *Fines*) on all *Offices*, *Biſhoppricks* and *Deaneries* in *England*. *Weldon*, p. 130.

* Much of his moſt ſerious Affairs (ſays the Author of the *Annals*,) were ſhadowed from the *Vulgar*, nay from the obſerving *Politician*, by his publick Paſtimes. P. 31.

1617. out of Priſon *. The Court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a ſtrange Country to him. For this Reaſon, he formed the Project of ſeeking his Fortune in diſtant Climates. He had formerly traverſed the Seas of *America*, and knew all the Coaſts, particularly that of *Guiana*. Nay, 'tis ſaid, he ſet up Marks to direct him again to a certain Place where was a *Gold Mine*, and that *Keymis* his old Servant *1 brought him from thence a Piece of Ore, which made him think the *Mine* was very rich. However this be, as he knew not where to lay his Head, he found means to acquaint the King that he knew of a very rich *Mine* in *America*, from whence he hoped to bring Mountains of Gold, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to grant him a private Commiſſion. The *Mine* lying in a Country belonging to the *Spaniard*, it could not be ſeized without breaking the Peace with *Spain*. Nevertheleſs the King, tempted no doubt with the Golden Hopes *Raleigh* inſpired him with, granted him a Commiſſion, directed to *Our beloved and faithful* Walter Raleigh *Knight*, &c *2. 'Twas ſaid afterwards, the King granted the Commiſſion with this Limitation, that he ſhould do no Damage to the Subjects of *Spain*. But how would it have been poſſible to bring away Gold from a *Mine* on *Spaniſh* Ground, without doing them Damage ?

However *Raleigh*, by virtue of his Commiſſion, ingaged ſeveral Perſons in his Project *3. He was ſupplied with Money wherewith he fitted out twelve Sail *4, and departed in the Month of *Auguſt* 1617, in

* He had been releaſed about two Years, though the Reaſon is not known.

*1 Captain *Keymis*, *Maſter of Arts* of *Baliol College*, *Oxford*, had been his Companion in the *Guiana* Voyage, in the Year 1595. *Rapin* by Miſtake calls him his Footman.

*2 *Dilecto et Fideli.*

*3 As Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *John Fern*, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Chudleigh* of *Devonſhire*, Major *Pigot*, Captain *Thornhurſt*.

*4 Two of his Ships deſerted before he reached *Guiana*.

in ſearch of the *Mine*. At his Arrival upon the Coaſt of *Guiana*, he found not the Marks he had left there, neither could he know again the Place he thought he had ſo well obſerved. He detatched however his Son and Captain *Keymis* with five Ships *, to ſail up the River *Oronoquo* as high as poſſible, in order to diſcover the Mountain where the ſuppoſed *Mine* lay. The Mountain not appearing, the *Engliſh* landed, and putting the *Spaniards* to flight who oppoſed their Deſcent, purſued them to the Town of St. *Thomas*, which they took and plundered. Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Son was killed in the Aſſault. Then leaving a Garriſon in the Place, they advanced farther into the Country, without being able to find the ſo much deſired *Mine*. At laſt, weary with ſearching, they returned to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who finding himſelf diſappointed of his Hopes, threatened *Keymis* with the King's Indignation, and ſome Days after *Keymis* was found dead in his Cabin *1. The Sailors, vexed at this ill Succeſs, loudly complained of their being drawn into a *chimerical* Project, and compelled Sir *Walter* to ſail back for *England*. When they arrived at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, he would have perſwaded them to go with him into *France*: But inſtead of liſtening to his Propoſal, they carried him againſt his Will to *Plymouth*, where he was taken up by the King's Orders, and conveyed to the *Tower* of *London*. 1617.

During his Abſence *Don Diego de Sarmiento*, *Count of Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England*, making great Complaints about Sir *Walter*'s Commiſſion, which was become Publick, the King found no better way to appeaſe him than by diſowning it, or at leaſt by aſſuring that *Raleigh* had expreſs Orders not to act againſt the *Spaniards*. *Raleigh* returning without Gold, his Cauſe was ſo much the worſe. Be-

* And five Companies of *Foot*, commanded by his Son and the Captains in the Note above. Sir *Walter* himſelf was ſick, and ſo weak as to be carried in a Chair.

*1 He firſt ſhot himſelf, but that not doing his Buſineſs, he thruſt a Knife into his Body up to the Halft and expired. *Wilſon*.

1617. sides, the Ambaſſador boldly demanded that he ſhould be puniſhed, and let the King know there was no other way to continue the Treaty of the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the *Infanta*. Whereupon the King determined at length to ſacrifice *Raleigh* to the *Spaniard*. But as he could not be tried upon his late Expedition, for which he had a Commiſſion in form, it was reſolved he ſhould loſe his Head by virtue of the Sentence given againſt him Fourteen Years before. In vain did he plead that his Commiſſion, wherein the King ſtiled him *faithful Servant*, and gave him Power of Life and Death over thoſe who were under his Command, was equivalent to a Pardon. The Judges told him, *That Treaſon could not be pardoned but by expreſs Words*. So, without being called to an account for his late Expedition, it was ordered that the former Sentence ſhould be executed (*a*).

Thus died Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Seventy-ſeventh Year of his Age. He was a Man that deſerved a better Fortune, and had a large Share of Merit. He had alſo ſome Faults, which are leſſened or aggravated in order to render his Execution more or leſs odious, according as the Hiſtorians are for or againſt King *James*. Moſt certain it is, he fell a Sacrifice to the mortal Hatred the *Spaniards* had conceived againſt him in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, and to the unfortunate Deſire the King was poſſeſſed with, of accompliſhing the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

1618. *The People complain of the King and the Adminiſtration.*

After *James* came to the Crown of *England*, the *Engliſh* lived in Peace with all their Neighbours, without being diſturbed by any War. The King and his Miniſtry pretended this was the chief Point of Government, and that nothing was a greater Evidence of the Capacity of thoſe who ſat at the Helm, than to know how to cauſe the Subjects to live in Peace. Nevertheleſs the People were not ſatisfied. Many affirmed, that this Maxim held not good when carried too far, and that it often happens War is no leſs neceſſary

(*a*) He was not beheaded till *October* 29. 1618.

ceſſary than Peace for the Welfare of a Nation. It was diſliked that the King ſhould let the *Hollanders* fiſh upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, without asking Leave of the Governour of *Scarborough* as they were wont before they had recovered their *Cautionary*-Towns. It was thought no leſs ſtrange, that they ſhould be ſuffered to come upon the Coaſt with a Fleet of Men of War to ſupport their Fiſhery, as if they meant to bully the King, and let him ſee they would fiſh on his Coaſt in ſpite of him; and it was openly ſaid, it was no great ſign of Ability to preſerve Peace, by bearing ſuch Affronts. It was complained of alſo, that the King deſerted the Cauſe of the *Proteſtant* Religion, at a Time when *France*, the Emperour, King of *Spain* and Pope, were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to deſtroy it, wherein they had but too great Hopes of ſucceeding, ſince *the Defender of the Faith* ſat down unconcerned. The King's extreme Jealouſy with reſpect to his *Prerogative* was another and great Occaſion of Diſcontent. It did not appear wherein this ſame *Prerogative* had been incroached upon: but it was plain, as it was thought, he intended to ſtretch it beyond what any of his Predeceſſors had done. It was conſidered, he had impriſoned ſeveral *Members* of Parliament, purely for inſiſting in *the Houſe* upon the People's *Grievances*: had granted divers *Monopolies*: and raiſed Money upon the Subject without Conſent of Parliament: That his Speeches to *the Houſes*, to the *Judges*, and in the *Star-Chamber*, tended only to exalt the *Regal* Authority, and make it, as it were, equal to God's, from whence it was inferred, that he deſigned to deſtroy the *Conſtitution*. People could not behold without Indignation a young Man of Twenty-five governing the whole Kingdom without controul; diſpoſing of all Preferments in favour of his Relations and Friends; inveſted with the Office of Lord High-Admiral, though he had never been at Sea except from *Dover* to *Calais*; and laſtly, honoured with the Title of *Marquiſs of Buckingham*, without ever having done the *State* any Service during the

1618. Coke. *Addreſs to the Freemen.* Pref.

*The People complain alſo of the Favourite.* Wilſon. Coke.

two

1618. two Years he had been at Court. These two Dignities were lately bestowed on the Favourite; the first, by the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Resignation, who had amassed great Sums, and got a Pension for the Residue of his Life. But there were still farther Complaints. It was said, the Court gave a very ill Example to the whole Kingdom: Nothing was heard there but Blasphemy and Oaths, and the King himself was not free from this Vice: That one of the two *Secretaries* of State was a *Papist*, as well as the Favourite's Mother; that although it was not known what Religion her Son was of, yet his Debaucheries were visible to all the World, and gave Offence to every body: *Papists* were seen to increase daily: The Prince's Marriage with a *Papist*, Daughter to the mortal Enemy of the *Protestant* Religion, plainly showed how little the King had at Heart the Concerns of Religion: That if any one represented to the King or the Ministers the Inconveniencies which might flow from such a Match, he was silenced by being told, it was an Attempt upon the Prerogative Royal, and that every Man who, without a Call, entered into the Government's Secrets, was guilty of Rebellion.

*The King is not satisfied with the People.*

But on the other Hand, the King was no less offended with this Boldness in censuring his Conduct, as if a King was to be guided by the Humours of his Subjects. What vexed him most was, that the *Puritans* were not the only Persons who dared to complain of the Government, but that even the greatest Friends to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* could not bear with an arbitrary Power in the *State*. The Parliament itself had plainly showed him how far they were from submitting to any Laws but those which had been current hitherto.

Thus the King and People were alike dissatisfied. It is true, the King seemed to have a great Advantage; there was no Parliament, and therefore no Man had Authority to arraign his Conduct openly: but then, Money did not flow into the *Exchequer* so plentifully as under the Kings his Predecessors, who knew how

to

to manage the Parliament. Nevertheleſs, he choſe to go without any, or to procure it by ſuch means as increaſed the People's Diſcontent, rather than run the Hazard of ſeeing the Parliament queſtion his *Prerogative*, of which he was ſtrangely jealous. He comforted himſelf however with the Hopes of ſpeedily concluding his Son's Marriage, which was to bring him in a Dowry of Two Millions. It is certain the Court of *Spain* had offered that Sum: but I han't been able to diſcover what ſort of Money was meant. I imagine the King left that undetermined, on purpoſe to have an Opportunity of prolonging the Negotiation as much as he pleaſed, and of breaking it off at laſt when he thought proper. 1618.

*The Spaniard's Aim in the Negotiation of the Marriage.*

When a Man conſiders the King of *Spain*'s Management with reſpect to the Marriage, he cannot help thinking that he did not intend to conclude it, either at the time the Negotiation was ſet on Foot, or long after. At firſt, his ſole Aim was to amuſe King *James*, and hinder him from meddling in the Affair of the Succeſſion of the Duke of *Cleves*. The Emperour had a mind either to keep that Dukedom for himſelf, or to give it to ſome Prince of his Family, under colour of holding it in Sequeſtration till the Diſpute was decided. But the *States* of the *United-Provinces* avoiding this Snare, ſeized part of the Country in queſtion, proteſting to reſtore it to the Perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged. Beſides, they openly protected the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was one of the chief Claimants, and a *Proteſtant*; as on the contrary, the *Houſe* of *Auſtria* favoured the Duke of *Newburgh*, who was turned *Catholick*. On this Pretence, Prince *Maurice* on the one ſide, and *Spinola* on the other, endeavoured to become Maſters of the Country, and it became a kind of religious War, wherein *England*'s not interpoſing was of great Conſequence to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. Upon this Account it was that *James* was decoyed by the *Spaniard* with the Hopes of the Marriage and Dowry of Two Millions.

Pretences

1618. *Convention for the Prince of* Wales's *Marriage with the* Infanta.

Pretences were not wanting to ſpin out the Negotiation. The Marriage of a *Catholick* Princeſs with a *Proteſtant* Prince, required that care ſhould be taken to ſecure to the *Infanta* the Liberty of profeſſing her Religion, in a manner becoming the Princeſs of *Spain*. This was the only Article agreed upon at firſt, the two Courts being of Opinion, that before this was ſettled, it was in vain to bring the reſt upon the Carpet. As it was the *Spaniard*'s Intereſt to lengthen the Negotiation, ſo was it his Buſineſs to ſatisfy King *James* of his Sincerity, that he might keep him all the while at a Bay. To that purpoſe, after a Two Years Debate, fearing at laſt that *James* might be diſcouraged, he agreed with *Digby* and *Cottingham* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors upon five Articles, the Firſt whereof helped him to the Means of ſpinning out the Treaty as long as he pleaſed, or even of breaking it off entirely, when he ſhould find it his Intereſt to wear the Mask no longer. The Articles were theſe.

*Annals of* James I. p. 37. Ruſhworth. Vol. I. p. 4. Edit. 1721.

1. That the Pope's Diſpenſation be firſt obtained by the mere Act of the King of *Spain*.

2. That the Children of this Marriage be not conſtrained in Matter of Religion, nor their Title prejudiced in caſe they prove *Catholicks*.

3. That the *Infanta*'s Family, being Strangers, may be *Catholicks*, and ſhall have a decent Place appointed for *Divine Service*, according to the Uſe of the *Church* of *Rome*; and the *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Religious* Perſons may wear their proper *Habits*.

4. That the Marriage ſhall be celebrated in *Spain* by a *Procurator*, according to the Inſtructions of the *Council* of *Trent*; and after the *Infanta*'s Arrival in *England*, ſuch a Solemnization ſhall be uſed, as may make the Marriage valid, according to the Laws of this Kingdom.

5. That ſhe ſhall have a competent Number of *Chaplains*, and a *Confeſſor*, being Strangers, one whereof

whereof ſhall have power to govern the Family in Religious Matters. 1618.

*The King ſigns theſe Articles.*

Theſe Articles being tranſmitted to *England*, the King in allowing and ſigning them, thus expreſt himſelf: "Seeing this Marriage is to be with a Lady "of a different Religion from us, it becometh us to "be tender, as on the one Part to give them all Sa-"tisfaction convenient; ſo on the other, to admit "nothing that may blemiſh our Conſcience, or de-"tract from the Religion here eſtabliſhed". I confeſs I do not ſee how this Maxim agreed with the ſecond Article. For the firſt, he ſuppoſed as a previous Thing the Pope's Diſpenſation, which was ſeveral Years in coming, and at laſt came clogged with Additions and Limitations, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

*King Philip's Reaſons for ſpinning out the Negotiation.*

Hitherto the *Spaniard* in prolonging the Negotiation had only the Succeſſion of *Cleves* in view. But this Year the Affairs of *Germany* and *Bohemia* began to be in a Way which gave ground to fear a Religious War would be kindled in thoſe Countries. Here was a freſh Reaſon for the *Spaniard*'s amuſing King *James*, leaſt he ſhould take the *Proteſtants* Part, and ſend them a powerful Aid. For the better Underſtanding of what is to follow, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to know how Matters then ſtood in *Germany* and *Bohemia*.

*Affairs of* Germany. *Annals*, p. 38.

As for *Germany*, it ſuffices to ſay in two Words, that for ſome time there had been great Jealouſies and mutual Suſpicions between the *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*. Theſe laſt complained, That they could not have Juſtice either either from the Emperour or the *Imperial Chamber*. The *Catholicks* complained in their turn, That the *Proteſtants* were continually endeavouring to extend their Privileges beyond what the Laws of the Empire allowed: That after pretending to be ſatisfied with a bare *Toleration*, they had aſpired to an Equality, and not content with that, had plotted to baniſh the *Catholick* Religion out of all *Germany*.

On

1618. On this Pretence it was that the *Catholicks* had entered into a Confederacy, which caused the *Protestants* to do the like. The *Protestants* being assembled at *Hailbrun*, the Emperour *Matthias* wrote to them, exhorting them to dissolve their League. But they thought not proper to submit to his Advice, by reason their League was only Defensive, and the *Catholicks* did not offer to break off theirs. This was an Occasion for the *Spaniard* to amuse King *James*, in order to hinder him from siding with the *Protestants* of *Germany*. But the Troubles which arose this Year in *Bohemia*, supplied him with one of much greater Conquence. And this is what I must explain here as briefly as possible, because this Affair had a perpetual Influence upon what remains of the present Reign.

*Affairs of* Bohemia. *Apology of the States of* Boh. *Hist. of the Reb. of* Boh.

In *Bohemia* were two Religions established by Law; the one was called *sub unâ*, and the other *sub utrâque*. The former was professed by the *Catholicks*, who *communicated* in one Kind only; the latter by the *Hussites*, who received the *Eucharist* in both Kinds, and who, since the Reformation, were become true *Protestants*. I have spoken elsewhere of the religious Wars which afflicted that Kingdom in the Reign of the Emperour *Sigismund*. It is sufficient therefore to add here, that this Emperour could not get himself owned for King of *Bohemia*, but by granting the *Hussites* an *Edict*, whereby, among other Privileges, it was decreed there should be no Magistrate or Inhabitant in *Prague* but what was of their Religion. This *Edict* granted in the Year 1435 was kept till 1570, when, by Order of *Maximilian* II, a *Catholick* was made Citizen of *Prague*. Another of the same Religion obtained the same Favour in 1599, and withal, a Place in the Magistracy. After that time, *Sigismund*'s Edict was very frequently broke, and at last the *Jesuits* were admitted into *Prague*, and built there a stately College. Thus by degrees the Number of the *Catholicks* was considerably augmented in the City, by means of the Governours and the Emperour's other Officers who were all of the same Religion. The more they

increaſed, the higher they carried their Pretenſions, 1618.
and at laſt, if we may believe the *Apology* publiſhed afterwards by the People of *Bohemia*, there was nothing but continual Breaches of the *Edict* of *Sigiſmund*. However, in the Reign of *Rodolphus* II, the *Proteſtants*, by the Interceſſion of Prince *Matthias*, obtained of the Emperour a ſecond *Edict*, which under colour of confirming their Privileges, put them upon a ſort of Equality with the *Catholicks*, though for Fifty Years ſpace they had enjoyed the Superiority. Nevertheleſs, this Equality was as much as they could expect, conſidering the preſent Juncture of Time. But however, though it was far below their antient Privileges, the Emperour's Officers in *Bohemia* thinking ſuch an *Edict* prejudicial to the *Catholick* Religion, refuſed to publiſh it, affirming, it was extorted from the Emperour whilſt he was at War with the *Turk*. It is very likely they were privately countenanced by the Court of *Vienna*.

*Rodolphus* II dying in 1614 *, his Brother *Matthias* ſucceeded him, both in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Imperial Dignity. Under this new King the Privileges of the *Proteſtants* were violated more openly, and with greater Haughtineſs than under the laſt, if any Credit is to be given to their *Apology*. But this was not all, *Matthias* having adopted his Nephew *1 *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, had a mind alſo to help him to the Crown of *Bohemia*. The Execution of this Project would doubtleſs have been very difficult, had not the Emperour uſed Artifice in the Caſe. *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, *Upper* and *Lower Luſatia*, being parts of the *Bohemian* Dominions, had a Right to ſend Deputies to the Aſſembly of the States of that Kingdom. But as theſe Countries were *Proteſtant*, their Deputies very probably would ſide with thoſe of *Bohemia*, of the ſame Religion, and fruſtrate the Emperour's Deſign. And therefore he convened the States

* In 1612.

*1 He was his Couſin only, being Son to *Charles*, younger Bother to his Father *Maximilian* I.

1618. States of *Bohemia* without ſummoning the others. The *Proteſtants* complained of this Innovation, and refuſed for the moſt Part to ſend Deputies to the Aſſembly of the States, that they might not authorize it. This was the thing the Emperour foreſaw and wiſhed: for the *Catholick* Deputies being the Majority, *Ferdinand* was declared *Matthias*'s preſumptive Succeſſor, and ſhortly after crowned at *Prague*, after which he went and reſided at *Gratz*. The *Defenders*, for ſo they called a certain Number of Perſons of Note, choſen and appointed by the States to ſee the *Edicts* put in Execution, perceiving the Deſigns of the Imperial Court, ſummoned the States purſuant to the Power they were inveſted with, and forgot not to call the incorporated Provinces. This Aſſembly only drew up a *Petition* to be preſented to the Emperour, wherein the States demanded the Execution of the Laws of the Kingdom, and a reaſonable Satisfaction for the Injuries done them. Mean while, as they could take no Reſolution before they received the Emperour's Anſwer, they adjourned to the *Monday* after *Rogation-Week*, in the Year 1618.

*Ferdinand of Auſtria is declared Heir to Matthias.*

*The Bohemian States preſent a Petition to the Emperour.*

The Emperour was ſo far from being inclined to ſend a favourable Anſwer to the States *Petition*, that he ordered his Lieutenant in *Bohemia* to hinder the next Seſſion of the Aſſembly which had been called without his Licence. But the Lieutenant was not ſtrong enough to execute the Order. This Oppoſition ſerving only to exaſperate the States, who were aſſembled on the Day appointed in the College of *Charles* IV, they went in a Body to the *Chancery*, and ſeizing the Emperour's Officers, picked out Three, and threw them out of the Caſtle-Window *. After that, they drove the *Jeſuits* out of *Prague*.

*They throw Three of his Officers out of a Window.*

Things

* *Slabata* the Chief Juſtice, *Smeſantius* one of the Council, and *Fabritius* the Secretary.

Things being come to theſe Extremities, the States publiſhed an *Apology* to acquaint the World why they had puniſhed theſe Officers. But as they believed the Emperour would not hear their Reaſons, they ſigned a Confederacy, promiſing to ſtand by one another againſt all Oppoſers. In the mean time, hearing the Emperour was making Preparations to attack them, they choſe Four and Twenty *Protectors*, impowering them to raiſe Forces, and lay upon the Kingdom and the incorporated Countries what Taxes they ſhould judge neceſſary. Thus, a War being unavoidable, every one took ſuch Meaſures as he deemed requiſite, whether to attack or defend. 1618. *They reſolve to take up Arms.*

At the time the *Bohemian* States were taking theſe Reſolutions, the Cardinal *Infant* was preparing an Army in the *Low-Countries* to aſſiſt the Emperour. Whilſt this Army was levying, he ſent *Charles de Bucquoy*, Count *de Longueval* to the Emperour, who made him General of the Army deſigned againſt *Bohemia*. The States choſe for their Generals Count *Erneſt* of *Mansfeldt*, and Count *de la Tour*. This War was of ſo great Moment to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, that it is no wonder the *Spaniard* ſtill continued to amuſe King *James* with the Hopes of ſeeing the projected Marriage ſpeedily concluded. It was very likely this War would become in the End a Religious War; if ſo, *England* would very much ſtrengthen the *Proteſtant* Party. Afterwards, the King of *Spain* had ſtill farther Motives to carry on the ſame Game. But the wonder is, that although *James* had very ſtrong Reaſons to ſuſpect the *Spaniard* of unfair Dealing, yet he continued bent to rely upon his Sincerity. *It ſeemeth to us here in* England, (ſays one of his Miniſters in a Letter to *Cottington*) *that* Conde Gondomar *hath gone but very ſlowly in his Journey: and divers (ſeeing how long time he hath ſpent in the way) do make conjecture, That it proceedeth from the ſmall Affection that he judgeth to be there, towards the effecting of the main Buſineſs. But if the* Spaniards *act unſincerely, I ſhall judge them the moſt unworthy and perfidious People of the* *Army levied in the Low-Countries for the Emperour.* *Hiſt. of the Reb. of Boh.* Bucquoy *is made the Emperour's General.* James *is amuſed by the* Spaniſh *Court.* Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 9. *Annals of* James I. p. 39.

1618. *World, and the more, for that his Majesty hath given them so many Testimonies of his sincere Intentions toward them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the causing Sir* Walter Raleigh *to be put to Death, chiefly for the giving them Satisfaction, when by preserving him, he might have given great Satisfaction to his Subjects, and had at Command upon all Occasions as useful a Man as served any Prince in Christendom (a)* *. 'Tis certain however that the *Spanish* Court amused the King. Count *Gondemar* having taken upon him to carry into *Spain* the Articles signed by his Majesty, was so very long upon the Road, that 'twas evident he sought only to delay the Time. Nevertheless this hindered not King *James* from continuing voluntarily to shut his Eyes, which will appear still plainer in the Sequel.

*The* Protestants *of* England *murmur.* Annals *, P. 37. *and the* Catholicks *triumph.*

Though the People of *England* were not made acquainted with the Contents of the Articles agreed upon by the two Courts, they knew however that the Marriage was just going to be concluded, and thought it might be prejudicial to Religion. This occasioned abundance of Complaints and Murmurs amongst the *Protestants*, whilst the *Catholicks* triumphed, well-knowing the King of *Spain* would not give his Daughter the *Infanta* to Prince *Charles*, without procuring them great Advantages. At the worst, they were sure of having in this Princess a powerful Protectress, who would never forsake the Interest of her Religion. We shall see under the following Years how dexterously the *Spaniard* spun out the Negotiation, till he had got by it all possible Advantages, as well for the *House* of *Austria*, as for the *Catholick* Religion.

In

(a) The Author of the *Annals* insinuates that this Letter might be an Invention of *Rushworth*'s, but gives no Reason for it. * He says, the Reader is to take notice that this Letter, as to its Value and Reputation must rest solely upon *Rushworth*'s Credit. *P.* 40.

* *Rapin* seems to mistake a Quotation in the *Annals* from *Rushworth*, for the Author's own Words. See *Annals of King* James. *P* 37.

1619. *The Earl of* Northumberland *is releaſed.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1619, the Earl of *Northumberland* who had been in the *Tower* ever ſince the *Gun-Powder* Plot, obtained his Liberty at laſt by the means of the Lord *Hayes* his Son-in-law, who was lately made *Viſcount Doncaſter* *.

Williams *is made Privy-Counſellor.*

About the ſame time, Doctor *Williams* Dean of *Weſtminſter* was made Privy-Counſellor, and ſhortly after Biſhop of *Lincoln* *1. I purpoſely mention this Prelate's Promotion, becauſe he will often occur in the Hiſtory of this, as well as of the next Reign.

*The Q's Death.* Weldon. *p.* 129.

In the Month of *March* this Year (*b*) *2 the King loſt his Queen, in the forty-ſixth Year of her Age. Shortly after he was himſelf ſeized with a great Illneſs, which brought him, as I may ſay, to the brink of the Grave. It would have been well for his Reputation, had he died at this time, ſince the reſt of his Reign, which laſted ſix Years longer, does not redound much to the Honour of his Memory. In this ſpace he diſcovered more and more his ſettled Deſign to ſtretch the Prerogative-Royal as high as poſſible. Beſides, he gave very convincing Proofs, that although he defended the *Proteſtant* Religion by his Writings, he had not its Intereſt much at Heart. In fine, his eager Deſire to conclude the *Spaniſh* Match

*The King's Illneſs.*

* The Lord *Hayes* it ſeems had married the Duke's Daughter without his Conſent, and he was ſo much diſpleaſed with the Match, that he could hardly be brought to accept of his Liberty from the Hands of his Son in-law. This was the ſame Lady who under the Title of Counteſs of *Carliſle*, made the moſt ſhining Figure in the Court of *Charles* I, as a *Beauty*, *Wit*, and *Politician*. The old Duke, when he came out of the *Tower*, hearing that *Buckingham* was drawn about with ſix Horſes in his Coach, (being the firſt that was ſo) put on eight to his, and in that manner was drawn through the City in his way to the *Bath*. Wilſon.

*1 Doctor *Williams* was not made *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* till *July* the 16th 1620. Nor Biſhop of *Lincoln* till *November* the 11th 1621.

(*b*) *Ruſhworth* places the Queen's Death on the 19th of *November* 1619. *2 *Camden* ſays, ſhe died *March* the 1ſt 1619 of a Dropſy in the Night.

1619. laid open his Weakneſs, and the Affair of *Bohemia*, which he could not help being concerned in, fully ſatisfied the World of his ſlender Capacity.

*Continuation of the Affairs of* Bohemia. *Hiſt. of the Rebellion of* Bohemia.

The Emperour *Matthias* dying the 20th of *March* 1619, *Ferdinand* his Couſin and adopted Son, was proclaimed King of *Bohemia*, as well in Conſequence of his Election before-mentioned, as in Virtue of the Hereditary Right he pretended to have to that Crown. Mean while, as his chief Aim was to obtain the Imperial Dignity, and as he ſtood in need to that Purpoſe of the *Proteſtant* Electors, he feigned to be willing to end amicably the War already began in *Bohemia*, by giving the States reaſonable Satisfaction on account of their Privileges. But the States thought not fit to truſt to his Promiſes. In the mean time he endeavoured to gain the Electors, and make Alliances with the *Catholick* Princes of *Germany*. *James*, who gloried in being ſtiled the *Pacifick King*, thought himſelf obliged as ſuch, to uſe his Endeavour to appeaſe, by his Mediation, the Troubles of *Bohemia*. To this End, he made choice of the Viſcount *Doncaſter* to go and labour to make Peace between *Ferdinand* and the *Bohemian* States. There was not a Prince in *Europe* leſs fit than he for a Mediation of this Nature, conſidering his Principles, with reſpect to *Royal Dignity*. This Embaſſy was no ſmall Charge, the Ambaſſador, who was a ſort of Favourite, and loved Expences more than any Man living, having been by no means ſparing of his Maſter's Money. Mean while, I do not know whether he could obtain ſo much as one ſingle Audience of *Ferdinand*, who made off ſtill as the Ambaſſador drew near him. Thus much is certain, the Embaſſy was entirely fruitleſs, and ſerved only to ſhow the little account *Ferdinand* made of the King of *England*'s Mediation.

*Matthias dies, and* Ferdinand *is proclaimed King of* Bohemia. *The States refuſe to own him.* James *interpoſes to make up Matters.* Annals, *p.* 41. Wilſon. *p.* 132.

*Ferdinand is invited to the* Diet *as King of* Bohemia, *and Elector. Hiſt. of the Reb. of* Boh.

The Time appointed for the Election of an Emperour approaching, the Elector of *Mentz* ſummoned the reſt of the Electors, and particularly *Ferdinand* as King of *Bohemia*. The States of that Kingdom proteſted againſt the Summons, ſaying, *Ferdinand* could not be received as Elector in Quality of King of *Bohemia*,

*hemia*, ſince he was not in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. But their Oppoſition was to no purpoſe. *Ferdinand* was not only owned for King of *Bohemia* and Elector, but was alſo elected Emperour the $\frac{18}{28}$ of *Auguſt* 1619. Then the States of *Bohemia*, ſeeing they had not been able to hinder *Ferdinand* from being Emperour, took an Oath never to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and at the ſame time, namely, on the 5th of *September* *, choſe for their King, *Frederick* Elector *Palatine*, and ſent Deputies to acquaint him with his Election, and pray him to repair to *Prague*. *Frederick* did not want much Sollicitation to accept of a Crown at the Hands of thoſe who in his Opinion, had right to diſpoſe of it. He diſpatched however Baron *d' Aulné* (c) *1 to the King his Father-in-law, to aſk his Advice, but it was a mere Compliment. As he knew him to be a Prince not very forward to ingage in great Undertakings, he did not ſtay for his Anſwer, but drawing ſome Troops together, he came to *Prague*, where he was crowned the 4th of *November*.

1619. *The States oppoſe it.* Ferdinand *is elected.* *The* Bohemia *States choſe the Elector* Palatine. *He accepts of the Crown.*

Before *Frederick*'s Envoy reached *England*, *James* hearing the News of his Son-in-law's Election, called a Council to debate whether the Elector ought to accept or refuſe the Crown of *Bohemia*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* not being able to come, by reaſon of the Gout which confined him to his Bed, writ to Secretary *Naunton*, " That it was his Opinion the " Elector ſhould accept of the Crown, and *England* " ſupport him openly. And therefore as ſoon as " there ſhould be certain News of his Coronation, " the Bells ought to be rung, Guns fired, and Bon- " fires made, to let all *Europe* ſee the King was de-

James *thinks the Elector ought to refuſe it.* *The Archbiſhop's Opinion rejected.* Ruſh. I. 12. Annals. p. 42.

* The 26th of *Auguſt*. *Rapin* makes uſe ſometimes of the *New Stile*, which in the laſt Century was ten Days before our Reckoning.

(c) Some ſay it was the Baron of *Dhona*. I own, I am not certain whether it was *Aulné* or *Dhona*. *1 Moſt of our Hiſtorians ſay, *Dhona*, as the *Annals*. Wilſon, &c.

1619. " termined to countenance him ". But this Advice was not followed. The King maintained in the Council *Ferdinand*'s Cause against the States of *Bohemia*, and without knowing any Thing of their Privileges, as he afterwards owned, decided that the *Bohemian* States were in actual Rebellion. As for the Reasons with which the Archbishop backed his Opinion, in his Letter to *Naunton*, the King rejected them, as built upon *Puritan*-Principles *. For, as I have elsewhere observed, there were in this Reign your *State-Puritans* as well as *Church-Puritans*, whom the Court took great Care to confound one with another; and this Confusion of Ideas is still kept up to this Day. Hence the Obscurity which at this time occurs in the Notion of the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*. It was resolved then, that the King should admonish the Elector to refuse the proffered Crown, not only because it was agreeable to his Majesty's Principles, but for another Reason which was full as strong. And that was, the King rightly judged that the Elector's accepting it must needs be extremely detrimental to
Annals, the Negotiation of the *Spanish* Match, considering the strict Union between the Princes of the *House* of *Austria*.

But

Annals, p. 42. * The Archbishop says in his Letter, " It is a great Honour to " our King to have such a Son made a King; and methinks I do " foresee in this the Work of God, that by Degrees the Kings of " the Earth shall now leave the Whore to Desolation, as St. *John* " says. Our striking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, honour " the *Palsgrave*, strengthen the Union, bring on the *Dutch*, stir " up *Denmark*, &c. to cast in their Shares, and *Hungary* I hope " will run the same Fortune, and for Money and Means to sup- " port the War, *providedit Deus*. This from my Bed, and when " I can stand, I hope to do better Service. *September* 12. 1619. The Letter in *Rushworth* is something different from this, particularly he makes the Archbishop say, *The Parliament is the old and honourable way of raising Money, and all that may be spared is to be turned this way. And perhaps God has provided the Jewels which were laid up in the* Tower *by the Mother for the Preservation of the Daughter. Certainly if Countenance be given to this Action, many have Spirits will offer themselves.* P. I. 12.

But the Elector *Palatine* had already broken these Measures by accepting the Crown, without staying for the Council of *England*'s Resolution. The King was so angry, that he refused to give Baron *Aulné* Audience, who since his coming away had received Orders to excuse the Elector, by reason of the Necessity he was under of proceeding with all possible Expedition. If the States of *Bohemia* designed to gain King *James* to their Side, by electing his Son-in-law, they were very much mistaken, since they never received any Assistance from him. The Ambassadors themselves who were sent by King *James* on this Occasion to the Emperour and several *German* Princes, did great Injury to the States, for these Ambassadors had express Orders to disavow *Frederick*'s Proceedings, and of all the *Protestant* Princes, *James* was the only one that never gave him the Title of King.

1619. *The King is angry with the Elector.* Wilson, *p.* 133. Annals, *p.* 42.

Mean while, though the Elector was already crowned, the King his Father-in-law took it in his Head that he should be able to perswade him to quit the Crown, and induce the States of *Bohemia* to acknowledge *Ferdinand*. To that Purpose, he sent two Ambassadors to *Prague*, namely, Sir *Richard Weston* a *Papist*, and Sir *Edward Conway* a *Protestant*. *Conway* being afterwards made Secretary of State, the King used to say to him merrily, that never Prince had such a Secretary, who could neither read nor write *. This Embassy was very fruitless, as it was easy to foresee.

*He thinks to perswade him to quit the Crown.* ibid.

* It was a pleasant Remark of the Kings: That *Stenny* had given him three notable Servants: A Gentleman of the Bedchamber (*Clark*) who could not help him to *untruss a Point*, for he had but one Hand. A Chaplain (Dr. *Preston*) who could not *say Prayers*; for he scrupled the use of our *Liturgy*; and a Secretary of State (*Conway*) who could neither write nor read. *Conway* had been bred a Soldier, being Governour of the *Brill* when *England* gave up the *Cautionary* Towns.

1619. *The Spaniſh Court continue to amuſe the King.*

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* did not forget to do the Emperour good Service, by keeping King *James* in his peaceable Diſpoſition. Nothing was talked of at the Court of *Madrid*, but the King of *England*'s Generoſity, Juſtice, and Equity. In fine, to amuſe him the better, the Negotiation of the Marriage was renewed, having been interrupted, in Expectation of the Pope's Diſpenſation. Nay, it was hinted to *Cottington*, that in Caſe the Diſpenſation did not come ſoon, Matters ſhould be concluded without it, or means found to force the Pope to grant it. *Cottington*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the *Spaniſh* Court, fell not into the Snare. He ſent Word to *England*, that nothing more was to be expected concerning the Marriage; that the King of *Spain*'s Intent was only to amuſe his Majeſty, and therefore he was of Opinion, the Negotiation ought to be broke off. But inſtead of ſeeing his Advice followed, he received Orders to declare to the King of *Spain*, that the King his Maſter was not concerned in the Elector's accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*: That his Son-in-law had proceeded without his Approbation and Knowledge, and therefore he diſavowed him entirely. *Philip* anſwered, he was glad to find the King his Brother ſo juſt and equitable, and that nothing could ſooner gain his Eſteem and Affection, than the continuing to diſclaim an Action ſo repugnant to Juſtice.

1620. James *deſires to be Umpire between* Ferdinand *and* Frederick, *but cannot ſucceed.*

The Affair of *Bohemia* put ſeveral of the Princes of *Europe* in Motion, and held the reſt in ſuſpence. *Ferdinand* and *Frederick* had each their Friends and Allies, who were preparing to aſſiſt them, whilſt *James* ſtood Neuter, imagining that by making a ſhow of Neutrality, he ſhould induce the two Competitors to make him Umpire of their Difference. But both were jealous of him, one becauſe he was a *Proteſtant*, and Father-in-law to his Adverſary, the other, becauſe he had openly declared that he diſapproved his Conduct. So without much regarding his Sollicitations, both Sides prepared to decide the Quarrel by Arms.

Had

1620. Ferdinand *is at a Loſs.*

Had *England* taken *Frederick*'s Part, and with a good Fleet kept *Spain* and the *Netherlands* at a Bay, the Elector very probably would have preſerved his Crown, in ſo good a Poſture were his Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1620. Several Princes of *Germany* had formed a League to ſupport him, and were actually levying an Army, which was to be commanded by the Prince of *Anſpach*. On the other ſide, *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſilvania* had ſtirred up the *Hungarians* to revolt againſt *Ferdinand*, and now the greateſt Part of *Auſtria* had followed the Example of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. All this threw the Emperour into great Perplexity, and would have thrown him into greater, if the Elector of *Saxony* had continued Neuter, as he had reſolved at firſt. But the Emperour making him an Offer of *Upper Luſatia*, on Condition he ſubdued the Country, he could not withſtand the Temptation of acquiring Territories which lay ſo convenient for him. Moreover, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the three *Eccleſiaſtical* Electors * declared for the Emperour: The Pope ſupplied him with Money, and the King of *Spain* ordered his Forces at *Naples* and in the *Milaneſe* to march to his Aſſiſtance.

Philip *orders an Army to be raiſed in the* Netherlands *to invade the* Palatinate.

But this was not all the Aid the *Spaniard* gave the Emperour. He aſſiſted him ſtill more conſiderably, by hindering *James* from aiding his Daughter and Son-in-law, and by keeping him motionleſs, and as it were enchanted, with the Hopes of the Marriage which had been ſo long upon the Carpet, and of the Dowry of two Millions. To hold him the faſter in his Chains, *Philip* ſent back Count *Gondemar*, under Colour of finiſhing the Affair. He played the Diſſembler ſo artfully, that *James*, who had called home *Digby* from *Spain*, ſent thither Sir *Walter Aſton*, to endeavour with *Cottington* to finiſh the Treaty which he thought

* The Archbiſhops of *Mentz* (who only has Power to ſummon the reſt to an Election when the Empire is vacant,) *Triers*, and *Cologne*.

1620. thought was very near a Concluſion. *Gondemar* being returned to *England* with large Sums of Money, laid them out ſo much to the Purpoſe, and made ſo good uſe of his Talents and Knowledge of the Court, that he became as it were Maſter of the King, the Favourite, and the Miniſters, and ruled them all as he pleaſed.

Wilſon. To this Aid, which was not inconſiderable, *Philip* was preparing to add a more effectual one, to enable the Emperour to get the better of his Enemy. *Frederick* had drawn ten Thouſand Men out of the *Palatinate*, and ſent them into *Bohemia*. And this inſpired the Emperour with the Thoughts of invading him there; and in order to execute his Project, *Philip* and the Archduke *Albert* levied in the *Low-Countries* an Army of Twenty-five Thouſand *Foot*, and ſix Thouſand *Horſe*, to be commanded by *Ambroſe Spinola*. The Truce between *Spain* and the *United Provinces* not being yet near expired, it was evident theſe Forces muſt be deſigned for the *Palatinate*. The *Hollanders* gave King *James* warning of it, and ſuch of the Courtiers as were not bribed with *Spaniſh* Gold, never ceaſed to repreſent to him the Danger the Elector's Dominions were going to be expoſed to, if he did not ſuddenly reſolve to prepare for their Defenſe. But *James* could not think of taking any ſuch Meaſures on bare Suſpicions only. He contented himſelf with ordering *Edmunds* his Ambaſſador at *Bruſſels*, to aſk the Archduke the Reaſon of ſo conſiderable an Armament. The Archduke anſwered, it was done by the King of *Spain*'s Order, and the Reaſon might be known of *Spinola*, who had the Command of the Army. *Spinola* being aſked the ſame Queſtion, replied, that indeed he was ordered by the King of *Spain* to raiſe Forces, but did not know for what Purpoſe: His Orders being ſealed up, he could not open them till he began his march, and if the Ambaſſador would follow him, he might then be reſolved. A Man muſt voluntarily ſhut his Eyes, not to ſee what all theſe myſterious Proceedings tend-

*King James's wretched Management.* DuCheſne *Hiſt. d' Ang.*

ed

ed to, and yet *James* continued immoveable, relying upon the *Spaniard*'s Friendſhip, and *Gondemar*'s fair Promiſes. 1620.

*The King is perſwaded to let* 2400 Engliſh *be ſent to the* Palatinate. Wilſon, p. 135. Annals,

The whole Kingdom was extremely ſurpriſed to ſee the King's Inſenſibility for his Son-in-law, his Daughter and their Children: But for his Part, he looked upon the Quarrel between the Emperour and *Frederick*, in quite another View. He was juſt going to be ſtrictly united with the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, by his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and at this very time, the Elector his Son-in-law had broken all his Meaſures by a raſh, unjuſt, and inconſiderate Action: For thus he termed the accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia*. "Is it reaſonable, *ſaid he*, I "ſhould ſuffer my ſelf to be drawn by a Son-in-law's "Ambition and Humour, into a War againſt the "*Houſe* of *Auſtria*, who have done me no Wrong? "Muſt I alter all my Projects, all my Meaſures, be- "cauſe the Elector *Palatine* has been pleaſed to ac- "cept the Crown of *Bohemia*, without ſo much as "aſking my Advice?" * However, by much Perſwaſion he was prevailed with at length to ſuffer a Regiment of two Thouſand four Hundred Men to be raiſed, which was done for the moſt Part at the Charge of ſome Lords. Sir *Horatio Vere*, who had long ſerved in *Holland*, where he had acquired great Reputation, commanded this Regiment, having under him *Burroughs* and *Herbert* for Major-Generals. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex* would accompany him, and commanded each a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers *1.

*They are commanded by Sir* H. Vere.

*The* Engliſh *join the Army of the Confederates.* Wilſon, p. 136.

This Regiment being raiſed with extreme Speed, was tranſported to *Holland*. Then they went and paſſed the *Rhine* below *Wezel*, to avoid *Spinola* who was

* The King uſed to ſay, *The* Bohemians *made uſe of the* Palſgrave, *as the* Fox *did of the* Cat's Tail, *to pull the* Apple *out of the Fire for his own eating*. Ruſh. p. 12.

*1 So many flocked to *Eſſex*, that beſides the 250 in his Company, he paid 50 himſelf. *Wilſon*.

1620. was at *Aix la Chapelle*. It was not without Danger that the *Engliſh* croſſed ſo many Countries to reach the *Palatinate*. Nay, they durſt not have attempted it, if Prince *Frederick Henry* of *Naſſau*, with two Thouſand *Horſe*, and ſome *Foot*, had not conducted them as far as *Francfort*, having deluded *Spinola*'s Vigilance who lay in wait for them on another Road. It was the 1ſt of *October* before they joined the Army of the King of *Bohemia*'s Allies, commanded by the *Markgrave* of *Anſpach*.

*Campaign of the* Palatine. *Spinola* who departed from *Bruſſels* the 8th of *Auguſt*, being come to *Coblentz*, opened his Orders in the Preſence of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who had accompanied him ſo far. The Orders were, to make War upon all who ſhould declare for the Elector *Palatine*. This was all *Edmunds* was able to know of *Spinola*'s Deſigns. It was no hard Matter to gueſs the reſt, conſidering which way he was marching. He arrived in the *Palatinate* before the *Engliſh* had joined the confederate Army, and took ſeveral ſmall Places. The two Armies tried one another for ſome time, and once were in ſight of each other, ready to engage, but no Action of Moment enſued. The Seaſon which daily grew worſe, obliging them at laſt to retire to Winter-Quarters, the confederate Princes led home their Troops, leaving the *Engliſh* in Garriſon at *Heidelburg*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendal*.

James *ſends an Embaſſy to* Germany, In *April* this Year the King of *France* ſent to the Emperour and ſeveral *German* Princes, the Duke of *Angoulême*, the Duke of *Bethune*, and Mr. *Des Preaux*, to endeavour to appeaſe the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* Troubles. At the ſame Time *James* diſpatched Sir *Edward* * *Wootton* on the ſame Errand, and to exhort to Peace all the Princes engaged in the Quarrel between the Emperour and the *Palſgrave*. If, whilſt he ſent this Ambaſſador, he had armed by Land and Sea, and put himſelf in a Condition to ſtrike Terror, his Remonſtrances doubtleſs would have been hearkned to, and his Mediation perhaps accepted,

* Sir *Henry*. Annals, p. 43.

accepted. But *Wootton* having traverſed moſt Part of *Germany*, and talked with ſeveral Princes of both Parties, brought back none but general Expreſſions, which only ſhowed the little Regard they had for the King his Maſter. At laſt he came to *Vienna* (*d*), where he found the *French* Ambaſſadors. In the Audience he had of the Emperour, he made two Propoſitions, each divided into Three Articles, according to the King's uſual Cuſtom, who was very fond of *Diviſions* and *Subdiviſions*. It muſt be obſerved, the Emperour had now publiſhed a *Ban* againſt the Elector *Palatine* (*e*), wherein he had fully ſet forth the Reaſons moving him to come to ſuch Extremities: That *Spinola* was in the midſt of his March towards the *Palatinate*: That the Duke of *Bavaria* was leading his Troops towards *Bohemia* to join the Emperour's Forces (*f*), and the Elector of *Saxony* was juſt going to invade *Luſatia* (*g*). In this Juncture *Wootton* made his Two Propoſitions to the Emperour.

1620. *Succeſs of the Embaſſy. Annals*, P. 43.

*Hiſt. of Reb. of* Boh.

The Firſt General Propoſition was, that the Emperour might truſt the King, as it appeared from the Three following Reaſons:

1. The King had not the leaſt Hand in the Buſineſs of accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*.

2. The Elector *Palatine* never imparted the Affair to him before his Election, and he had diſapproved of it. This was evident from the King's never ſuffering him to be ſtiled *King of Bohemia*, or to be prayed for as ſuch in the Churches.

3. The King never aſſiſted the Elector with Men or Money.

The

(*d*) The 1ſt of *September*.

(*e*) Ever ſince *April* the 30th, 1620.

(*f*) Count *Bucquoy* joined the Duke of *Bavaria* the 6th or 7th of *September*.

(*g*) He began the Siege of *Baudien*, *September* the 8th.

1620. The ſecond Propoſition was concerning the Means of procuring a Peace, and contained theſe Three Articles:

1. He deſired the Emperour to let him know, whether he was content to treat of an Accommodation by his Maſter's and the *French* King's Mediation. Adding, if his *Imperial* Majeſty expected the Affairs of *Bohemia* ſhould be reſtored to their former State, he conceived that his Stay at *Vienna*, and the King his Maſter's Mediation would be to no purpoſe.

2. He prayed the Emperour to inform him of the Poſture of the Affairs of *Bohemia*.

3. And that he would be pleaſed to grant a Ceſſation of Arms, and let the Roads be open between *Vienna* and *Prague* during the Negotiation.

The Emperour ſurprized to hear ſuch Propoſitions in the preſent State of his Affairs, told the Ambaſſador, he did not fully underſtand the Meaning of what he had ſaid, and deſired a full and particular *Memorial*, that he might be able to give him a ſuitable Anſwer. Whether the Ambaſſador was not able to explain the King's Mind concerning the firſt Article of the ſecond Propoſition, or for ſome other Reaſon unknown, the *Memorial* was never preſented, at which the Emperour was much diſpleaſed. Thus ended this Embaſſy.

*The Duke of* Savoy *conquers* Luſatia.

The Elector of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Marquiſs of *Spinola*, commiſſioned to put the *Imperial Ban* in Execution, began all Three to act in the Month of *September*. I have already ſpoken of what *Spinola* did in the *Palatinate*, during this firſt Campaign. The Elector of *Saxony*, at the Head of Twenty Thouſand Men, entered *Luſatia*, and by the End of *October* conquered the whole Country, which he kept for himſelf, purſuant to his Agreement with the Emperour.

Whilſt

Whilſt the Elector of *Saxony* was in *Luſatia*, the Duke of *Bavaria* having ſubdued Upper *Auſtria*, in the Beginning of *September*, went and joined Count *Bucquoy*, who commanded the Imperial Army in *Bohemia*. As *Frederick* had all his Forces there, the Emperour's two Generals were obliged to take ſome Places, before they could advance to *Prague*. At length, having opened a Way, they came in the Beginning of *November* within ſight of that Metropolis, and of the Enemy's Army poſted between them and the City. A few Days after (*a*) was fought the famous Battle of *Prague*, wherein *Frederick*'s Army was entirely routed. This Prince, who ſtayed at *Prague* during the Battle, haſtily fled away with his Wife and Children, leaving behind all his Baggage and Money in the City, which on the Morrow opened her Gates to the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians*. *Weſton* and *Conway* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors followed the King in his Flight. But finding he intended to retire into *Holland*, they obtained a Paſſ-port to return to *Prague*, where they remained not long, their Stay being entirely needleſs *.

1620 *The Duke of* Bavaria *joins* Bucquoy.

*Battle of* Prague, *wherein* Frederick *is defeated. He flies to* Holland.

The Victory lately gained by the Emperour's Arms was attended with great Conſequences: The firſt whereof was, that the *Palſgrave* was forſaken by moſt of the Princes his Confederates. The Prince of *Anhalt* himſelf, who commanded his Army, entered into the Emperour's Service. Count *Mansfeldt* alone remained faithful, and was ſtill ſerviceable to him.

*He is deſerted by his Allies.* Wilſon, p. 142.

This

(*a*) On the 7th of *November*.

* It is ſaid that *Frederick*'s ill Succeſs was owing in ſome Meaſure to his Niggardlineſs; for though he had great Sums of Money by him, yet was he ſo ſlow in paying his Soldiers, that they were neceſſitated to take free Quarters upon the *Bohemians*. The Jealouſy alſo that the *Lutherans* had of the Aſcendant the *Calviniſts* might gain by this Acceſſion, had an unhappy Share in the Coldneſs which all the Princes of that *Confeſſion* ſhowed towards him, though *Saxony* only declared againſt him. *Coke. Burnet.*

1620. This same Year the *Huguenots* of *France* being hard pressed by *Lewis* XIII, *James* sent Sir *Edward Herbert** to sollicite him in their behalf: Nay, he had Orders to use Menaces, if the Court of *France* refused to hearken to his Remonstrances. *Herbert* discharged his Commission in so rough a Manner, that the Constable *Luynes* being offended at it, got him to be recalled. *Herbert* would have afterwards sent a Challenge to the *Constable* for misrepresenting his Words, but the King would not suffer it. The Viscount *Doncaster*, lately made *Earl of Carlisle*, was sent to *France* in *Herbert*'s Room. He spent a world of Money there, without being able to do any thing for the *Huguenots*. And no wonder, since the *French* Court knew very well King *James* was neither able nor willing to assist them.

*James sollicites Lewis XIII in behalf of the Huguenots,* Coke, p. 69. *but obtains nothing.*

The Campaign of the *Palatinate* was no sooner over, but the Earl of *Essex* posted away, to represent to the King the Impossibility of saving that Country, without a speedy and powerful Aid. But it was not by way of Arms that *James* meant to support his Son-in-law's Interest. Count *Gondemar* ruled him as he pleased, by feeding him with continual Hopes of the good Success of the Marriage, provided he would not disturb the Negotiation by any Steps which might give Offence to the King of *Spain*: Nay, he hinted to him, that should the Emperour become Master of the *Palatinate*, it would only be a surer Means to put an end to the War, because then it would be given to the *Infanta*, for her to make a Present of it to the Prince her Spouse, who might restore it to the Count *Palatine*. All this passed Current with the King. He was so infatuated with the Project of ending the War by Means of this Match, that nothing was able to divert him from those Thoughts. Count *Gondemar* had bribed with Presents and Pensions all those who had the King's Ear, and who took care to cherish him in this vain

*He takes false Measures to save the* Palatinate Wilson, p. 143.

p. 144.

p. 145.

* Afterwards Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*.

vain Project *. The reſt of the World were aſtoniſhed to ſee the King take ſuch wrong Meaſures: but no Man durſt preſs him upon that Head, well-knowing he did not care any but his Miniſters ſhould ſpeak to him about State-Affairs. He verily believed there was no other way to ſave the *Palatinate* but by keeping up a good Underſtanding with the King of *Spain* and the Emperour, by ſtanding Neuter. This he declared himſelf at the Council-Board, adding, however, if his Inſtances were rejected he muſt have recourſe to Arms at laſt. Not that he had any Intent after all to go to War with the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, let what would happen; but he was in hopes this would be a good Pretence to get Money, which he wanted very much. To this end likewiſe it was debated in Council, how Preparations might be made for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, in caſe the King's Mediation ſhould be rejected. *Gondemar* having notice of what had paſſed at the *Board*, writ to the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, deſiring to know what the King's Intention was. Here is the Favourite's Anſwer, which plainly ſhows what the King's Thoughts were in this Matter. 1620.

*SIR*,

" I Showed your Letter to the King, who thinks " your Requeſt reaſonable. He has ordered me " to tell you, that the Speech he lately made to the " Council, contained two principal Points: Firſt, " whereas the World talked ſo variouſly of him, he

Buckingham's *Letter to* Gondemar, *wherein he explains the King's Thoughts about the* Palatinate. Du Cheſne, p. 1145. *Hiſt of the Reb. of* Boh. P. 5. p. 712.

* *Wilſon* ſays, he bribed the very Ladies, eſpecially thoſe who talked much, and to whom much Company reſorted, that they might allay ſuch as were too *ſour* in their Expreſſions, and ſtop them if they ran on too faſt. But it ſeems he had neglected the Lady *Jacobs*, who upon his paſſing by her Window in his Chair, inſtead of anſwering his Salutation as uſual, only *gaped* with her *Mouth*, which repeating again next Day, he ſent to know the Reaſon: She replied, That *ſhe had a Mouth to be ſtopt as well as other Ladies*, p. 146.

1620. " declared, he was ſo far from adviſing the Elector " *Palatine* to accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, that he " uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to diſſuade him from " it. For the Particulars of what he ſaid upon this " Subject, he refers to the Lord *Digby*, who being " preſent, can inform your *Excellency*. His Ma- " jeſty declared moreover, that he was reſolved to " continue *Neuter* for Three Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe " his Conſcience obliged him to it. Secondly, be- " cauſe his Honour was concerned. Thirdly, not to " give an ill Example. Upon the firſt Reaſon he " ſaid, he was ſure the Religion he profeſſed did not " allow that Crowns ſhould be removed from one " Head to another for Religion ſake: That our " Church very juſtly oppoſed the Principle of the " *Jeſuits*, who take upon them to inthrone and de- " throne Kings according to their Fancy: That our " Religion enjoins us to obey our Princes and Sove- " reigns, though they ſhould be *Turks* or *Infidels*: " That the World was inclined to turn this War to " a Religious War, which his Majeſty is entirely " averſe to. As to the Point of *Honour*, the King " ſaid, That being ſollicited by the King of *Spain* " to uſe all his Intereſt to procure a Peace between " the Emperour and the *Bohemian* States, and this " Accident of accepting the Crown of *Bohemia* hap- " pening whilſt his Ambaſſador was in *Germany* me- " diating an Accommodation, he was obliged to " make known his Innocence, in order to ſave his " Honour: That if at preſent he was willing to aſ- " ſiſt his Son-in-law in this ſame Affair, his Actions " would be directly contrary to his Proteſtation, " which would very much redound to his Diſhonour. " Upon the third Reaſon his Majeſty declared, It " was a very dangerous Precedent againſt all *Chri-* " *ſtian* Princes, to allow of the Tranſlation of a " Crown by the *People's* Authority: That although " he was King by Hereditary Right, yet it could " not be conſidered enough, how far this Miſchief " might reach, if once it took root, and that this

" Example might very ſenſibly affect the King of 1620.
" *Denmark* his Father-in-law, whoſe Crown was E-
" lective: That as for the Privileges the *Bohemians*
" might have in this Caſe by the antient and funda-
" mental Laws of the Kingdom, it would be neceſ-
" ſary to turn over many Volumes, read abundance
" of Hiſtories, and carefully examine what their
" Rights are, before one can be reſolved in this Point,
" with which he has nothing to do, not being made
" Judge of the Diſpute. The ſecond Thing con-
" cerning which the King declared his Mind, was,
" the Affair of the *Palatinate*. Upon this Point he
" informed his Council in the firſt Place, that he had
" omitted nothing, as well by means of his Ambaſ-
" ſadors, as by his own Mouth, in ſpeaking to
" your *Excellency*: That moreover, he had ſent an
" Ambaſſador to the *German* Princes who were con-
" cerned in the Affair, to remonſtrate to them, that
" ſeeing he had with ſo much Sincerity and Candour
" continued *Neuter*, he had great reaſon on the other
" Hand, to repreſent to them how much he was con-
" cerned in the Invaſion of the *Palatinate*, ſince he
" had given his Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*,
" *bonâ fide*, whilſt that Prince was in Poſſeſſion of
" that Country, and long before theſe Troubles
" could be foreſeen: That at preſent, his Grand-
" Children were lawful Heirs to it, and it was neither
" juſt nor reaſonable to deprive them of their Inhe-
" ritance, ſince they are not at all guilty, eſpecially
" conſidering the Sincerity of the King their Grand-
" father: That indeed, it cannot be denied but there
" was notice given from *Spain*, that the Emperour
" would be forced to make this Diverſion, in order
" to free himſelf from the Oppreſſion he endured in
" *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*: That *your Excellency* ſaid the
" ſame Thing, and that his Ambaſſadors confirmed
" it to him: That the Invaſion being really made,
" Nature obliged him to provide for the Defence of
" his Grand-children by all poſſible and lawful Ways:
" That the approaching Winter allowed him to

1620. " make two ſorts of Preparations: Firſt, to endea-
" vour to manage it ſo, that a Peace may be con-
" cluded before Summer; and if, as he hoped, the
" Elector his Son-in-law would be guided by him,
" and the Emperour be willing to hearken to the
" Overtures which would be made him, he did not
" queſtion but a Peace would enſue, and the Cala-
" mities *Chriſtendom* was threatned with, both by a
" *Turkiſh* Invaſion and an inteſtine War, would be
" happily prevented. But in caſe it happened that
" the Elector ſhould be willing to yield to reaſona-
" ble Terms, and the Emperour refuſe to comply,
" then he would not loſe the Opportunity which the
" Winter afforded him, to prepare for the Defence
" of the *Palatinate:* But if, on the contrary, the E-
" lector remained obſtinate, he would, in that caſe,
" leave him to his own Counſels.

" After the King had thus ſpoken, it was debated
" in Council concerning the Means of defending the
" *Palatinate*, as the Lord *Digby* might inform *your*
" *Excellency*. To conclude this Letter, his Majeſty
" commands me to aſſure you, upon the Honour of
" a *Chriſtian* King, that this is all that has paſſed in
" this Affair either in publick or private. He is per-
" ſuaded, not only *your Excellency* but the King of
" *Spain* alſo will believe what he ſays, ſooner than
" all the Informations which through Ignorance or
" Malice may be given you from any other Place".

*I am*, &c.

*The King demands a Benevolence for the Defence of the* Palatinate. Annals, p. 45. Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 16.

The King's whole Conduct, whether at the Time this Letter was written, or afterwards, ſquares ſo exactly with the Sentiments therein expreſſed, that it would be in vain to queſtion its being genuine *. It is certain, the King never intended to defend the *Palatinate* by Arms, as long as he had any hopes of concluding the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta*.

* The Subſtance of this Letter is in *Ruſhworth*, Vol. I. p. 16.

*Infanta*. Nevertheleſs, he made uſe of this Pretence to draw Money from his Subjects, and to ſend a Letter ſigned by the Council to all the Nobility, and to the Lord *Mayor* of *London*, for a *Benevolence* *. But in all appearance this Method was unſucceſsful, ſo much were the People diſſatisfied with the Government. At the very time he ſeemed deſirous to take ſome Step for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, invaded by the *Spaniards*, Count *Gondemar* properly ruled *England* by the Aſcendent he had over the King. All thoſe who had any Expectations from the Court, were extremely careful not to offend him in any thing whatever, knowing how much it was in his Power to prejudice ſuch as he was diſpleaſed with. Secretary *Naunton* failing to make uſe of this Policy, loſt his Place, which was given to *Conway*. 1620.

Gondemar *rules the* Engliſh *Court*.

Conway *is made Secretary of State*.

On the other Hand, the Marquiſs of *Buckingham* ruled in the King's Name, without allowing the leaſt Contradiction. He diſpoſed at pleaſure of all Officers, or rather his Mother, ſince he could not deny her any thing *1. As ſhe was extremely greedy of Money, and a great Zealot for the *Romiſh* Religion, none were preferred but ſuch as were able to make large Preſents to the Favourite's Mother, and were well-inclined to *Rome*, or at leaſt, indifferent to all Religions. Nay, Places were frequently taken from thoſe who had paid dear for them, in order to diſpoſe of them to new Purchaſers. *Montague* having given twenty Thouſand Pound to be made Lord Treaſurer, was removed before the Year was expired, and Sir *Lionel Cranfield* put in his Place, and created ſoon af-

Buckingham's *Mother is in great Power*. Wilſon, p. 147, 149.

Cranfield *is made Lord Treaſurer*, p. 148.

* This circular Letter is to be ſeen in the foreſaid Page of *Shworth*.

*1 *Gondemar* perceiving moſt Addreſſes were made to her firſt, and by her conveyed to her Son, among other his witty *Pranks* uſt merrily in his Diſpatches to *Spain*: *That never was there more hope of* England's *Converſion to* Rome *than now; for there were more* Prayers *offered here to the* Mother *than to the* Son. Wilſon, p. 149.

1620. ter *Earl of Middlesex* *. *Cranfield* had been a Merchant in *London*, and afterwards a Custom-House Officer, from whence he was introduced into Court as *Projector*. A Name given to such as suggested to the Ministers Expedients to bring Money into the King's *Exchequer*, when there was no Parliament.

Buckingham's *Marriage*, p. 149. The Marquiss of *Buckingham* about the End of the Year, married the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter, the richest Heiress in the Kingdom. Some say, he debauched her before Marriage, and that the Earl of *Rutland* sent him word, if he did not marry her, the King's Favour, though never so great, should not be able to screen him from his Revenge. *Buckingham* readily complied, seeing it was a very advantageous Match for him. But as the young Lady was bred a *Papist* by her Mother, she must, for form sake, be instructed by Dr. *White*, who, as it is pretended, made her a *good Protestant*. However, her Mother-in-law set her in the old Way again.

*The King feigns to take at Heart the Defence of the* Palatinate. The Affairs of the *Protestant* Religion in *Germany* and *France* were in a very bad Situation. On the other Hand, the King of *Bohemia* being driven out of his Kingdom, saw himself upon the Point of losing the *Palatinate* too. All the World murmured to behold the King's extreme Indolence with respect to these two Affairs, wherein he was particularly concerned as Father, as a King of *England*, and as a *Protestant*. These Murmurs produced at length a Parliament. Not that the Court's Intent was to please the People: but it was judged, that since they were so desirous proper Measures should be taken for the Defence of Religion and the *Palatinate*, the *House of Commons* would be ready to grant the King an Aid answerable to a Design of that Importance. A Parliament then was summoned to meet on the 30th of *January* 1621. But the better to satisfy the Publick that the King was really bent upon a War th

*He calls a Parliament to get Money.* Annals, p. 45. Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 21.

* He had married one of *Buckingham*'s Kindred, *Ann Bru* From the Heiress of his Family is descended the Duke of *Dorse*

the Council nominated, a few Days before the Parliament met, a certain Number of the moſt noted Lords and Officers, who had orders to meet and give their Opinion concerning the Means of carrying on the War with Vigour. Mean while, as the People took upon them to talk too freely of the King's and his Miniſtry's Conduct, they were forbid by Proclamation to diſcourſe of State-Affairs. But this Prohibition begot a quite contrary Effect, it being hardly poſſible to ſtop People's Tongues by ſuch Means. 1620. *Proclamation to forbid People to talk of State-Affairs.*

The King, there is no doubt, wiſhed his Son-in-law might keep the *Palatinate*. All he could be blamed for was, his taking a wrong Courſe to that End. Lulled aſleep, or as it were bewitched by *Gondemar*'s Charms, he verily believed the Prince's Marriage with the *Infanta* was the moſt proper Means, not perceiving that this Match was only a Decoy to amuſe and hinder him from taking better Meaſures. It will doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, that *James* ſhould thus ſuffer himſelf to be managed by a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in an Affair which ſo much concerned the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*: but it will be the leſs ſurprizing, if we conſider how he ſtood affected. In the firſt Place, he had an Averſion to War, and though he would have had it believed that it was out of Reaſon and Choice, it is certain however, this Averſion was ſo rooted in his Nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him to get the better of it. In the next Place, his Opinion concerning the Extent of the Royal Power, with which he was poſſeſſed, made him dread all Occaſions of cauſing his *Prerogative* to be queſtioned. If he engaged in a War, he muſt call a Parliament, and the Parliament had already convinced him that they were not of his Mind concerning the Extent of the *Prerogative* Royal, of which he was ſo jealous. It is no wonder therefore, that of the two ways which offered to keep his Son-in-law in Poſſeſſion of the *Palatinate*, namely, War, and the Prince's Marriage, he ſhould pitch upon that which beſt ſuited his Temper and Inclination. What is 1621. *The Reaſon of the King's taking wrong Meaſures to ſave the* Palatinate.

1621. more ſtrange, is, that in comparing theſe two Ways, he ſhould be ſo blind as to think the Marriage the eaſieſt and moſt proper, and ſhould not ſee that it was only a Snare to deceive him. On the other Hand, he was not ſatisfied with reſolving to take this Method rather than the other, but he even affected to imitate the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, that he ſhould not think of having recourſe to Arms, unleſs Matters were brought to Extremities, and by that marr'd all his Affairs. The Emperour and King of *Spain* knew how to make the moſt of theſe wrong Proceedings. *Gondemar* having eaſily dived into the King's Intentions, failed not to encourage him to purſue ſteddily the Plan he had formed, by putting him in hopes of ſucceeding in it. There was another and very ſtrong Reaſon why *Gondemar* endeavoured to keep the King in this Mind. The Truce between *Spain* and *Holland* being about to expire, if the King ſhould reſolve to ſupport his Son-in-law by Arms, he would be able to make ſuch a Diverſion in the *Low-Countries*, as would render the Conqueſt of the *Palatinate* a dear Bargain to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. For this reaſon chiefly the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* flattered him with the Hopes of obtaining an honourable Peace for the Prince *Palatine*. But *James*, too eaſy of Belief, took Words for Deeds.

Though the King did not intend to declare War with *Spain*, he was very glad however that the People were inclined to ſupport by Arms the Elector's Intereſt. He was in hopes the Parliament would grant him large Sums to enable him to make himſelf feared, and then he fancied it would be eaſy for him to put an End to his Son-in-law's Matters, without drawing the Sword, and conſequently without employing in War the Money which ſhould be given him by the Parliament. Herein he meant to imitate his Great-Grandfather *Henry* VII, who made uſe of this Expedient ſeveral Times to fill his Coffers. But he ſhould have imitated likewiſe his Skill in concealing

ing his Deſigns, whereas on the contrary, *James*'s Intentions were open to All. 1621.

The Parliament being aſſembled, the King made a Speech to the Two *Houſes*, which he divided into Three Heads. In the firſt, he told them what a Parliament was, under colour of putting them in mind of ſo neceſſary and Fundamental a Point. The ſecond, contained the Reaſons of their Meeting. In the third, he ſpoke of the *Grievances* which the People thought they had cauſe to complain of, and endeavoured to juſtify his Conduct. As this Speech is of a great Length, I ſhall only cite ſuch Paſſages as may ſerve to diſcover both the King's Principles and Deſigns. He begins thus: *The Parliament meets.* Jan. 20. 162⅘.

## MY LORDS SPIRITUAL *and* TEMPORAL, *and* YOU THE COMMONS.

*The King's Speech.* Wilſon. *Annals of* K. James. *l.* p. 47. Ruſhworth. Vol. I. p. 21. Nelſon *Introduction.*

" IN *multiloquio non deeſt peccatum*, ſaith the wiſeſt " Man that ever was, and this Experience I have " found in mine own Perſon, for 'tis true there have " been many Seſſions of Parliament before this, " wherein I have made many Diſcourſes to the " Gentlemen of the *Lower Houſe*, and in them de- " livered a true Mirror of my Heart; but as no " Man's Actions are free from Cenſure, in regard " of the Excellency of Perfection, ſo, it may be, " it pleaſed God ſeeing ſome Vanity in Me to ſend " back my Words as Wine ſpit into my own Face, " ſo as I may truely ſay *I have piped unto you, and* " *you have not danced, I have mourned and you have* " *not lamented.*

*Concerning the Conſtitution of a Parliament.*

" What is a Parliament? It is an Aſſembly com- " poſed of a *Head*, and a *Body*, the Monarch is the " *Head*,

1621. more ſtrange, is, that in comparing theſe two Ways, he ſhould be ſo blind as to think the Marriage the eaſieſt and moſt proper, and ſhould not ſee that it was only a Snare to deceive him. On the other Hand, he was not ſatisfied with reſolving to take this Method rather than the other, but he even affected to imitate the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*; that he ſhould not think of having recourſe to Arms, unleſs Matters were brought to Extremities, and by that marr'd all his Affairs. The Emperour and King of *Spain* knew how to make the moſt of theſe wrong Proceedings. *Gondemar* having eaſily dived into the King's Intentions, failed not to encourage him to purſue ſteddily the Plan he had formed, by putting him in hopes of ſucceeding in it. There was another and very ſtrong Reaſon why *Gondemar* endeavoured to keep the King in this Mind. The Truce between *Spain* and *Holland* being about to expire, if the King ſhould reſolve to ſupport his Son-in-law by Arms, he would be able to make ſuch a Diverſion in the *Low-Countries*, as would render the Conqueſt of the *Palatinate* a dear Bargain to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*. For this reaſon chiefly the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* flattered him with the Hopes of obtaining an honourable Peace for the Prince *Palatine*. But *James*, too eaſy of Belief, took Words for Deeds.

Though the King did not intend to declare War with *Spain*, he was very glad however that the People were inclined to ſupport by Arms the Elector's Intereſt. He was in hopes the Parliament would grant him large Sums to enable him to make himſelf feared, and then he fancied it would be eaſy for him to put an End to his Son-in-law's Matters, without drawing the Sword, and conſequently without employing in War the Money which ſhould be given him by the Parliament. Herein he meant to imitate his Great-Grandfather *Henry* VII, who made uſe of this Expedient ſeveral Times to fill his Coffers. But he ſhould have imitated likewiſe his Skill in concealing

ing his Deſigns, whereas on the contrary, *James*'s Intentions were open to All. 1621.

The Parliament being aſſembled, the King made a Speech to the Two *Houſes*, which he divided into Three Heads. In the firſt, he told them what a Parliament was, under colour of putting them in mind of ſo neceſſary and Fundamental a Point. The ſecond, contained the Reaſons of their Meeting. In the third, he ſpoke of the *Grievances* which the People thought they had cauſe to complain of, and endeavoured to juſtify his Conduct. As this Speech is of a great Length, I ſhall only cite ſuch Paſſages as may ſerve to diſcover both the King's Principles and Deſigns. He begins thus: *The Parliament meets.* Jan. 20. 162$\frac{0}{1}$.

## MY LORDS SPIRITUAL *and* TEMPORAL, *and* YOU THE COMMONS.

*The King's Speech.* Wilſon. *Annals of* K. James. *l.* p. 47. Ruſhworth. Vol. I. p. 21. Nelſon *Introduction.*

" IN *multiloquio non deeſt peccatum*, ſaith the wiſeſt " Man that ever was, and this Experience I have " found in mine own Perſon, for 'tis true there have " been many Seſſions of Parliament before this, " wherein I have made many Diſcourſes to the " Gentlemen of the *Lower Houſe*, and in them de- " livered a true Mirror of my Heart; but as no " Man's Actions are free from Cenſure, in regard " of the Excellency of Perfection, ſo, it may be, " it pleaſed God ſeeing ſome Vanity in Me to ſend " back my Words as Wine ſpit into my own Face, " ſo as I may truely ſay *I have piped unto you, and* " *you have not danced, I have mourned and you have* " *not lamented.*

*Concerning the Conſtitution of a Parliament.*

" What is a Parliament? It is an Aſſembly com- " poſed of a *Head*, and a *Body*, the Monarch is the " *Head*,

1621. "*Head*, and the *Three Estates* * the *Body*, which are "called in a Monarchy a *Parliament*, *which was used* "*and created by Monarchs*; *For Kings were before* "*Parliaments*, *who as soon as they had settled a form* "*of Government*, *and were willing that the People* "*should be governed by Laws*, *called their Parliaments*, "&c. ——only this I would have you to observe, "that it is a vain Thing for a Parliament to press to "be Popular; there is in no State a Parliament with- "out a Monarchy.——This I put you in mind of, "that you serve under a Monarchy, and that we "must stand and fall with it: Now consider, *First*, "who called you? your King. *Secondly*, whom he "Calls? The *Peers*, who in Respect of the Emi- "nency of their Places and Highness have an In- "terest therein by Birth and Inheritance, because "they are to assist the King *in his greatest Affairs*. "In the next, the *Church*, the *Clergy*, not all, but "the principal Heads thereof the Bishops--------The "*Knights* stand for the *Shires*, and the other *Gentle-* "*men* for the *Borroughs*: Of these is the whole "*Body* Compact.

"*Thirdly*, why ye are called? To give the King "your Advice in such Errands *as he shall ask of you*, "or you shall think fit to ask his Advice in.

"*The King makes Laws*, and ye are to advise "him to make such as will be best for the Common- "wealth. There is another Cause for which the "*House* of *Commons* is called, for that they best "know the particular Estate of their Country, and "and *if the King shall ask their Advice*, they can best "tell what is amiss as being most Sensible. And "also

* As in the following Reign there were great disputes whether the Bishops were a *State* or Body apart by themselves in the Parliament, each side grounded their Assertion upon these Words of this Speech, the one affirming the King said, the *Three Estates*, and the other maintaining he mention'd only *Two Estates*. This is the Reason of the Difference which occurs in the several Copies. *Rushworth* and *Wilson*, have *Two Estates*, *Franklyn*, *Nelson*, &c. *Three Estates*,

" alſo *Petition him to redreſs and amend it*; they are 1621.
" the Authors of Suſtenance alſo to him, *to ſupply*
" *his Neceſſities*, and that is the proper uſe of a
" Parliament, Here they are to offer what they
" think fit to ſupply his Wants, and he is in Lieu
" thereof to afford them Mercy and Juſtice.

" And this I dare boldly ſay, and I am not
" aſhamed to ſpeak it, that all People owe a kind
" of Tribute to their King, as a Thankfulneſs for
" his Love to them, and where there is this Sym-
" pathy between a King and his People, it breeds
" a happy Parliament------.

## *Concerning Religion.*

" As for Religion there are Laws enough, ſo as
" the true Intent and Execution follow-----

" As touching the Rumor which is ſpread that
" I ſhould *tolerate* Religion in reſpect of the Match
" which hath been long in Treaty with *Spain* for
" my Son; I profeſs I will do nothing therein which
" ſhall not be Honourable and *for the good of Reli-*
" *gion*, elſe am I not worthy to be your King; and
" if any thing break off this Match it ſhall be the
" *Cauſe* of *Religion*. The Tryal which you have
" had of my Words and Writings wherein I have
" been a Martyr, tortured in the Mouths of many
" idle Fellows, may give you ample Teſtimony of
" my Integrity, in ſuch Sort, as I hope you will
" truſt the Wiſdom of your King ſo far, as I will
" never do one thing in Private and another in Pub-
" lick, *bnt if after this my Declaration any ſhall*
" *tranſgreſs, blame me not if I ſee them ſeverely*
" *puniſhed.*

### *Concerning the Reaſons of calling the Parliament.*

" Now the Major Errand (I ſpeak Truth) for
" which I have called you, is for a ſupply of my
" urgent Neceſſities in urgent Cauſes; ye can all

" bear

1621. " bear me Witneſs, that I have Reign'd above " Eighteen Years among you; if it hath been a " Fault in me that you have been at Peace all this " Time, I pray you pardon it, for I took it for an " Honour unto me, that you ſhould live quietly " under your Vines and Fig-Trees, reaping the " Fruits of your own Labours and my ſelf to be " a juſt and merciful King among you. You have " not been troubled with preſſing of Men, nor with " other Inconveniencies which the Diſaſters of War " produce, and yet in theſe Eighteen Years have " I had leſs Supplies then any King before me. " The late Queen of famous Memory was ſo far " ſupplied in her Time, that it grew to an Annual " Contribution of One-Hundred-Thirty-five-Thou- " ſand Pound a Year: I had never above Four *Sub-* " *ſides* and Six *Fifteenths*. I challenge not more of " deſert than She, but ſure I am, I have governed " as peaceably. The time ſince my Supply hath " been as the Time of Women with Child, *Quæ* " *decem tulerint faſtidia menſes*, who after ten Months " longings, are delivered of their Burthens; but " I have travailed Ten Years, and therefore full " time to be delivered of my Wants.

" Now you have ſeen a Tryal of my late Care in " divers Years laſt paſt in looking into the Particu- " lars of my Eſtate, wherein I muſt confeſs I have " found my Revenue (as *Job*'s Friends) forſaking " me. [In my Houſhold Expences I have abated " 10000 *l. per Annum*; in my Navy I have abated " 25000 *l.* and ſhortly I hope to abate 10000 *l.* " more. In my *Ordinary* I have brought the Ex- " pence from 34000 *l.* to 14000 *l.*] and yet I was " loath to believe at firſt that theſe were ſo " much out of Order; but at laſt, by the Informa- " tion of ſome private Gentlemen, I was induc'd to " enter into a particular Survey; and herein was the " Love of my young Admiral to me, as he took " the Envy of all upon himſelf for my Sake: And " tho' he be but young, yet I find him true in

" Faith

" Faith, and an honeſt Man, and hath had the beſt 1621.
" Succeſs in all he hath taken in Hand: He ap-
" pointed under himſelf divers Commiſſioners, as a
" young Commander ſhould do, the better to pre-
" ſerve himſelf from Errors, and yet ſought no Re-
" ward but my Good and Service, nevertheleſs went
" through with great Diligence and good Succeſs:
" And therefore I hope the Kingdom ſhall ſay I
" have now a true Care of my Eſtate, not taking
" from others by Violence, Houſe or Land, but go-
" verning my own with good Husbandry. "

*Concerning the Affair of* Bohemia, *he ſays much the ſame Thing as the Marquiſs of* Buckingham *writ in his Letter to Count* Gondemar, *after which he added:*

" I am now to take for a worſe Danger againſt
" next Summer, albeit I will leave no Travel untri-
" ed to obtain a happy Peace; but I thought good
" to be arm'd againſt the worſt Time, it being beſt
" to treat of Peace with the Sword in my Hand:
" Now I ſhall labour to preſerve the reſt of the *Pa-*
" *latinate*, wherein I declare, That if by fair Means
" I cannot get it, my Crown, my Blood, and all
" ſhall be ſpent, with my Son's Blood alſo, but I
" will get it for him, and this is the Cauſe of all,
" that the Cauſe of Religion is involved in it, for
" they will alter Religion where they Conquer, and
" ſo perhaps my Grand-Child may ſuffer who hath
" committed no Fault at all. But this is nothing
" without a ſpeedy Supply, *Bis dat qui citò dat.*
" Conſider who it is that moves you, your King?
" and the Care of the Reformation, and the Char-
" ges which he hath diſburſed, beſides forty Thou-
" ſand Pounds upon the Pyratical Wars, and conſi-
" der if I deſerve not your Reſpects.
" It is ſtrange that my *Mint* hath not gone this
" Eight or Nine Years, but I think the Fault of the
" want of Money is in the uneven ballancing of
" Trade; for other things I confeſs I have been libe-
" ral,

1621. " ral, but the main Cauſe of my Wants has been " the ill Government of thoſe whom I have truſted " under me, for I will not make every Day a *Chriſt-* " *maſs*; and yet it may be in ſome Grants I have " hurt my ſelf, and in others my Subjects; but if I " be truly inform'd, I will rightly reform them.

" *But for you to hunt after Grievances to the preju-* " *dice of the King and your ſelves, is not the Errand:* " *Deal with me as I ſhall deſerve it at your Hands:* " *I will not leave any Thing undone that becomes a Juſt* " *King if you deal accordingly.*

" I know this Parliament hath been of great Ex- " pectation, and ſo was that at my firſt coming: " You I knew, but not the Laws and Cuſtoms of " this Land. I was led by the old Councellors I " found, which the old Queen left, and it may be " there was a miſtaking and miſunderſtanding between " us which bred an Abruption. And at the laſt " Parliament there came up a ſtrange kind of Beaſts " called *Undertakers* *, a Name, which in my Na- " ture I abhor, which cauſed a Diſſolution.

" Now you have that Advantage that I call you " out of my own free Motion, and my Truſt is in " your good Offices: For my good *States*, even all " and every one ſhall find an honeſt King of me.

" How happy a Fame will that be, that he is re- " verenced and loved of all his People, and he reci- " procally loves them. So ſhall I then be honour'd " by my Neighbour Princes, and peradventure my " Government be made an Example for Poſterity " to follow." (*a*) *

*Remarks on this Speech.* Abundance of Remarks and Reflections might be made upon this Speech: But as this wou'd lead me too far, I ſhall content my ſelf with making one ſingle

* Theſe were the Earl of *Somerſet*, and ſome others who undertook to procure the King a Parliament at his Devotion.

(*a*) This Speech is taken out of the *Annals* of King *James* I. For the Author pretends, that in *Wilſon* is not the true one. * Neither *Ruſhworth's*, nor *Wilſon's*, nor *Franklyn's* ſeem to be the true Speech; but That in *Nelſon's* Introduction.

gle Obſervation. This Speech contain'd ſome Maxims concerning the *Regal Power*, which certainly the *Engliſh* in general did not then allow of, as they do not even at this Day. If after King *James* was in the Throne, the Parliament, or the *Houſe of Commons* in particular, had endeavour'd to incroach upon his *Prerogative*, it cou'd not be thought ſtrange that he ſhou'd let them know his Reſolution to maintain it, and that he ſhou'd mark out the Bounds they were not to exceed. But if we conſider what paſs'd in the two firſt Parliaments of this Reign, the *Commons* did not begin to attack the King, but the King himſelf gave the Parliament Cauſe to complain. And ſuppoſing the *Grievances* complain'd of by the *Lower-Houſe*, were groundleſs, to repreſent them to the King was no attempt upon the *Prerogative Royal*, and yet this was the only Reaſon of diſſolving the two firſt Parliaments. We find moreover, not only in This to the preſent Parliament, but alſo in his former Speeches, that he made his *Prerogative* to conſiſt in an unlimited Power, ſince he ſaid in expreſs Terms, *That as to diſpute what God may do, is Blaſphemy; ſo is it Sedition in Subjects to diſpute what a King may do in the height of his Power* *. Hence it was eaſy to infer, he ſet no Bounds to the *Prerogative Royal*. 1621.

The Occaſion of calling the Parliament was ſo plauſible, that the *Commons* eaſily perceiv'd, if they began, according to Cuſtom, with the Conſideration of the *Grievances*, before they gave the King Money, he wou'd not fail to give out that a Delay in ſo important a Juncture was the ſame as a Denial. The People were extremely incens'd againſt *Spain* for invading the *Palatinate*. They dreaded the Prince's Marriage with the *Infanta*, and were apprehenſive of the Deſtruction of the *Proteſtant* Religion Abroad. So to deny the King Money on this Occaſion, wou'd be juſtifying

*The Parliament grants the King Money.* Coke p. 701

* See the King's Speech to the *Lords* and *Commons* at *White-Hall* March 21, 1609. in his own Works, p. 531.

1621. justifying his Indolence. Some Members however being of Opinion that the King had no design to make War, were desirous to spare the People's Purses. But the rest demonstrated to them the Necessity of sacrificing a Sum of Money whether the King employ'd it to good Purpose in Defense of the *Palatinate*, or put it to other Uses. In the first Case, they shou'd have what they wish'd, and the Money they shou'd give the King wou'd be only a small Part of what must be farther expended to support the War. In the second Case, they shou'd clearly discover the King's Intentions, and That wou'd afford them a just Motive to refuse him Money hereafter for imaginary Undertakings. So, without any Sollicitation, the *Commons* granted the King two entire Subsidies* with which he was satisfied, in expectation of getting more hereafter, on the same Account.

Digby *is sent to* Vienna. Wilson, *p.* 154.

Not long after, the King sent the Lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, to endeavour to make up the Elector *Palatine*'s Matters, or at least to obtain a Truce, which shou'd screen the *Palatinate* from the Danger it was threaten'd with next Campaign. I shall speak of this Negotiation presently, after I have done relating the what pass'd in the Parliament.

*Complaints to the Parliament against Monopolies*, p. 155.

The *Subsidy-Act* was no sooner pass'd, but *Petitions* came in Crowds to the *House* of *Commons* as well against the increase of *Popery* and Impunity of the *Recusants*, as against *Monopolies*, *Informers* or *Projectors*. Of the *Monopolies*, Three were chiefly complain'd of. The First was on account of *Inns* which no Man cou'd keep without a *License* from certain Persons to whom the King had granted a *Patent* for that Purpose. The Second was of the same Nature with respect to *Ale-Houses*. The Third was the most Enormous. It was a *Patent* granted by the King to Sir *Giles Mompesson* and Sir *Francis Michel*, for the sole Making and Selling of *Gold* and *Silver Lace*. By this means, they put off great Quantities of counter-

Coke, *p.* 111. Mompesson *and* Michel *are carry'd to the House of Commons.*

* And the *Clergy* Three. *Coke*, p. 111.

counterfeit *Gold-Lace* inſtead of real, and if any Perſon preſumed to make or vent any other, he was thrown into Goal and fined ſeverely *. The two *Actors* in this Buſineſs being informed againſt in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, were immediately committed to Priſon: But *Monpeſſon*, a Creature of *Buckingham's*, found Means to make his Eſcape. As ſoon as he was ſafe, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, promiſing a Reward to any Perſon that ſhould take him. 1621. *and impriſoned.* Monpeſſon *eſcapes*

Mean while the *Two Houſes* applied themſelves cloſely to the Buſineſs of *Monopolies*. The *Commons* wanted to know how theſe two Perſons came by their *Patent*, and the Lords were buſy in forming their Proceſs. Mean while the King was very uneaſy. He ſaw plainly, that this Affair was examining in ſuch a Manner, that the Odium muſt almoſt inevitably fall upon himſelf or Favourite. Wherefore, to prevent its Conſequences, he came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and made a Speech full of tender and affectionate Expreſſions. He affirmed, he was ignorant of the ill Effects his *Patent* had cauſed, and charged them to bring the Offenders to ſpeedy and ſevere Juſtice: Adding, his Intention was to revoke all his *Patents* which had been ſo injurious to the People, and particularly that of *Gold* and *Silver-Lace*, which was a kind of *falſe Coin*. He exhorted them moreover, To diſpatch with all ſpeed the *Bill* they were preparing againſt *Informers* and *Projectors*, ſaying, he had [before in the *Star-Chamber*] ſhown his Diſlike of ſuch People, and to be rid of them would be the greateſt Eaſe to himſelf, [and all thoſe about him.] For, *continued he*, *Buckingham* told me he never found ſuch Quiet and Reſt as in this Time of *Parliament* from *Projectors* and *Informers*, who at other Times miſerably vexed him at all Hours. In ſhort, he told them, He *The King's Speech to the Lords.* Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 24.

* The Lace was made of *Copper*, and other *ſophiſticated Materials*, which were of ſo poiſonous a Nature, that they rotted the Hands and Arms, and brought *Lameneſs* and *Blindneſs* upon thoſe that wrought this Compoſition. *Wilſon*, p. 155.

1621. thought till then the People had never been so happy as in his Reign: but now he was ashamed to consider how his People had been *vexed* and *polled*, by the vile Execution of *Projects*, *Patents*, *Bills of Conformity*, and the like, which have more exhausted their Purses than *Subsidies* would have done. Having thus obviated the Complaints which might be made against him, by condemning first the Occasion of them, he taught the Lords how they were to proceed in judging the Matters before them, not to suffer themselves to be carried away with an inconsiderate Zeal for Justice, to hearken to those who accused the *Innocent* as well as *Guilty*.

*He tries to screen* Buckingham. Wilson, p. 158.

Every body knew well enough that he meant to hinder the Marquess of *Buckingham* from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief Author of the *Monopolies*. He had indeed the Satisfaction to see that the Parliament did not carry this Matter very far. But though he had ordered his *Speeeh* to be printed, that it might be dispersed over all the Kingdom, he could not hinder People's making Reflections to his Disadvantage. For Instance, he said in his Speech, That *he assured them in the Heart of an honest Man, and by the Faith of a Christian King, if these Grievances had been complained of to him before the Parliament, he would have punished them more severely than perhaps the Parliament intended to do*; and yet he was contented with giving over to Justice *Monpesson* and *Michel*, whilst he desired that the Person who had helped them to their *Patent* should be let alone.

Monpesson *and* Michel's *Sentence*. Wilson. Annals, p. 52. Rush. Vol. I. p. 27.

However this be, the Lords were satisfied with punishing *Monpesson* and *Michel*. They confiscated *Monpesson's* Estate, who had made his Escape, and degraded him of his *Knighthood*. *Michel* was likewise degraded, fined a Thousand Pound, imprisoned for Life, and carried on Horse-back with his Face to the Tail, through the publick Streets of *London*.

Shortly

Shortly after, the King, hearing Complaints were brought before the *Peers* againſt Chancellor *Bacon*, came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and ſending for *the Commons*, he made a Speech, wherein he chiefly inſiſted upon the Neceſſity of puniſhing Corruption and Bribery in Judges. Then he thanked the *Commons* for the Two *Subſidies*; but ſaid, the Money was taken up beforehand for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, and Maintenance of his Children, who were fled to *Holland* for Refuge: That he had procured a ſhort Truce, and hoped ſoon to obtain a general Peace; but the great Charges of ſending Ambaſſadors over all *Europe*, or an Army into the *Palatinate*, in caſe his Negotiations became fruitleſs, required a much larger Sum than what had been granted him. He concluded with proteſting before God, he would not diſſolve the Parliament till the Matters in Agitation were finiſhed.

1621. *Chancellor* Bacon *is accuſed. The King exhorts the Lords to do Juſtice.*

*He demands Money.*

*He promiſes not to diſſolve the Parliament.*

Mean while the *Houſe of Commons* having demanded a Conference of the *Lords*, repreſented to them, that the Chancellor being accuſed of divers Crimes, it was not fit he ſhould continue any longer in ſo eminent a Poſt if he were guilty, or be expoſed to Calumny if innocent. Whereupon the Lords ſent the *Chancellor* to the *Tower*, and prepared for his Tryal. He did all he could to avoid the Shame of a particular and full Confeſſion. To that End he preſented an humble *Submiſſion* to the *Houſe*, confeſſing himſelf guilty in general, and imploring Pardon, or at leaſt that his Puniſhment might go no farther than the taking from him the *Great-Seal*. But the *Lords* were inexorable. They required a Confeſſion of each particular Article of the Impeachment, which conſiſted in the Enumeration of ſeveral Bribes he had taken. He was ſo very particular, that he confeſſed one of his Servants took a Dozen of *Buttons* as a Gift, in a Cauſe depending before him. But this Confeſſion, how expreſs and full ſoever it might be, did not hinder him from being declared unworthy, not only of the Office of *Chancellor*, but even of having a Place for the future in

*The Commons deſire* Bacon *may be tried.* Wilſon, p. 158. Annals, p. 53.

*He confeſſes himſelf guilty in general.* Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 29.

*He is forced to make a particular Confeſſion.*

*He is turned out of his Office and the Houſe of Peers.*

1621. in the *House of Peers*, though he had been created *Baron of Verulam*, and *Viscount of St. Albans*. Nay, he was like to have been stript of this Dignity *.

*His Character.* Weldon, p. 133. He was a very great *Genius*, and one of the most learned Men in *Europe*, but a servile Flatterer, extremely haughty whilst Fortune smiled upon him, and cringing when she frowned. After his Disgrace,

*Remark on his History of* Henry VII. he composed several Works, and amongst others, the History of King *Henry* VII, to whom certainly he has not given a just Character. And no wonder. For as his Estate was forfeited by the Sentence passed upon him, and as he had nothing to live on but a Pension from the King, who always spoke of *Henry* VII his Great-Grandfather with high Commendations, he made his Court to the King, by setting up that Prince as a Pattern of Wisdom and Virtue.

*Origin of the two Parties known now by the Name of* Tories *and* Whigs. It was properly in this Third Parliament that Two Parties were formed, one for the Court, the other for the People, who began from this Time to oppose one another on all Occasions. The People had the strongest Party among *the Commons*, and the King in the *House of Lords*. Not but that the Kings had all along their Sticklers in the Two *Houses*, and the *Ministers* and *Favourites* their Enemies and Ill-wishers. But till this Parliament there were not properly any formed Parties, or, if there were any, they were not long-lived. But those that began to be formed this Year continually increased. These were the same Parties which are still in Being, under the Names of *Tories* and *Whigs*, the First of which labours incessantly to stretch the *Prerogative* Royal as high as possible, when the King sides with them; and the other is always insisting on the Rights and Privileges of the People. The mutual Animosity of these two Parties, when first they were formed, was nothing in comparison of what it is at this Day. When Matters were come to that Pass,

* To heighten his Misery the more, many others were crushed by his Fall, for he was vastly in Debt, and notwithstanding his Pension, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grey's-Inn*. Wilson, p. 160.

Paſs, that every Thing in the Parliament was made a Party-Buſineſs, all tended by degrees to Confuſion. As one of the Parties was always ready to increaſe the King's Power, the others uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, not only to keep it within due Bounds, but alſo to leſſen it, for fear the Prerogatives the King was poſſeſſed of might ſerve him for Steps to mount higher. Thus both went too far. *James* I, gave Birth to theſe two Parties, (who were the Occaſion of ſo many Calamities to *England* and his own Family) by the haughty Manner wherein he would have eſtabliſhed Prerogatives, which perhaps would never have been called in queſtion, had he not built them upon Principles that opened a Door to Arbitrary Power. He met however with great Oppoſition, not only in the *Houſe of Commons*, but among the *Peers* themſelves, ſeveral of whom did not ſcruple to contradict him openly. Of this Number were the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Oxford*, *Southampton* [and *Warwick*] the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, the Lord *Spenſer*, and ſome others. It was become cuſtomary, that when one Lord had ſpoken *for* or *againſt* the Government, he was taken up by another of the oppoſite Party, and very often in ſo hot and paſſionate a Manner, as was unbecoming the Dignity of *the Houſe*. One Day as the Lord *Spenſer* was ſpeaking about the Government, and alledging ſeveral Inſtances of what their great Anceſtors did, *Arundel* took him up ſhort, ſaying, *My Lord, when theſe Things were doing, your Anceſtors were keeping Sheep* *; *Spenſer* inſtantly replied, *When my Anceſtors (as you ſay) were keeping Sheep, your Anceſtors were plotting Treaſon.* Whereupon the *Houſe* ordering them both to withdraw, it was reſolved, in ſpite of the moſt zealous Courtiers, that the Earl of *Arundel*, as Aggreſſor, ſhould give the Lord *Spenſer*

1621.

*Quarrel between* Arundel *and* Spenſer. Wilſon, p. 163.

* The Lord *Spenſer*, it ſeems, took great Delight in a Country Life, and eſpecially in Flocks of Sheep, which made *Wilſon* ſay, *He was more vigilant to keep the People's Liberties from being a Prey to the incroaching Power of Monarchy, than his harmleſs and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures*, p. 163.

1621. Satisfaction; which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the *Tower*, from whence he was not releaſed till he had ſubmitted to what the *Houſe* had enjoined him.

*The Commons delay granting the King Money.*

Mean while, the *Commons* finding the King made no Preparations for War, but was contented with ſending *Digby* to the Emperour, were in no haſte to give him a freſh Supply of Money, eſpecially as they knew the two *Subſidies* already granted had been put to other Uſes. They were not ignorant beſides that the King built all his hopes upon the *Spaniſh* Match, and conſequently would be very backward to take up Arms againſt the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, and the more, becauſe *Gondemar* had ſtill a great Influence over him. The Truth is, had the King really intended to wreſt from the *Spaniard* what he had taken in the *Palatinate*, it was not natural that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſhould have ſo much Power at Court. The People were highly diſpleaſed with it, and looked upon the Match with *Spain* as a very great Misfortune to the Nation and the *Proteſtant* Religion. Of this they gave *Gondemar* himſelf a ſenſible Proof, he being reviled and inſulted by the Mob in *London* Streets. The King hearing of it, ordered one of the Fellows, who was taken up, to be publickly whipt by the Hangman, which was done accordingly.

*Gondemar inſulted by the People.* Ruſh, Vol. I. P. 34.

*The King orders the Parliament to be adjourned.* Annals, p. 55.

The King perceiving the *Commons* would never think of granting him a freſh Supply, before it was known for certain whether there would be Peace or War, ordered the Lord-Treaſurer to go in his Name, and adjourn the Parliament to the 14th of *November*. The Spirit of Jealouſy which then reigned among the *Commons*, cauſed them to conſider this Adjournment as an Incroachment upon their Privileges. They pretended, the King had indeed Power to *prorogue* and *diſſolve* the Parliament, but that *Adjournment* was the peculiar Privilege of each *Houſe*. So they deſired a Conference with the *Lords*, to perſuade them to concur with them, in preſenting a *Petition* to the King upon this Occaſion. But the King acquainting the Lords that ſuch a *Petition* would be very diſpleaſing

*The Commons think it a Breach of Privileg.* Coke, 111. Ruſh. Vol. I. P. 35.

to

to him, and that he would not ſuffer his Power to *call*, *adjourn*, *prorogue*, and *diſſolve* the Parliament, to be diſputed, the Lords refuſed to join with the *Commons*. Whereupon the *Commons* declared, That they were very much concerned at the King's Reſolution, becauſe it deprived them of the Means of finiſhing what they had begun for the publick Good. 1621. *The Lords refuſe to join with the Commons.*

This Declaration brought the King to the *Houſe of Peers*, and after he had thanked their Lordſhips for acknowledging his Prerogative, and refuſing to join with the *Commons*, he told them, If they deſired it, he would let them ſit Eight or Ten Days longer; but ſaid, He would not grant it at the Requeſt of the *Commons*. Upon this Offer, the Lords, after a Conference with the *Commons*, moved the King to continue their ſitting for Fourteen Days, which was granted. Some Days after a Committee of both *Houſes* attending the King, he took Occaſion to tell them, how ill he took it that the *Commons* ſhould diſpute his undoubted Right to adjourn the Parliament. In all appearance this Power was not confirmed by Cuſtom, ſince the *Commons* conſidered it as an Invaſion of their Privileges, whereas they never thought of queſtioning his Right to *prorogue* and *diſſolve* the Parliament. Be this as it will, the *Commons*, ſeeing the Lords, who were equally concerned in the Affair, refuſe their Concurrence, proceeded no farther. *The King gives them Leave to ſit a Fortnight longer.*

Nevertheleſs, on the very Day they were to break up, they drew up a Declaration, wherein they ſaid, *That taking into moſt ſerious Conſideration the preſent State of the* King's Children *Abroad, and the generally afflicted Eſtate of the true* Profeſſors *of the ſame* Chriſtian Religion, *profeſſed by the* Church *of* England *in* foreign Parts, *and being touched with a true Senſe and Fellow-feeling of their Diſtreſſes, as* Members *of the ſame* Body, *they do with unanimous Conſent declare —— they ſhall be ready to the utmoſt of their Power, both with their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſiſt his Majeſty ſo, as that he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable Courſe ſhall not be effected.* *The Commons Declaration for the Defence of the* Palatinate. Wilſon, p. 164. Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 36. Annals, p. 56.

1621. *Proclamation to revoke divers Monopolies.* Rush. p. 36.

Presently after, the King issued out a Proclamation, wherein he set forth, That as many great Affairs debated in Parliament could not be brought to Perfection in so short a Time, *the Commons had thought it convenient to continue the same Session in Course of Adjournment:* That as for the *Grievances*, they were such as he needed not the Assistance of Parliament to reform the same, and he would have redressed them himself before, had they been made known to him sooner: Adding, that by his own Regal Authority, he annulled and revoked the *Patent* for Gold and Silver Thread, and some others mentioned in the Proclamation. At the same Time a second Proclamation was published against such as were so bold as to talk of State-Affairs, notwithstanding his Majesty's former Command, with Threats of severe Punishment, as well against the Concealers of such Discourses, as against audacious Tongues and Pens.

*Another against talking of State-Affairs.* Coke. Rush. p. 36.

On the 10th of *July*, *Williams* was sworn Lord-Keeper of the *Great-Seal* of *England* in the Room of *Bacon*.

*Williams made Lord Keeper.*

I must now briefly relate what passed in *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, after the Battle of *Prague*. The Knowledge of this is absolutely necessary for understanding clearly the Affairs of *England*.

*Affairs of Bohemia. Hist. of the Reb. of Boh.*

The Day after the Battle, the City of *Prague* surrendered at Discretion, which done, the Duke of *Bavaria* went back to *Munick*, leaving his Army in *Bohemia*, under the Command of Count *Tilly* his General. On the other Hand, Count *Bucquoy* set out the 12th of *December* for *Moravia*, which voluntarily submitted, as despairing of any Assistance. After *Bucquoy* had spent part of the Winter in *Moravia* and at *Vienna*, he went and commanded the Imperial Army in *Hungary*, where he was slain, having first made some Progress. A little before, *Silesia* had likewise submitted to the Emperour.

*Mansfeldt marches into the Upper Palatinate.*

Mean while, Count *Mansfeldt* had fortified himself in *Bohemia*, from whence the Imperialists would have found it a hard Matter to drive him. But the King

King of *Bohemia*, who was all this while in *Holland*, hearing the Duke of *Bavaria* was preparing to invade the *Upper Palatinate*, cauſed *Mansfeldt* to march his Army thither, having obtained of the *Hollanders* a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand *Florins* to pay his Troops. *Mansfeldt* was not however in a Condition to ſtand againſt *Tilly*, who, having entered the *Upper Palatinate* at the Head of Twenty-five Thouſand Men, had taken *Bamburg* and ſome other Places. Nevertheleſs, as *Mansfeldt* had intrenched himſelf behind a Moraſs, where it was impracticable to attack him, Count *Tilly*, in order to make him quit the Country, concluded a Treaty with him, by which he bound himſelf to ſupply him with Two Hundred Thouſand *Florins*. This Treaty was concluded the 27th of *September*, 1621, but ſome unexpected Difficulty occurring, it was not executed. So *Mansfeldt* kept his Poſt till the Lord *Digby's* Arrival, who paſſing that Way in his Return from *Vienna*, prevailed with him to march into the *Lower Palatinate*, which was in extreme Danger. By this Means the *Upper Palatinate* was actually loſt and ſubdued by the Duke of *Bavaria*.

1621.

*He makes a Treaty with* Tilly *Hiſt. of the Reb. of* Bohemia, p. 805. *but to no purpoſe.*

*The Upper* Palatinate *is loſt.*

In the Year 1620, *Spinola*, as I ſaid, began his Conqueſts in the *Lower Palatinate*. Since the King of *Bohemia's* Allies ſubmitted to the Emperour, after the Battle of *Prague*, *Spinola* continued his Conqueſts with Rapidity, as there was no Army to ſtop him, and as the *Engliſh* were too few in Number to oppoſe his Progreſs. However, on the 2d of *Auguſt* 1620, a Five Weeks Truce was concluded at *Haguenau*, the ſame King *James* mentioned in his Speech to the Parliament. The Archduke had made him believe he had agreed to this Truce merely out of Reſpect to him; but in reality it was only to give the Emperour Time to ſend Forces into the *Lower Palatinate*, in the Room of thoſe *Spinola* was leading back into the *Low-Countries*, becauſe of the Expiration of the Twelve-Years-Truce between *Spain* and *Holland*. *Spinola* leaving but very few Troops with *Don Gonſales de Cordova*,

*Affairs of the Lower* Palatinate. Ibid.

1621. *Cordova*, who was to command in the *Palatinate*, the Truce was as much for the *Spaniard's* Advantage as for the King of *Bohemia's*. Shortly after, the *Spaniſh* Army being grown Ten Thouſand ſtrong, *Vere* was forced to retire to *Worms*. In the mean while, the *Spaniſh* General became Maſter of *Stein*, *Ladenburg*, and *Keiſers-Lautern*, and in *October* he went and beſieged *Frankendal*, into which Place *Vere* had thrown himſelf. There was no other Way to ſave this important Town, but by cauſing *Mansfeldt* to come from the *Upper-Palatinate*, as I ſaid before. Upon *Mansfeldt's* Approach, *Gonſales* raiſed the Siege of *Frankendal*. But preſently after, *Tilly* coming to the Lower *Palatinate* with the *Bavarian* Army, and ſome Troops of *Mentz* and *Wirsburgh*, *Mansfeldt* was forced to retire into *Alſatia*. This Campaign ended with the Loſs of all the Towns in the *Lower Palatinate*, except *Manheim*, *Heidelburg*, and *Frankendal*, which were the moſt important. *Vere* continued at *Frankendal*, *Herbert* commanded in *Manheim*, and *Burroughs* in *Heidelburgh*.

*Siege of* Franken-dal.

Mansfeldt *goes and raiſes the Siege.*

Tilly *arrives.*

Mansfeldt *retires.*

Philip III *dies.* *Philip* III King of *Spain* died the 31ſt of *March* this Year, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Philip* IV.

*Siege of* Montau-ban. In *France*, *Lewis* XIII had vigorouſly preſſed the *Huguenots*, and beſieged *Montauban*, but the long Reſiſtance of the Beſieged, had compelled him to raiſe the Siege.

James *is amuſed by the Arch-duke.* The Twelve-Years-Truce between *Spain* and the *United-Provinces* being about to expire, the Archduke was afraid *James* would ſend a ſtrong Aid to the *States*, in order to oblige the *Spaniards* to reſtore what they had taken in the *Palatinate*. To divert him from ſuch Thoughts, he gave him to underſtand, that a Peace between the Elector *Palatine*, and the Emperour was not ſo hard to be brought about as was imagined, and that the Emperour without doubt would agree to the ſame, provided he had reaſonable Terms offered him: Nay, he ſent the Emperour in the *Elector's* Behalf a very preſſing Letter, which was ſhown to the King. This was taking him by his Foible; for he

was

was ever of Opinion, that Juſtice, Honeſty, and the Regard the World had for him, were ſufficient to put an End to this Affair. To lead him the more eaſily into the Snare, the Emperour wrote to the Archduke, that at his Inſtances, and out of the great Reſpect he had for the King of *England*, he was ready to embrace all proper Methods for a Peace with the *Elector Palatine*. On the other Hand, the King of *Spain* ſent the Emperour Word, That if he had given the *Upper-Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as was reported, he muſt expect no farther Aſſiſtance from *Spain*. All theſe Letters were communicated to the King, or his Ambaſſadors, and thereby he was more and more confirmed in his Opinion, That there would be no Occaſion to go to War, and that to ſhow the leaſt Miſtruſt would ſpoil All. Thus the Princes of the *Houſe of Auſtria* amuſed the King to induce him to continue his fatal Neutrality. Upon theſe Hopes then, without queſtioning their Sincerity in the leaſt, he diſpatched the Lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, the Succeſs of whoſe Negotiation I muſt now relate. 1621. *and by the Emperour.*

This Ambaſſador having an Audience of the Emperour on the 15th of *July*, confined his Demands to theſe two Heads. *Firſt*, That the *Elector Palatine* ſhould be reſtored to the ſame State he was in before he was choſen King of *Bohemia*. *Secondly*, That the *Imperial Ban* ſhould be revoked, or at leaſt ſuſpended; which done, the King his Father-in-law would undertake to oblige him to give the Emperour due Satisfaction. *Succeſs of* Digby's *Embaſſy.* Du Cheſne. Annals, p. 56. Ruſh. I. 37.

The Emperour, who only ſought to gain Time, anſwered in Writing, That at the Requeſt of the King of *England*, and ſome other Princes who had wrote to him in the *Palatine's* Behalf, he was ready to pardon him. That the Difficulty of this Affair conſiſted in two main Points; the Firſt whereof was, That the *Palatine* ſhould pay him the Obedience due to the Head of the Empire; the Second, That he ſhould give him a reaſonable Satisfaction. As this

was

1621. was exactly *James's* Scheme for an Accommodation, Peace seemed to be at Hand. But the Term, *Satisfaction*, being capable of a more or less extensive Meaning, it was easy for the Emperour to spin out the Negotiation to what length he pleased. However, for fear he should be taken at his Word, he added in his Answer, That as he had undertaken the War with the Advice and Assistance of divers Princes, he could do nothing without their Consent: But he had called a *Diet* at *Ratisbone*, the Resolutions whereof should be communicated to the King of *England*. It must be observed, this *Diet* did not meet till the Month of *January* 1623.

*Death of the Archduke.* Ibid.

Within a few Days after the Emperour had delivered this Answer to the Ambassador, he received a Letter from the *Infanta Isabella*, notifying the Death of her Husband the Archduke at *Brussels* the 13th of *July*, repeating withal her Instances to him in the Elector's Behalf. Whereupon *Digby* presented a fresh Memorial, demanding a Truce for the *Lower Palatinate* on three Conditions. 1. That Count *Mansfeldt* should observe the Truce, otherwise the Elector *Palatin* should revoke his Commission. 2. That the Commission of *John-George de Brandenburg* Marques of *Jagerndorf* who served the Elector, should be likewise revoked. 3. That as soon as the Truce was published, the Elector should deliver up to the Emperour, *Tabor* and *Wittgaw*, the only Places he still held in *Bohemia*.

The Emperour receiving these Proposals, communicated them to the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, who returned both the same Answer, as if they had given each other the Word, namely, They advised him to omit nothing to restore Peace to *Germany*: Loose Expressions without any Meaning, but which however served to make believe they were inclined to Peace. After this the Emperour wrote a Letter to the *Infanta*, which was imparted to *Digby*, telling her that at her Request, and out of his great Regard for the King of *England* who had shown so great

great Prudence, Sincerity, and Moderation, he was resolved to treat of a Truce, on the Conditions the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had himſelf propoſed. Adding, that during the Truce, Conferences might be held, to try to attain to a Peace. Thus *James* was obliged either to ſit ſtill and expect the Iſſue of theſe Conferences, or to break with the Emperour and *Spain*, juſt as the Peace ſeemed to be upon the Point of Concluſion, which it was well known he would not eaſily be brought to. 1621.

Some Time after, the Emperour, whether to prolong the Time, or to get rid of *Digby's* Importunities, gave him to underſtand, he intended to grant a Truce for the *Palatinate*, if the Duke of *Bavaria* would conſent to it. Nay, he adviſed him to go and negotiate the Truce with the Duke. *Digby* leaving *Vienna* the 11th of *September*, came into the *Upper Palatinate* where the Duke of *Bavaria* then was, at the Time *Mansfeldt* was concluding the Truce abovementioned with *Tilly*. When *Digby* talked of a Truce, the Duke told him, *There was no need to labour for a Truce, for the Wars were at an End, in that he had agreed with Count* Mansfeldt; *nor did he doubt of keeping both* Palatinates *in Peace, till the Emperour and* Palſgrave *were agreed.* The Emperour hearing by *Digby* of this Anſwer, ſent him Word, That the Face of Affairs being altered in the *Upper Palatinate*, by *Mansfeldt's* Fault, who had entered that Country with his Troops, the Duke of *Bavaria* was under a Neceſſity of raiſing an Army, to drive him thence, and it was not reaſonable he ſhould be at that Charge to no Purpoſe. Then it was that *Digby*, having firſt informed the King how Matters ſtood in *Germany*, brought *Mansfeldt* into the *Lower Palatinate*, where his coming ſaved *Frankendal.* After which, he borrowed, upon his own Credit, Ten Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to pay the *Engliſh* Troops who had received nothing for a long while. Ruſhworth, I. p. 37.

The

1621. *Satisfaction offered to the Emperour by the King in the Emperour's Name* Du Chesne.

The King being informed, by his Ambassador's Letter, of the Duke of *Bavaria's* Answer, wrote to the Emperour to complain of the Invasion of the *Palatinate*, and to set out percisely the Manner he conceived that the Elector *Palatine* ought to give him Satisfaction, in order to fix the Sense of the Word. 1. That he should renounce the Crown of *Bohemia*. 2. That as Prince of the Empire he should submit to his *Imperial Majesty*. 3. That he should ask Pardon on his Knees. 4. That for the future, he should remain quiet, and raise no Disturbance in the Empire. 5. That he should be reconciled to all the Princes. 6. That if this were not sufficient, he would undertake to get added to these Terms what more should be deemed reasonable. *Lastly*, He told him, That in Case he could not obtain his Son-in-law's Pardon by fair Means, he was resolved to have recourse to Arms. The Emperour, without being frighted with this Menace, continued still to amuse him; and the better to persuade him that he was inclined to a Peace, he dispatched Count *Schwatzenburgh* to agree with him upon the Conditions of a Truce. The Count was very magnificently received at *London*. But before I speak of the Success of his Embassy, I must relate what passed in *England* till the End of the Year.

*The Emperour sends an Ambassador to amuse him.*

*The King re assembles the Parliament, at* Digby's *Return.*

The King had farther adjourned the two *Houses* from the 14th of *November* to the 8th of *February* 1622. But *Digby's* Return occasioned his ordering them to meet on the 20th of *November*. As he was not very well in Health, he commanded the Lord *Keeper*, the Lord *Treasurer*, and the Lord *Digby*, to acquaint the Parliament with his Intentions. The Lord *Keeper* said, That since the last Adjournment the King had taken great Care of the Nation, reforming by his Proclamations Thirty-seven several *Grievances* complained of by the People, without demanding any Thing in Return for these Favours as was usual in former Times. That he had assembled the Parliament again, upon the Declaration the *Commons* had made to assist him powerfully to recover the *Palatinate*.

*The Keeper's Speech.* Wilson, Annals, p. 57. Rush. I. 39.

*Palatinate.* That he had uſed his Endeavours to procure a good Peace, but with little Succeſs, as the Lord *Digby* would inform them. Then, he put them in Mind, that the King had advanced Forty Thouſand Pounds to keep together an Army in the *Lower-Palatinate.* *But*, continued he, *unleſs the Parliament take further Reſolution, and imitate rather antient than modern Principles, and be more expeditious in what they do, his Majeſty's Endeavours will fall to the Ground.* He concluded with Saying, That the King did reſolve to continue the Seſſion till ſeven or eight Days before *Chriſtmas*, and to renew it the 8th of *February.* 1621.

The Lord *Digby* ſpeaking next, gave a brief Account of what he had done in his Embaſſy to *Vienna*, and ſaid, He plainly diſcovered that it was the Emperour's Intent to give the *Upper-Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria.* Adding, That a good Sum of Money was abſolutely Neceſſary, both to keep Count *Mansfeldt's* Army together, and to ſend a ſtrong Supply of *Engliſh* Troops to the *Palatinate.* Digby's *Speech.* Wilſon, p. 166. Annals, p. 58. Ruſh I. 39.

The Lord-Treaſurer ſaid, The King's Coffers were empty, his Treaſure being exhauſted by the Sums he had employed in the Defence of the *Palatinate.* Nevertheleſs, though the King declared for War, he was reſolved to conclude the *Spaniſh* Match, hoping by that Means to make a Peace. *The Treaſurer's Speech.* Ibid.

It is certain, the King had no Deſign to go to War, ſince he could do ſo only with the *Spaniard*, whom he looked upon as his beſt Friend, and with whom he was juſt going to be allied by his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta.* But however, he made as if he intended to take up Arms, in caſe he ſhould be obliged to it. To that End, it was neceſſary, in his Opinion, to prepare betimes, and to begin with ſending Money to *Mansfeldt* to pay his Men, that the War might be kept up in the *Palatinate*, till the Iſſue of the Negotiations at *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſhould be known. The King was deſirous therefore that it ſhould be taken for granted, that, in caſe theſe Negotiations *The King's Deſign.*

1621. gotiations were fruitleſs, he was bent to begin the War, and carry it on with Vigour. Conſequently, he demanded Money to enable him to make all neceſſary Preparations, and in a Word required that the Buſineſs ſhould be left to his Management, without any one's troubling himſelf about the Courſe he ſhould take. Indeed, Parliaments are wont to act after this manner, when they think the King is undertaking a juſt and neceſſary War. So *James* had the uſual Cuſtom and Method of the Parliament on his Side. There was only one Objection to be made, but it was of ſuch a Nature, that no Man durſt ſpeak his Mind freely upon it, namely, That the Conduct of former Parliaments was grounded upon their good Opinion of their Kings, and the Confidence they had in them. But the *Houſe* of *Commons* put no Confidence in *James* I. He demanded Money for a War which they were ſatisfied he had no Inclination to wage. And therefore they could not help being apprehenſive, that the Money they ſhould give him would be employed otherways than in a War with *Spain*. On the other Hand, the *Commons* were caught in their own Nets. To ſhow that the Delaying a War, which was deemed neceſſary by all the World, did not proceed from them, they had promiſed to put the King in a Condition to begin and carry it on vigorouſly. But when this ſame Promiſe came to be performed, the little Truſt they had in the King, made them very ſparing of their Money. It was neceſſary however to ſatisfy the Publick, and to ſhow, they meant to keep their Word, provided they could be ſure it would be for the Benefit of the State. To this End, they reſolved to make a *Remonſtrance* to the King, and repreſent to him what they thought requiſite in the preſent Juncture. Not that they expected the King would grant their Requeſts; but that the Fault might lye at his Door, in Caſe he refuſed them, which was ſcarce to be doubted. Such were the Effects, the Jealouſy between the King and Parliament began to produce. Inſtead of uſing their joint

*Remark on this Occaſion.*

*The Commons reſolve to make a Remonſtrance to the King.*

joint Endeavours for the publick Good, each ſtrove to take Advantage of the other. For the better underſtanding of the Occurrences of this Reign, which were the Origin and Spring of the Troubles in the following Reign, it will not be improper to inſert the whole *Remonſtrance*, notwithſtanding its Length. 1621.

*Moſt Gracious and Dread Sovereign,*

*The Commons Remonſtrance.* Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 40. Wilſon. *Annals of* James I. p. 58.

" WE your Majeſty's moſt Humble and Loyal " Subjects, the *Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes* now aſſembled in Parliament, who repreſent " the *Commons* of your Realm, full of hearty Sorrow, to be deprived of the Comfort of your Royal Preſence, the rather, for that it proceeds from " the Want of your Health, wherein we all unfeignedly do ſuffer; in all humble Manner, calling " to Mind your moſt Gracious Anſwer to our former Petition concerning Religion, which, notwithſtanding your Majeſty's Pious and Princely " Intentions, hath not produced that good Effect, " which the Danger of theſe Times doth ſeem to require: And finding how ill your Majeſty's Goodneſs hath been requited by Princes of different Religion, who, even in Time of Treaty, have taken Opportunity to advance their own Ends, " tending to the Subverſion of Religion, and Diſadvantage of your Affairs, and the Eſtate of your " Children; by Reaſon whereof, your ill-affected " Subjects at home, the Popiſh Recuſants, have taken too much Encouragement, and are dangerouſly encreaſed in their Number, and in their Inſolencies. We cannot but be ſenſible thereof, and " therefore humbly repreſent what we conceive to " be the Cauſes of ſo great and growing Miſchiefs, " and what be the Remedies.

" I. The Vigilancy and Ambition of the Pope of " *Rome*, and his deareſt Son, the one aiming at as

1621. " large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a " Spiritual Supremacy.

" II. The Deviliſh Poſitions and Doctrines, where- " on Popery is built, and taught with Authority to " their Followers, for Advancement of their Tem- " poral Ends.

" III. The diſtreſſed and miſerable Eſtate of the " Profeſſors of true Religion in Foreign Parts.

" IV. The diſaſterous Accidents to your Majeſty's " Children abroad, expreſſed with rejoycing, and e- " ven with Contempt of their Perſons.

" V. The ſtrange Confederacy of the Princes of " the Popiſh Religion, aiming mainly at the Ad- " vancement of theirs, and ſubverting of ours, and " taking the Advantages conducing to that End up- " on all Occaſions.

" VI. The great and many Armies raiſed, and " maintained at the Charge of the King of *Spain*, the " Chief of that League.

" VII. The Expectation of the Popiſh Recuſants " of the Match with *Spain*, and feeding themſelves " with great Hopes of the Conſequences thereof.

" VIII. The Interpoſing of Foreign Princes and " their Agents, in the Behalf of Popiſh Recuſants, " for Connivance and Favour unto them.

" IX. Their open and uſual Reſort to the Houſes, " and, which is worſe, to the Chapels of Foreign " Ambaſſadors.

" X. Their more than uſual Concourſe to the City, " and their frequent Conventicles and Conferences " there.

" XI. The Education of their Children in many " ſeveral Seminaries and Houſes of their Religion in " Foreign Parts, appropriated to the *Engliſh* Fugi- " tives.

" XII. The Grants of their juſt Forfeitures, in- " tended by your Majeſty as a Reward of Service " to the Grantees; but beyond your Majeſty's In- " tention, transferred or compounded for, at ſuch

" mean

" mean Rates, as will amount to little leſs than a 1621.
" Toleration.

" XIII. The licentious Printing and Diſperſing of " Popiſh and Seditious Books, even in the time of " Parliament.

" XIV. The Swarms of Prieſts and Jeſuits, the " common Incendiaries of all *Chriſtendom*, diſperſed " in all Parts of your Kingdom.

" And from theſe Cauſes, as bitter Roots, we " humbly offer to your Majeſty, That we fore- " ſee and fear there will neceſſarily follow very dan- " gerous Effects both to Church and State. For,

" I. The Popiſh Religion is incompatible with " Ours in reſpect of their Poſitions.

" II. It draweth with it an unavoidable Depen- " dency on Foreign Princes.

" III. It openeth too wide a Gap for Popularity, " to any who ſhall draw too great a Party.

" IV. It hath a reſtleſs Spirit, and will ſtrive by " theſe Gradations; if it once get but a Connivan- " cy, it will preſs for a Toleration; if that ſhould " be obtained, they muſt have an Equality; from " thence they will aſpire to Superiority, and will never " reſt till they get a Subverſion of the true Religion.

" The Remedies againſt theſe growing Evils, " which, in all Humility we offer unto your moſt " Excellent Majeſty, are theſe.

" I. That ſeeing this inevitable Neceſſity is fallen " upon your Majeſty, which no Wiſdom or Provi- " dence of a peaceful and pious King can avoid, " your Majeſty would not omit this juſt Occaſion, " ſpedily and effectually to take your Sword into " your Hand.

" II. That War undertaken upon ſo honourable " and juſt Grounds, your Majeſty would reſolve to " purſue, and more publickly avow the aiding of " thoſe of our Religion in Foreign Parts; which " doubtleſs would re-unite the Princes and States of

1621. " the Union, by these Disasters disheartned and dis-
" banded.

" III. That your Majesty would propose to your
" self to manage this War with the best Advantage,
" by a Diversion or otherwise, as in your deep Judg-
" ment shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a
" War in these Parts only, which will consume your
" Treasure, and discourage your People.

" IV. That the Bent of this War, and Point of
" your Sword, may be against that Prince (what-
" soever Opinion of Potency he hath) whose Ar-
" mies and Treasures have first diverted, and since
" maintained the War in the *Palatinate*.

" V. That for securing of our Peace at home,
" your Majesty would be pleased to review the Parts
" of our Petition, formerly delivered unto your
" Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put in
" Execution, by the Care of choice Commissio-
" ners to be thereunto especially appointed, the
" Laws already, and hereafter to be made for pre-
" venting of Dangers by Popish Recusants, and their
" wonted Evasions.

" VI. That to frustrate their Hopes for a future
" Age, our most noble Prince may be timely and
" happily married to one of our own Religion.

" VII. That the Children of the Nobility and
" Gentry of this Kingdom, and of others ill-affected
" and suspected in their Religion now beyond the
" Seas, may be forthwith called home by your
" Means, and at the Charge of their Parents or
" Governours.

" VIII. That the Children of Popish Recusants, or
" such whose Wives are Popish Recusants, be brought
" up, during their Minority, with Protestant
" School-Masters and Teachers, who may sow, in
" their tender Years, the Seeds of true Religion.

" IX. That your Majesty will be pleased speedily
" to revoke all former Licences for such Children
" and Youth to travel beyond the Seas, and not
" grant any such Licences hereafter.

" X. That

"X. That your Majeſty's learned Council may 1621.
"receive Commandment from your Highneſs, care-
"fully to look into former Grants of Recuſants
"Lands, and to avoid them, if by Law they can;
"and that your Majeſty will ſtay your Hand from
"paſſing any ſuch Grants hereafter.

"This is the Sum and Effect of our humble *De-*
"*claration*, which we (no Ways intending to preſs
"upon your Majeſty's undoubted and regal Prero-
"gative) do with the Fulneſs of our Duty and Obe-
"dience, humbly ſubmit to your moſt princely
"Conſideration: The Glory of God, whoſe Cauſe
"it is; the Zeal of our true Religion, in which we
"have been born, and wherein (by God's Grace)
"we are reſolved to die; the Safety of your Ma-
"jeſty's Perſon, who is the very Life of your Peo-
"ple; the Happineſs of your Children and Poſte-
"rity; the Honour and Good of the Church and
"State, dearer unto us than our own Lives, having
"kindled theſe Affections truly devoted to your
"Majeſty.

"And ſeeing out of our Duty to your Majeſty,
"we have already reſolved to give, at the End of
"this Seſſion, one entire Subſidy, for the preſent
"Relief of the *Palatinate* only, to be paid in the
"End of *February* next, which cannot well be ef-
"fected but by paſſing a Bill in a Parliamentary
"Courſe before *Chriſtmas*; we moſt humbly beſeech
"your Majeſty (as our aſſured hope is) that you
"will then alſo vouchſafe to give Life by your Royal
"Aſſent, to ſuch Bills, as before that time ſhall be
"prepared for your Majeſty's Honour, and the ge-
"neral Good of your People: And that ſuch Bills
"may be alſo accompanied (as hath been accuſto-
"med) with your Majeſty's gracious Pardon, which
"proceeding from your own mere Grace, may, by
"your Highneſs's Direction, be drawn to that La-
"titude and Extent, as may beſt ſort with your
"Majeſty's Bounty and Goodneſs. And that not

1621. "only Felons and criminal Offenders may take Benefit thereof, but that your good Subjects may receive Ease thereby. And if it shall so stand with your good Pleasure, that it may extend to the Relief of the Old Debts and Duties of the Crown before the first Year of your Majesty's Reign, to the Discharge of Alienations without Licence, and misusing of Liveries. and *Oustre le Maine*, before the first Summons of this Parliament, and of concealed Wardships, and not suing of Liveries, and *Oustre le Maines*, before the Twelfth Year of your Majesty's Reign: Which gracious Favour would much comfort your good Subjects, and ease them from Vexations, with little Loss or Prejudice to your own Profit.

"And we by our daily and devout Prayers to the Almighty, the great King of Kings, shall contend for a Blessing upon your Endeavours; and for your Majesty's long and happy Reign over us; and for your Children's Children after you, for many and many Generations".

*Different Principles of the King and Commons.*

The King had taken great Care, at the Opening of this Parliament, to mark out the Bounds the *Commons* were not to exceed. Above all Things, he intimated to them, that they ought not to take upon them to give him Advice without being asked. They neglected this Charge very much in their *Remonstrance*, and showed plainly enough, they were not of Opinion that it was the King's Business to determine how far the Duty of the People's *Representatives* in Parliament reached. The King's Principles were so different from those of the *Commons*, that it is no Wonder the Inferences they drew from thence were directly contrary. The King did not mean, the *Commons* should advise him; and the *Commons* pretended it was their indispensable Duty to represent to him the Dangers the *Church* or *State* were in, with the propereſt Means to remove them. The King rested upon the *Prerogative Royal*, but the *Commons* did not agree

to

to the Extent he gave this ſame Prerogative, by Virtue whereof he pretended to hinder them from taking Care of the *Church* and *State* when they were in Danger, or when their Concerns were neglected. It is very hard, not to ſay impoſſible, to mark out the Bounds of the *Royal Prerogative*, as well as of the Privilege and Duty of the Nation's Repreſentatives, in all Caſes which may occur. So without taking upon me to decide this Point, I ſhall only ſay, the *Commons* Diſtruſt made them take an extraordinary Method, which doubtleſs they would not have embraced, had they been to deal with a Prince of greater Eſteem. On the other Hand, it cannot be denied but the King gave flagrant Occaſions of Suſpicion and Jealouſy, by affecting to eſtabliſh his Prerogative upon general Principles, which will never be received in *England*, without the Reſtrictions ſuitable to the Nature of the *Engliſh Conſtitution*. 1621.

*The King is offended at the Manner of the Remonſtrance.*

But the attacking the *Royal Prerogative* was not the only Thing that offended the King. The *Remonſtrance* contained Matters which muſt have been very grating to him, ſince in obſcure Terms he was taxed with neglecting the Welfare of Religion and the Nation; with tolerating *Recuſants*; with having no Deſign to go to War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, though he deſired Money for that Purpoſe; with granting *Licenſes* prejudicial to the Kingdom; and laſtly, with having little or no Concern for the Intereſt of Religion, in marrying the Prince his Son with a *Spaniſh* Princeſs. The *Commons* not daring to ſpeak their Minds freely on this Occaſion, were contented with giving Hints. The King underſtood their Meaning: but took Care not to enter, in order to clear himſelf, into a particular Explanation of Matters, which would not have been for his Advantage. It was much more agreeable to his Intereſt and Dignity, to hinder ſo ungrateful a *Remonſtrance* from being preſented to him. And that was the Courſe he took. As ſoon as he heard the *Remonſtrance* was ready, he ſent the following Letter to *the Speaker*.

## *To our Truſty and Well-Beloved Sir* Thomas Richardſon, *Knight, Speaker of the* Houſe of COMMONS.

Mr. *Speaker*,

*The King's Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.* Wilſon, p. 172. *Annals of* James I. p. 60. Coke. Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 43.

"WE have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that our Diſtance from the Houſes of Parliament, cauſed by our Indiſpoſition of Health, hath emboldened ſome fiery and popular Spirits of ſome of the Houſe of Commons, to argue and debate publickly of the Matters far above their Reach and Capacity, tending to our high Diſhonour, and Breach of Prerogative Royal. Theſe are therefore to command you, to make known, in our Name, unto the Houſe, That none therein ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of State; and namely, not to deal with our deareſt Son's Match with the Daughter of *Spain*, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends and Confederates; and alſo not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motion in our ordinary Courts of Juſtice. And whereas we hear they have ſent a Meſſage to Sir *Edward Sandys*, to know the Reaſons of his late Reſtraint, you ſhall in our Name reſolve them, That it was not for any Miſdemeanor of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any Queſtion of that Nature that may ariſe among them hereafter, you ſhall reſolve them in our Name, That we think our ſelf very free and able to puniſh any Man's Miſdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their ſitting, as after; which we mean not to ſpare hereafter, upon any occaſion of any Man's inſolent Behaviour there that ſhall be miniſtred unto us: And if they have already

" ready touched any of these Points, which we 1621.
" have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which
" is to be sent unto us, it is our Pleasure that you
" shall tell them, That except they reform it be-
" fore it come to our Hands, we will not deign the
" hearing, nor answering of it ".

Dated at *New-Market*,
Dec. 3. 1621.

This Letter being read and well examined in the *House*, the *Commons* thought proper not to keep Silence, but to let the King see, no Threats of His should deter them from doing their Duty, as they pretended. They drew up therefore a *Petition*, which was presented to the King with the foregoing *Remonstrance*. The *Petition* ran thus:

*Most Dread and Gracious Sovereign*,

" WE your most humble and loyal Subjects, *The Commons Remonstrance.* Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 44. Wilson, p. 174. *Annals of* James I. p. 60.
" the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgesses* assem-
" bled in the *Commons House* of Parliament, full of
" Grief and unspeakable Sorrow, through the true
" Sense of your Majesty's Displeasure, expressed by
" your Letter lately sent to our *Speaker*, and by him
" related and read unto us: Yet comforted again
" with the Assurance of your Grace and Goodness,
" and of the Sincertity of our own Intentions and
" Proceedings, whereon with Confidence we can re-
" ly, in all Humbleness beseech your Most Excel-
" lent Majesty, that the Loyalty and Dutifulness of
" as faithful and loving Subjects as ever served, or
" lived under a gracious Sovereign, may not unde-
" servedly suffer by the Mis-information of partial
" and uncertain Reports, which are ever unfaithful
" Intelligencers: But that your Majesty would, in
" the Clearness of your own Judgment, first vouch-
" safe to understand from our selves, and not from
" others, what our humble *Declaration* and *Petition*
" (resolved upon by the universal Voice of the

" House

1621. "House, and proposed with your gracious Favour "to be presented unto your Sacred Majesty) doth "contain. Upon what Occasion we entered into "Consideration of those Things which are therein "contained, with what dutiful Respect to your Ma-"jesty, and your Service, we did consider thereof, "and what was our true Intention thereby. And "that when your Majesty shall thereby truly discern "our dutiful Affections, you will, in your Royal "Judgment, free us from those heavy Charges, "wherewith some of our Members are burthened, "and wherein the whole House is involved.

"And we humbly beseech your Majesty, that "you would not hereafter give Credit to private Re-"ports, against all or any of the Members of our "House, whom the whole have not censured, until "your Majesty have been truly informed thereof "from our selves: And that in the mean time, and "ever, we may stand upright in your Majesty's "Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly "Consideration is or can be dearer unto us.

"When your Majesty had re-assembled us in Par-"liament by your Royal Commandment, sooner "than we expected, you did vouchsafe, by the Mouths "of Three honourable Lords, to impart unto us "the weighty Occasions moving your Majesty "thereunto; and from them we did understand "these Particulars.

"That notwithstanding your princely and pious "Endeavours to procure Peace, the Time is now "come, that *Janus's* Temple must be opened.

"That the Voice of *Bellona* must be heard, and "not the Voice of the Turtle.

"That there was no Hope of Peace, nor any "Truce to be obtained, no not for a few Days.

"That your Majesty must either abandon your "own Children, or engage your self in a War, "wherein Consideration is to be had, what Foot, "what Horse, what Money will be sufficient.

"That

1621.

" That the Lower *Palatinate* was ſeized upon by " the Army of the King of *Spain* as Executor of the " *Ban* there in Quality of *Duke* of *Burgundy*, as the " Upper *Palatinate* was by the *Duke* of *Bavaria*.

" That the King of *Spain*, at his own Charge, had " now at leaſt Five Armies on Foot.

" That the Princes of the Union were disbanded, " but the Catholick League remained firm, whereby " thoſe Princes ſo diſſevered, were in Danger, one " by one, to be ruined.

" That the Eſtate of thoſe of the Religion in fo- " reign Parts was miſerable; and that out of theſe " Conſiderations we were called to a War, and forth- " with to adviſe for a Supply for keeping the Forces " in the *Palatinate* from disbanding, and to foreſee " the Means for raiſing and maintaining the Body of " an Army, for the War againſt the Spring. We " therefore out of our Zeal to your Majeſty and " your Poſterity, with more Alacrity and Celerity " than ever was preſidented in Parliament, did ad- " dreſs our ſelves to the Service commended unto us. " And although we cannot conceive that the Honour " and Safety of your Majeſty and your Poſterity, " the Patrimony of your Children invaded, and poſ- " ſeſſed by their Enemies, the Welfare of Religion " and State of your Kingdom, are Matters at any " time unfit for our deepeſt Conſideration, in time of " Parliament: And although before this time we " were in ſome of theſe Points ſilent, yet being now " invited thereunto, and led on by ſo juſt an Occa- " ſion, we thought it our Duties to provide for the " preſent Supply thereof, and not only to turn our " Eyes on a War abroad, but to take Care for the " ſecuring of our Peace at home, which the dange- " rous Increaſe and Inſolency of Popiſh Recuſants, " apparently, viſibly, and ſenſibly did lead us unto. " The Conſideration whereof did neceſſarily draw us " truly to repreſent unto your Majeſty what we " conceive to be the Cauſes, what we feared would " be the Effects, and what we hoped might be the

" Remedies

1621. " Remedies of theſe growing Evils; among which, " as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon ſome " things which ſeem to touch upon the King of *Spain*, " as they have Relation to Popiſh Recuſants at home, " to the Wars by him maintained in the *Palatinate* " againſt your Majeſty's Children, and to his ſeveral " Armies now on Foot; yet, as we conceived, " without touch of Diſhonour to that King, or any " other Prince your Majeſty's Confederate.

" In the Diſcourſe whereof, we did not aſſume to " our ſelves any Power, to determine of any Part " thereof, nor intend to encroach or intrude upon the " Sacred Bounds of your Royal Authority, to whom, " and to whom only we acknowledge it doth belong " to reſolve of Peace or War, and of the Marriage " of the moſt noble Prince your Son: But as your " moſt loyal and humble Subjects and Servants, re- " preſenting the whole Commons of your Kingdom " (who have a large Intereſt in the happy and proſ- " perous Eſtate of your Majeſty, and your Royal " Poſterity, and of the flouriſhing Eſtate of our " Church and Commonwealth) did reſolve, out of " our Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to demon- " ſtrate theſe things to your Majeſty, which we were " not aſſured could otherwiſe come ſo fully and " clearly to your Knowledge; and that being done, " to lay the ſame down at your Majeſty's Feet, with- " out Expectation of any other Anſwer of your Ma- " jeſty, touching theſe higher Points, than what at " your good Pleaſure, and in your own good time " ſhould be held fit.

" This being the Effect of that we had formerly " reſolved upon, and theſe the Occaſions and Rea- " ſons inducing the ſame, our humble Suit to your " Majeſty and Confidence is, That your Majeſty will " be graciouſly pleaſed to receive, at the Hands of " theſe our Meſſengers, our former humble *Decla-* " *ration* and *Petition*, and vouchſafe to read, and fa- " vourably to interpret the ſame; and that ſo much

" thereof

" thereof as containeth our humble *Petition* concern- 1621.
" ing Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, the Paſ-
" ſage of Bills, and granting your Royal Pardon,
" you will vouchſafe an Anſwer unto us.

" And whereas your Majeſty, by the general
" Words of your Letter, ſeemeth to reſtrain us
" from intermeddling with Matters of Government,
" or Particulars which have their Motion in the
" Courts of Juſtice, the Generality of which Words,
" in the Largeneſs of the Extent thereof (as we
" hope beyond your Majeſty's Intention) might in-
" volve thoſe Things, which are the proper Subject
" of Parliamentary Occaſions and Diſcourſe.

" And whereas your Majeſty doth ſeem to abridge
" us of the antient Liberty of Parliament, for Free-
" dom of Speech, Juriſdiction, and juſt Cenſure of
" the Houſe, and other Proceedings there, (wherein,
" we truſt in God, we ſhall never tranſgreſs the
" Bounds of loyal and dutiful Subjects) a Liberty
" which we aſſure our ſelves, ſo wiſe and juſt a King
" would not infringe, the ſame being our antient and
" undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from
" our Anceſtors; without which, we cannot freely
" debate, nor clearly diſcern of Things in queſtion
" before us, nor truly inform your Majeſty; in which
" we have been confirmed by your Majeſty's moſt
" gracious former Speeches and Meſſages. We are
" therefore now again inforced in all Humbleneſs to
" pray your Majeſty to allow the ſame, and thereby
" to take away the Doubts and Scruples your Ma-
" jeſty's laſt Letter to our *Speaker* hath wrought up-
" on us.

" So ſhall we your loyal and loving Subjects ever
" acknowledge your Majeſty's Juſtice, Grace and
" Goodneſs, and be ready to perform that Service
" to your Majeſty, which in the true Affection of
" our Hearts we profeſs, and pour out our daily and
" devout Prayers to the Almighty for your Majeſty's
" long Life, happy and religious Reign, and proſ-

" perous

1621. "perous Estate, and for your Royal Posterity after "you for ever".

This *Petition*, with the *Remonstrances* annexed, was sent to the King by Twelve *Members*, at the Head of whom the *House* affected to set Sir *Richard Weston*, a Privy-Counsellor, a known *Papist*, and who was looked upon as the Person that incensed the King the most against the *Commons*. Then the *House* resolved to give over all Business, till they had an Answer to their *Petition*. The King received the Twelve *Members* very roughly. Some say, he called for a Dozen of Chairs for them to sit down, saying, *Here are Twelve Kings come to me.* He received from them the last *Petition*, but rejected the *Remonstrance*, with the Copy of the *Petition* already presented to him against the *Recusants*. Some Days after he sent the *Commons* an Answer in Writing. As nothing can better discover that Prince's Designs and Character than his Discourses, though generally very long, the Reader perhaps will be glad to see the Answer at length.

Wilson, p. 177.

*The King's Answer to the latter Petition.* Ib. p. 178. *Annals of* James I. p 62. Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 46.

"WE must here begin in the same fashion that "we would have done, if the first Petition "had come to our Hands, before we had made a "Stay thereof, which is to repeat the first Words of "the late Queen of famous Memory, used by her, "in an Answer to an insolent Proposition made by a "*Polonian* Ambassador unto her; that is, *Legatum* "*expectabamus*, *Heraldum accipimus.* For we had "great Reason to expect, that the first Message from "your House should have been a Message of Thanks-"giving for our continued gracious Behaviour to-"wards our People, since your last Recess, not only "by our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were con-"tained Six or Seven and Thirty Articles, all of se-"veral Points of Grace to the People, but also by "the Labour we took for the Satisfaction of both "Houses, in those Three Articles recommended

" unto us in both their Names, by the Right Re- 1621.
" verend Father in God, the Archbiſhop of *Canter-*
" *bury*; and likewiſe for the good Government of
" *Ireland*, we are now in Hand with at your Re-
" queſt: But not only have we heard no News of all
" this, but contrary, great Complaints of the Dan-
" ger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly im-
" plying our ill Government in this Point. And we
" leave you to judge, whether it be your Duties
" that are the Repreſentative Body of our People,
" ſo to diſtaſte them with our Government; whereas
" by the contrary it is your Duty, with all your En-
" deavours, to kindle more and more a dutiful and
" thankful Love in the People's Hearts towards us,
" for our juſt and gracious Government.

" Now whereas, in the very Beginning of this your
" Apology, you tax us in fair Terms of truſting
" uncertain Reports, and partial Informations con-
" cerning your Proceedings, we wiſh you to remem-
" ber, that we are an old and experienced King,
" needing no ſuch Leſſons, being in our Conſcience
" freeſt of any King alive, from hearing or truſting
" idle Reports, which ſo many of your Houſe as
" are neareſt us can bear Witneſs unto you, if you
" would give as good Ear to them, as you do to
" ſome Tribunitial Orators among you: And for
" Proof in this Particular, we have made your own
" Meſſengers confer your other Petitions ſent by
" you, with the Copy thereof, which was ſent us
" before: Between which there is no Difference at
" all; but that ſince our receiving the firſt Copy,
" you added a Concluſion to it, which could not
" come to our Hands till it was done by you, and
" your Meſſenger ſent, which was all at one Time.
" And had we had no Copy of it beforehand, we muſt
" have received your firſt Petition to our great Diſ-
" honour, before we had known what it contained,
" which would have forced us to return you a far
" worſe Anſwer then now we do; for then your
" Meſſengers had returned with nothing, but that

" we

1621. " we have judged your Petition unlawful, and un-
" worthy of an Anſwer: For as to your Concluſion
" thereof, it is nothing but *Proteſtatio Contraria facto*;
" for in the Body of your Petition, you uſurp upon
" our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with Things
" far above your Reach, and then in the Concluſion
" you proteſt the contrary; as if a Robber would
" take a Man's Purſe, and then proteſt he meant not
" to rob him. For firſt, you preſume to give us your
" Advice concerning the Match of our deareſt Son
" with ſome Proteſtant (we cannot ſay Princeſs, for
" we know none of theſe fit for him) and diſſuade
" us from this Match with *Spain*, urging us to pre-
" ſent War with that King; and yet in the Conclu-
" ſion, forſooth, ye proteſt ye intend not to preſs
" upon our moſt undoubted and Regal Prerogative;
" as if the Petitioning of us in Matters that your
" ſelves confeſs ye ought not to meddle with, were
" not a meddling with them.

" And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited
" to this Courſe by the Speeches of three honour-
" able Lords; yet by ſo much as your ſelves repeat
" of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded, but
" that we were reſolved by War to regain the *Pa-*
" *latinate*, if otherwiſe we could not attain unto it.
" And you are invited to adviſe forthwith upon a
" Supply, for keeping the Forces in the *Palatinate*
" from disbanding, and to force the Means for the
" raiſing, and Maintainance of the Body of an Army
" for that War againſt the Spring. Now, what In-
" ference can be made upon this, that therefore we
" muſt preſently denounce War againſt the King of
" *Spain*, break our deareſt Son's Match, and match
" him to one of our Religion, let the World judge:
" The Difference is no greater, than if we would tell
" a Merchant, that we had great Need to borrow
" Money from him for raiſing an Army; that there-
" upon it would follow, that we were bound to fol-
" low his Advice in the Direction of the War, and
" all Things depending thereupon: But yet not con-

" tenting

" tenting your ſelves with this Excuſe of yours, 1621.
" which indeed cannot hold Water, ye come after
" to a direct Contradiction to the Concluſion of your
" former Petition, ſaying, That the Honour and
" Safety of us and our Poſterity, and the Patrimony
" of our Children, invaded and poſſeſſed by their E-
" nemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State of our
" Kingdom, are Matters at any Time not unfit for
" your deepeſt Conſiderations in Parliament. To this
" Generality, we anſwer with the *Logicians*, That
" where all Things are contained, nothing is omitted.
" So as this Plenipotency of yours, inveſts you in
" all Power upon Earth, lacking nothing but the
" Pope's to have the Keys alſo both of Heaven and
" Purgatory: And to this vaſt Generality of yours,
" we can give no other Anſwer; for it will trou-
" ble all the beſt Lawyers in the Houſe to make a
" good Commentary upon it: For ſo did the *Puri-*
" *tan* Miniſters in *Scotland* bring all kinds of Cauſes
" within the Compaſs of their Juriſdiction, ſaying,
" That it was the Church's Office to judge of Slan-
" der: And there could no kinds of Crime or Fault
" be committed, but there was a Slander in it, either
" againſt God, the King, or their Neighbour; and
" by this Means they hooked in to themſelves the
" Cognizance of all Cauſes: Or like *Bellarmin's*
" Diſtinction of the Pope's Power over Kings, *in*
" *Ordine ad Spiritualia*, whereby he gives them all
" Temporal Juriſdiction over them.

" But to give you a direct Anſwer to the Matter
" of War for which you are ſo earneſt. We confeſs,
" we rather expect you ſhould have given us Thanks
" for the ſo long maintaining of a ſettled Peace in all
" our Dominions, when as all our Neighbours about
" are in miſerable Combuſtion of War; but, *Dulce*
" *bellum inexpertis.* And we indeed find by Experi-
" ence, that a Number of our Subjects are ſo pam-
" pered with Peace, as they are deſirous of Change,
" though they know not what.

1621. "It is true, that we have ever profeſſed (and in "that Mind, with God's Grace, we will live and "die,) that we will labour by all Means poſſible, "either by Treaty or by Force, to reſtore our Chil-"dren to their antient Dignity and Inheritance: "And whatſoever Chriſtian Princes or Potentates "will ſet themſelves againſt it, we will not ſpare any "lawful Means to bring our ſo juſt and honourable "Purpoſe to a good End; neither ſhall the Match "of our Son, or any other worldly Reſpect, be pre-"ferred to this our Reſolution. For by our Credit "and Intervention with the King of *Spain*, and the "Archdutcheſs and her Husband, now with God, "we preſerved the lower *Palatinate* one whole Year "from any further conquering in it, which in Eight "Days ſpace, in that Time might have eaſily been "ſwallowed up by *Spinola's* Army without any Re-"ſiſtance. And in no better Caſe was it now at "our Ambaſſador the Lord *Digby's* coming through "*Heidelbergh*, if he had not extraordinarily ſuccour-"ed it.

"But becauſe we conceive that ye couple this "War of the *Palatinates* with the Cauſe of Religion, "we muſt a little unfold your Eyes herein.

"The Beginning of this miſerable War, which "hath ſet all Chriſtendom on Fire, was not for Re-"ligion, but only cauſed by our Son-in-law his "haſty and harſh Reſolution, following evil Coun-"ſel, to take to himſelf the Crown of *Bohemia*.

"And that this is true, himſelf wrote Letters un-"to us at that time, deſiring to give Aſſurance both "to the *French* King, and State of *Venice*, that his "accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia* had no Re-"ference to the Cauſe of Religion, but only by Rea-"ſon of his Right of Election (as he called it.) And "we would be ſorry that that Aſperſion ſhould "come upon our Religion, as to make it a good "Pretext for dethroning of Kings, and uſurping "their Crowns; And we would be loth that our "People here ſhould be taught that ſtrange Doc-

"trine:

" trine: No, let us not ſo far wrong the *Jeſuits*, as 1626.
" to rob them of their ſweet Poſitions and Practice in
" that very Point.

" And upon the other Part we aſſure our ſelf,
" ſo far of your charitable Thoughts of us, that we
" would never have conſtantly denied our Son-in-law
" both the Title and Aſſiſtance in that Point, if we
" had been well perſuaded of the Juſtice of his
" Quarrel. But to conclude, This unjuſt Uſurpati-
" on of the Crowns of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* from
" the Emperour, hath given the Pope and all that
" Party too fair a Ground, and opened them too
" wide a Gate for curbing and oppreſſing of many
" Thouſands of our Religion, in divers Parts of
" Chriſtendom.

" And whereas you excuſe your touching upon
" the King of *Spain*, upon Occaſion of the Incidents
" by you repeated in that Place, and yet affirm,
" that it is without any Touch to his Honour; we
" cannot wonder enough that you are ſo forgetful
" both of your Words and Writs: For in your for-
" mer Petition ye plainly affirm, That he affects the
" Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth; than
" which there can be no more Malice uttered againſt
" any great King, to make all other Princes and
" Potentates both envy and hate him; but if ye liſt,
" it may eaſily be tried, whether that Speech touch-
" ed him in Honour or not; if ye ſhall ask him the
" Queſtion, Whether he means to aſſume to himſelf
" that Title or not, for every King can beſt judge
" of his own Honour. We omit the particular Eja-
" culations of ſome foul-mouthed Orators in your
" Houſe, againſt the Honour of that King's Crown
" and State.

" And touching your Excuſe of not determining
" any Thing concerning the Match of our deareſt
" Son, but only to tell your Opinion, and lay it
" down at our Feet. Firſt, we deſire to know,
" how you could have preſumed to determine in
" that Point, without committing of High-Trea-

1621. "ſon. And next you cannot deny but your talking "of his Match after that Manner, was a direct Breach "of our Commandment, and Declaration out of our "own Mouth, at the firſt ſitting down of this Par- "liament, where we plainly profeſſed that we were "in Treaty of this Match with *Spain*; and wiſhed "you to have that Confidence in our Religion and "Wiſdom, that we would ſo manage it, as our Re- "ligion ſhould receive no Prejudice by it: And the "ſame we now repeat unto you, profeſſing that we "are ſo far engaged in that Match, as we cannot in "Honour go back, except the King of *Spain* per- "form not ſuch Things as we expect at his Hands. "And therefore we are ſorry that ye ſhould ſhew to "have ſo great Diſtruſt in us, as to conceive that we "ſhould be cold in our Religion; otherwiſe we can- "not imagine how our former Declaration ſhould not "have ſtopped your Mouths in this Point.

"And as to your Requeſt, that we would now re- "ceive your former Petition; we wonder what could "make you preſume that we would receive it, "whereas in our former Letter we plainly declared "the contrary unto you.

"And therefore we have juſtly rejected that Suit "of yours: For what have you left unattempted in "the higheſt Points of Sovereignty, in that Petition "of yours, except the Striking of Coin? For it "contains the Violation of Leagues, the particular "Way how to govern a War, and the Marriage of "our deareſt Son, both Negatively with *Spain*, nay, "with any other Popiſh Princeſs: And alſo Affir- "matively, as to the Matching with one of our Re- "ligion; which I confeſs is a Strain beyond any "Providence or Wiſdom God hath given us, as "Things now ſtand.

"Theſe are unfit Things to be handled in Parlia- "ment, except your King ſhould require it of you: "For who can have Wiſdom to judge of Things of "that Nature, but ſuch as are daily acquainted with "the Particulars of Treaties, and of the variable

"and

" and fixed Connexion of Affairs of State, together 1621.
" with the Knowledge of the ſecret Ways, Ends, and
" Intentions of Princes in their ſeveral Negotiations?
" Otherwiſe a ſmall miſtaking of Matters of this
" Nature may produce more Effects, than can be
" imagined: And therefore, *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam.*
" And beſides, the intermeddling in Parliament with
" Matters of Peace or War, and Marriage of our
" deareſt Son, would be ſuch a Diminution to us
" and to our Crown in foreign Countries, as would
" make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either
" in Matters of Peace or Marriage, excepting they
" might be aſſured of the Aſſent of the Parliament.
" And ſo it proved long ago with the King of
" *France* *, who upon a Trick procuring his States
" to diſſent from ſome Treaty which before he had
" made, was after refuſed treating with any other
" Princes, to his great Reproach, unleſs he would
" firſt procure the Aſſent of his Eſtates to their Pro-
" poſition. And will you caſt your Eyes upon the
" late Times, you ſhall find that the late Queen of
" famous Memory, was humbly petitioned by a Par-
" liament to be pleaſed to Marry: But her Anſwer
" was, That ſhe liked their Petition well, becauſe it
" was ſimple, not limiting her to Place or Perſon,
" as not befitting her liking to their Fancies; and if
" they had done otherwiſe, ſhe would have thought
" it a high Preſumption in them. Judge then what
" we may do in ſuch a Caſe, having made our Pub-
" lick Declaration already (as we ſaid before) di-
" rectly contrary to that which you have now pe-
" titioned.

" Now to the Points in your Petition, whereof
" you deſire an Anſwer, as properly belonging to
" the Parliament; The firſt and the greateſt Point is
" that of Religion: Concerning which, at this Time
" we can give you no other Anſwer than in general;
" which is, That you may reſt ſecure, that we will

* *Francis* I.

1621. "never be weary to do all we can for the Propagation of our Religion, and repreſſing of Popery: "But the Manner and Form you muſt remit to our "Care and Providence, who can beſt conſider of "Times and Seaſons, not by undertaking a publick War of Religion through all the World at "once, (which how hard and dangerous a Task "it may prove, you may judge.) But this puts us "in Mind how all the World complained the laſt "Year of Plenty of Corn; and God ſent us a "Cooling-Card this Year for that Heat: And ſo "we pray God, that this Deſire among you of kindling Wars (ſhewing your Wearineſs of Peace and "Plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the Miſeries of both. But as we already ſaid, "our Care of Religion muſt be ſuch, as on the one "Part we muſt not, by the hot Perſecution of our "Recuſants at Home, irritate foreign Princes of "contrary Religion, and teach them the Way to "plague the Proteſtants in their Dominions, with "whom we daily interceed, and at this time principally, for eaſe to them of our Profeſſion that "live under them; yet upon the other Part, we "never mean to ſpare from due and ſevere Puniſhment any Papiſt that will grow inſolent for living "under ſo mild Government. And you may alſo "be aſſured we will leave no Care untaken, as well "for the good Education of the Youth at Home, "eſpecially the Children of Papiſts, as alſo for preſerving at all Times hereafter the Youth that are "or ſhall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous "Places, and ſo poiſoned in Popiſh Seminaries. And "as in this Point, namely, the good Education of "Popiſh Youth at Home, we have already given "ſome good Proofs, both in this Kingdom and in "*Ireland*; ſo will we be well pleaſed to paſs any "good Laws that ſhall be made, either now, or at "any time hereafter to this Purpoſe.

"And

1621.

" And as to your Requeſt of making this a Seſ-
" ſion, and granting a general Pardon; it ſhall be
" in your Defaults, if we make not this a Seſſion
" before *Chriſtmas*.

" But for the Pardon, ye crave ſuch Particulars
" in it, as we muſt be well adviſed upon, leſt other-
" wiſe we give you back the Double or Treble of
" that we are to receive by your entire Subſidy,
" without Fifteens. But the ordinary Courſe we
" hold fitteſt to be uſed ſtill in this Caſe, is, That
" we ſhould of our free Grace ſend you down a
" Pardon from the Higher-Houſe, containing ſuch
" Points as we ſhall think fitteſt, wherein, we hope,
" ye ſhall receive good Satisfaction.

" But we cannot omit to ſhew you, how ſtrange
" we think it, that ye ſhould make ſo bad and un-
" juſt a Commentary upon ſome Words of our for-
" mer Letter, as if we meant to reſtrain you thereby
" of your antient Privileges and Liberties in Par-
" liament. Truly, a Scholar would be aſhamed ſo
" to miſplace and misjudge any Sentences in another
" Man's Book. For, whereas in the End of our
" former Letter, we diſcharge you to meddle with
" Matters of Government, and Myſteries of State,
" namely, Matters of War or Peace, or our dear-
" eſt Son's Match with *Spain*; by which particu-
" lar Denominations we intrepret and reſtrain our
" former Words: And then after we forbid you to
" meddle with ſuch Things as have their ordinary
" Courſe in Courts of Juſtice: Ye couple together
" theſe two diſtinct Sentences, and plainly leave out
" thoſe Words, *Of Myſteries of State*; ſo as ye err,
" *à bene diviſo ad male conjuncta:* For of the former
" Part concerning Myſteries of State, we plainly re-
" ſtrain our Meaning to the Particulars that were
" after mentioned; and in the Latter, we confeſs we
" meant it by Sir *Edward Cook's* fooliſh Buſineſs.
" And therefore it had well become him, eſpecially
" being our Servant, and one of our Council, to
" have complained to us, which he never did, though

1621. " he was ordinarily at Court ſince, and never had " Acceſs refuſed to him.

" And although we cannot allow of the Stile, " calling it *Your antient and undoubted Right and In-* " *heritance*; but could rather have wiſhed, that ye " had ſaid, *That your Privileges were derived from the* " *Grace and Permiſſion of our Anceſtors and us*; (*for* " *moſt of them grow from Precedents, which ſhow ra-* " *ther a Toleration than Inheritance:*) *yet we are* " *pleaſed to give you our Royal Aſſurance, That as long* " *as you contain your ſelves within the Limits of your* " *Duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve* " *your lawful Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of* " *our Predeceſſors were*; *nay, as to preſerve our own* " *Royal Prerogative, ſo as your Houſe ſhall only have* " *need to beware to trench upon the Prerogative of the* " *Crown*; *which would enforce us, or any juſt King,* " *to retrench them of their Privileges, that would pare* " *his Prerogative, and Flowers of the Crown: But of* " *this, we hope, there ſhall never be Cauſe given.*

" Dated at *New-market* the Eleventh Day of " *December*, 1621".

The laſt Part of the King's Anſwer was ſo clear, that it needed no Explanation. He had contented himſelf hitherto with inſinuating certain Principles, the Conſequences whereof he had carefully concealed, and by that ſeemed to reſerve to himſelf the Power either of admitting theſe Conſequences, in their utmoſt Extent, or with Reſtrictions, or of denying them according as Occaſion ſhould require. But now, whether he ſuffered his Paſſion to get the better of his Reaſon, or was very glad to ſpeak his Mind at laſt, that he might not be conſtrained any longer to uſe doubtful Expreſſions, which very often were pretended not to be underſtood, he put the *Commons* under a Neceſſity either of granting his Pretenſions, or oppoſing them openly. But, if I may venture to ſay it, he committed an unpardonable Blunder, in not diſſolving the Parliament before he gave the *Commons* time to de-

" bate

bate upon his Anſwer. He would thereby have eſtabliſhed his Pretenſions without incurring the Vexation of an open and publick Oppoſition, which he muſt have expected, unleſs he was wilfully blind. The *Commons* having read the Anſwer, the Conſequences whereof they plainly perceived, and knowing the Parliament was going to be diſſolved or prorogued, drew up the following *Proteſtation*: 1621.

*The Commons Proteſtation.* Wilſon, p. 188. Annals of James I. p. 65. Coke. Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 55.

"THE *Commons* now aſſembled in Parliament, "being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, con- "cerning ſundry Liberties, Franchiſes, and Privi- "leges of Parliament, amongſt others here men- "tioned, do make this Proteſtation following, That "the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges, and Juriſ- "dictions of Parliament, are the antient and un- "doubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Sub- "jects of *England*; and that the arduous and urgent "Affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence "of the Realm, and of the Church of *England*, and "the Maintenance and Making of Laws, and Re- "dreſs of Miſchiefs and Grievances which daily "happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects "and Matter of Counſel and Debate in Parliament; "and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe "Buſineſſes, every Member of the Houſe of Parli- "ment hath, and, of Right, ought to have Freedom "of Speech, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring "to Concluſion the ſame; and that the Commons "in Parliament have like Liberty and Freedom to "treat of theſe Matters in ſuch Order, as in their "Judgement ſhall ſeem fitteſt; and that every "Member of the ſaid Houſe hath like Freedom from "all Impeachments, Impriſonments, and Moleſtati- "on (other than by Cenſure of the Houſe itſelf) "for or concerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or De- "claring of any Matter or Matters touching the Par- "liament or Parliament-Buſineſs; And that if any of "the ſaid Members be complained of, and queſtioned "for any Thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is

"to

1621. " to be ſhewed to the King by the Advice and Aſſent " of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, be- " fore the King give Credence to any private Infor- " mation."

*The King takes the Proteſtation out of the* Journal Book.

The King being informed of this *Proteſtation*, called a Council, and came in Perſon, to cauſe what is contained in the followlng *Memorial*, to be ordered.

" *Whitehall*, Decemb. 30, 1621.

" HIS moſt Excellent Majeſty coming this Day " to the Council, the Prince his Highneſs, " and all the Lords, and others of his Majeſty's Pri- " vy-Council ſitting about him, and all the Judges " then in *London*, which were ſix in Number, there " attending upon his Majeſty; the Clerk of the " Commons Houſe of Parliament was called for, " and commanded to produce his Journal-Book, " wherein was noted, and Entries made of moſt Paſ- " ſages that were in the Common's Houſe of Parlia- " ment; and amongſt other Things, there was writ- " ten down the Form of a *Proteſtation* concerning " ſundry Liberties, Privileges, and Franchiſes of " Parliament; with which Form of *Proteſtation* his " Majeſty was juſtly offended. Nevertheleſs his Ma- " jeſty in a moſt gracious manner, there expreſſed, " That he never meant to deny that Houſe of Com- " mons any lawful Privileges that ever they had en- " joyed; but whatſoever Privileges or Liberties " they had by any Law or Statute, the ſame ſhould " be inviolably preſerved unto them; and whatſoe- " ver Privileges they enjoyed by Cuſtom, or uncon- " trolled and lawful Preſident, his Majeſty would " be careful to preſerve. But this *Proteſtation* of " the Common's Houſe, ſo contrived and carried as " it was, his Majeſty thought fit to be razed out of " all Memorials, and utterly to be annihilated, both " in Reſpect of the Manner by which it was gained, " and the Matter therein contained. For the man- " ner of getting it, firſt in Reſpect of the Time:

" For, after ſuch Time as his Majeſty, out of his 1621.
" Princely Grace, and to take away all Miſtakings,
" had directed his Letter to Secretary *Calvert*, da-
" ted at *Royſton*, 16 *Decembris*, and therein had ſo
" explained himſelf in the Point of maintaining the
" Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, as that
" moſt of the ſaid Houſe reſted fully ſatisfied, and
" free from any Scruple of having their Liberties
" impeached; And after that, by his Majeſty's Let-
" ters, directed to the Speaker, dated 18th *Decem-*
" *ber*, being *Tueſday*, his Majeſty, at the humble
" Suit of the Houſe of Commons, condeſcended to
" make this Meeting a Seſſion before *Chriſtmas*, and
" for that Purpoſe had aſſigned *Saturday* following.
" Now upon this very *Tueſday*, and while the Meſ-
" ſengers from the Houſe of Commons were with
" his Majeſty at *Theobalds*, to return Thanks unto his
" Majeſty, and therewith an Excuſe from them not
" to make it a Seſſion, in Reſpect of the ſtrait of
" Time whereunto they were driven: Which defer-
" ment his Majeſty admitted of at their Deſires, and
" thereupon gave Orders for the Adjournment of the
" Parliament until the Eighth of *February* next,
" which was the firſt Day formerly appointed by his
" Majeſty for the Meeting together of the Parlia-
" ment: And whilſt their Meſſengers were with his
" Majeſty, and had received a gracious Anſwer to
" return unto their Houſes; even that Afternoon,
" a Committee was procured to be made for taking
" their Liberties into Conſideration; and this Af-
" ternoon a *Proteſtation* was made (to whom, ap-
" pears not) concerning their Liberties; and at Six
" a Clock at Night, by Candle-Light, the ſame
" *Proteſtation* was brought into the Houſe by the
" Committee, and at that Time of Night it was cal-
" led upon to be put to the Queſtion, there not be-
" ing the third Part of the Houſe then preſent;
" whereas in all Matters of Weight, their uſual Cuſ-
" tom is, to put nothing of Importance to the
" Queſtion, till the Houſe be full: And at this Time

" many

1621. "many of them that were preſent, expected the "Queſtion would have been deferred to another "Day, and a fuller Houſe; and ſome then preſent "ſtood up to have ſpoken to it, but could not be "heard or ſeen in that Darkneſs and Confuſion. "Now for the Matter of the *Proteſtation*, it is pen- "ned in ſuch ambiguous and general Words, as may "ſerve for future Times to invade moſt of the Rights "and Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Crown; "the Claim of ſome Privileges being grounded upon "the Words of the *Writ* for aſſembling the Par- "liament, wherein ſome Words, *viz. Arduis Regni*, "are cunningly mentioned; but the Words *quibuſ- "dam*, which reſtraineth the Generality of ſuch par- "ticular Caſes, as his Majeſty pleaſeth to conſult "with them upon, is purpoſely omitted (*a*).

"Theſe Things conſidered, his Majeſty did, this "preſent Day, in full Aſſembly of his Council, and "in the Preſence of the Judges, declare the ſaid *Pro- "teſtation*, to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no "Effect: And did further, *manu ſuâ propriâ*, take "the ſaid *Proteſtation* out of the Journal-Book of the "Clerk of the Common's Houſe of Parliament, and "commanded an Act of Council to be made there- "upon, and this Act to be entered in the Regiſter "of Council Cauſes."

*The Parliament is diſſolved*, Jan. 6. Ruſh. I. 54. Wilſon, p. 190. Annals, p. 66. Coke.

Some Days after, the King diſſolved the Parliament by Proclamation, declaring, That he was not obliged to give an Account thereof to any, ſince the diſſolving of the Parliament when he pleaſed was confeſſedly in his Power. That however he was willing to inform the Publick, it was becauſe the *Commons* took the Liberty not only to treat of his *High Prerogatives*

(*a*) Formerly, Parliaments ſat but a few Days, and took into Conſideration ſuch Affairs only as the King had before ſet forth in the *Writs* of Summons. But this Method being altered, Parliaments were called without the Occaſion of their Meeting being known, and were not limited to the Affairs mentioned by the Kings in their firſt Speeches, and this made their Seſſions hold ſo long.

*Prerogatives* which belonged not to them, but alſo to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of Foreign Princes: That they ſpent their Time in diſputing about their Privileges without minding the Kingdom's Wants: That ſome ill-tempered Spirits ſowed Tares among the Corn, and by their cunning Devices, had impoſed upon his Majeſty a Neceſſity of diſcontinuing the preſent Parliament, without putting to it the Name or Period of a Seſſion. Then, he declared, That although the Parliament was broken off, yet he intended to govern well, and ſhould be glad to lay hold on the firſt Occaſion to call another at a proper Seaſon. 1621.

*Proclamation for bidding to ſpeak of State-Affairs.* Wilſon, p. 150.

This Proclamation was followed by another, forbidding under ſevere Penalties, to talk of State Affairs, and charging the Judges in their *Circuits*, to put the Laws in force againſt licentious Tongues.

*Several Members are impriſoned.* Annals. Wilſon. Coke.

But the King's Reſentment did not end here. Some of the *Houſe of Commons*, who had been moſt forward to maintain the Privileges of the *Houſe*, as Sir *Edward Coke* *, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Mallery*, were committed to Priſon. Likewiſe Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Nathanael Rich*, and *James Parrot* were ordered to go into *Ireland* and execute a certain *Commiſſion*, the King intending thereby to ſend them from their Homes and puniſh them with a ſort of Baniſhment. On the other Hand, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton* *1 were ſent to the *Tower* on ſome far-fetched Pretence; but it was eaſy to ſee, it was for ſpeaking too freely in the *Houſe of Peers*, of the King's Conduct,

Till

* Orders were given for ſealing up the Locks and Doors of Sir *Edward's* Chambers in *London* and in the *Temple*, for the ſeizing of his Papers; and it was debated in *Council* how he might be excluded from the Benefit of the General Pardon that ſhould have paſſed this laſt Parliament, *Ruſh.* I 55. Sir *Edward* it ſeems had called the King's *Prerogative* an over-grown Monſter. *Wilſon, p.* 191.

*1 *Oxford* was ſent to the *Tower*, but *Southampton* was committed to the Cuſtody of the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*. Wilſon, p. 191.

1621. *Cause of the Difference between the King and Commons.*

Till the last Parliament, the King and *Commons* had only been trying each other, the one to enlarge his *Prerogative*, the other to preserve Privileges which they looked upon as incontestable. But on the present Occasion, there was a Necessity of declaring and acting openly. The King maintained, as appears by his Answer to the *Petition* of the *Commons*, that their Privileges having no other Foundation than the Concessions of the Kings his Predecessors, it was in his Power to revoke them if they gave just Occasion. The *Commons* on their Side affirmed, They held these Privileges by antient and undoubted Right, had received them by Inheritance from their Ancestors, and the King had no Power to take them away. I pass over in silence the Consequences which may be drawn from each of these two Principles, if they are carried as far as the general Terms they are expressed in will allow: They are obvious to the meanest Capacity. *Remarks on this Difference.* Give me Leave, not to determine so difficult a Point, but only to make some Remarks, which, I hope, will be of Use in the Sequel of the History.

First, it is very hard, and perhaps impossible, in my Opinion, to settle upon fixt Principles, as well the Royal *Prerogatives* of the Kings of *England* as the *Privileges* of the Parliament, and of the *House of Commons* in particular. We must except such as are allowed on both Sides, since this mutual Consent is of no less Force than a Law. *Custom* therefore and *Precedent* are the only Things we can go upon in order to settle their respective Rights.

The *Anglo-Saxons* who conquered *Britain*, had no Kings in those Parts of *Germany*, where they inhabited before their coming into *England*. Their Government was *Aristocratical*, Seven of their *Chiefs* who subdued *Britain* took the Title of *Kings*, a Title never before in Use among them.

It must be observed, as a very necessary Point, That the Dominion of these new Kings did not properly extend over the conquered People, namely, the *Britons*,

*Britons*, who were almoſt all driven into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, but over the Conquerours themſelves, among whom the vanquiſhed Country was divided. Hence it is evident, that *Right of Conqueſt* which might be pleaded in Favour of theſe firſt Kings and their Succeſſors, is wholly excluded. 1621

It is very likely, not to ſay certain, that the Parliament of *England* is of the ſame ſtanding with the Monarchy, though ſome diſpute it; but in my Opinion, without any Foundation (*a*). At leaſt, the Time cannot be ſet out, when the Parliament firſt began. But it is very difficult to prove, that the *Commons* were ſummoned to Parliament and voted there.

On the other Hand, it cannot be doubted, that theſe firſt Kings had great *Prerogatives*, and that there Succeſſors increaſed their Number. But I believe it may be taken for granted, that in general, neither the King's *Prerogatives*, nor the People's *Privileges*, owe their Original to the Laws. Conſequently they can neither be limited nor enlarged, but as warranted by Inſtances and Precedents. Now theſe Precedents are ſo contrary one to another, that there is no forming any ſure and certain Rules. And what cauſes the greateſt Difficulty of all in this Matter, is, the ambiguity of the Terms, and firſt, in the Word *Parliament*.

If the Parliament is conſidered as compoſed of the King and the Two *Houſes*, we may, without Fear, aſcribe to it an unlimited Power, with Reſpect to the Affairs of the Kingdom. But if the Parliament is conſidered as conſiſting only of the two *Houſes* without the King, it cannot be denied that its Rights are limited. The two *Houſes* are properly the whole Nation excluſive of the King. They have their Privileges; but it belongs not to them to increaſe their Liberties as they pleaſe; the King's Conſent is neceſſary to that End. This is ſtill more true when one of the *Houſes*

(*a*) See the Diſſertation, Vol. II. p. 137. of this Hiſtory.

1621. *Houſes* acts alone without the Concurrence of the other: For then it repreſents but Part of the Nation, who cannot lawfully claim any other Rights than thoſe which are granted either by ſome Law, or by the tacit Conſent of the King and the other *Houſe*. It is very certain, that to each of the two *Houſes* belong ſeparate Rights and Privileges; and that the two *Houſes* together, though parted from the King, have theirs alſo. But the Queſtion is to know how far they reach, and whether the King alone ought to be Judge in the Caſe.

The Term *Prerogative-Royal* is liable to no leſs Ambiguity than the Word *Parliament*. It is a looſe and general Term, which gives only a confuſed Idea of the Thing ſignified. If it is a Right common to all that bear the Title of *King*, the *Prerogative-Royal* muſt be the ſame every where, and the Kings of *England* and *Poland* will be as abſolute as the King of *Perſia*. If it has Bounds, by whom were they ſet? Or, what are the Bounds which it cannot exceed? I verily believe it is full as hard to reſolve theſe Queſtions, as thoſe relating to the Privileges of the Parliament. But as the *Prerogative-Royal* includes many particular Rights, let us examine, for Inſtance, the Power *James* claimed of revoking the Privileges of the *Houſe of Commons*. From whence had he this Power or particular *Prerogative?* Was it the common Right of all Kings? But there are in the World Kingdoms without Parliaments or a *Houſe of Commons*. Was this Prerogative as antient as the *Engliſh* Monarchy? But he himſelf would not grant that the *Houſe of Commons* was ſo old. Did it proceed from ſome Law? But he produced not any. Was it owing to a tacit Conſent, or was it by Uſurpation? But this Thing had never happened before. In fine, he built upon this general Maxim, that whatever is granted by one King, may be revoked by another. But beſides that this is no undeniable Principle, eſpecially after an uninterrupted Poſſeſſion for many Ages, the King would have been very hard put to it

to

to name the Kings who had granted the *Commons* their Privileges. Thus King *James* ſuppoſed that the *Prerogative* was a Thing fixed, inconteſtable, known to all the World, though there was not any Thing more uncertain, and whoſe Extent and Limits were leſs known. 1621.

Let us conſider now what were thoſe *Rights*, *Liberties*, *Privileges*, which the *Commons* claimed as their antient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance. Theſe are all undeterminate and general Terms, of which one cannot have a clear and diſtinct Idea, but by applying them to particular Caſes. Moreover the ſame Queries may be put here as were put concerning the Royal-Prerogative. How came the *Commons* by theſe Rights? How far do they reach? Where are their Bounds? It would be very difficult to fix theſe Matters. *James* went too far perhaps, in deſiring to deprive the *Commons* entirely of the Right of repreſenting to him the Nation's *Grievances*, and of the Liberty to debate, reaſon, and ſay in the *Houſe* what they think fit. But if under colour of theſe ſame Rights, the *Commons* would take upon them to give the King Advice upon all Occaſions, and ſpeak of his Majeſty in their *Houſe*, after an offenſive Manner, upon what would they be able to ground ſuch Privileges?

Since then it is ſo difficult to decide the Queſtions concerning the *Prerogative-Royal*, and the Privileges of the two *Houſes*, or of each in particular, Prudence and good Policy require, that Kings and Parliaments avoid as a Rock the engaging in ſuch Diſputes. Accordingly we may have obſerved in the Peruſal of this Hiſtory, that the wiſeſt, the moſt illuſtrious Kings, thoſe whoſe Worth is moſt univerſally acknowledged; as *Edward* I, *Edward* III, *Henry* V, *Edward* IV, *Henry* VIII, *Elizabeth*, never had any Conteſts of this Nature with their Parliaments. On the contrary, thoſe that were leaſt eminent for their Prudence and Capacity, ſuch as *Henry* III, *Edward* II, *Richard* II, were ruined, for raiſing ſuch ſorts of

1621. Disputes. *James* I, was the first who in those latter Days engaged again in this Quarrel. He was followed by his Son and Grand-Sons, and these Princes, instead of succeeding in their Projects, only rendered themselves most unfortunate. A wise and prudent King of *England*, who is acquainted with his own Interest, will never quarrel with his Parliament; and a Parliament, whose sole View is the Kingdom's Welfare, will take Care never to call the King's just Prerogative in question. Nay, they will chuse to see it stretched a little too far, rather than run the Risk of breaking an Union on which alone depends the Prosperity of the State. I hope I shall be forgiven this Digression, which to me seems of Use to set the Reader right, and help him to judge impartially of the Differences which sprang up in this, and brought forth so many Calamities in the following Reign.

1622. *All Consequences of dissolving the Parliament.*

The Dissolution of the Parliament, and the little Likelihood of the King's ever calling another, could not but be attended with ill Consequences. The King forfeited, by this Means, not only the Love and Esteem of great Part of his Subjects, but also the Regard of Foreigners. The Moment he was thus embroiled with his People, all the World concluded he could be no longer either a Friend to be relied upon, or an Enemy to be feared. On the other Hand, the Nation could not reflect without Terrour, that they were going to be exposed to an Arbitrary Power, since there was to be no more Parliaments to keep the *Prerogative-Royal* within due Bounds. But the saddest Consequence of the Rupture between the King and Parliament, was the Division among the Subjects, who went over more and more to the two opposite Parties which are in being at this Day, with some difference, under the Name of *Tories* and *Whigs*.

*Reasons alledged for and against the King.*

These two Parties which were now beginning to be formed, were contented at first with wrangling and contesting with one another, in defence of the King's or the People's Rights, with respect to what had occasioned the Dissolution of the Parliament. The

*Royalists*

*Royaliſts* affirmed, the *Commons* meant to make a Republican Government of the *Engliſh* Monarchy. By meddling with State-Affairs, and adviſing the King concerning the Management of the Kingdom and his own Family, they made appear that they aſpired to no leſs than ruling the State, ſince they would never want Pretences to give the King Counſel; which if he refuſed to comply with, he would by that very Thing, ſee himſelf deprived of the neceſſary Aids for Defence of the Realm, and conſtrained to receive Law from foreign Princes. *England* was originally a Monarchy, and had all along continued upon the ſame Foot: But the Foundations thereof were going to be undermined, by making the King ſubject to the Parliament. At firſt they were only *Remonſtrances* that were made to the King, afterwards, *Advice* and *Counſels* were added; but theſe *Counſels* were ſoon converted into *Inſtructions*, and the *Inſtructions* into *Orders* and *Commands*: In a Word, if the *Commons* were ſuffered to go on, the King would ſoon become a mere *Doge*. The *Commons* had the leſs Right to pretend to the Government of the *State*, as the *State* had ſubſiſted Five Hundred Years without them, ſince it was not till about the End of *Henry* III's Reign, and during the Earl of *Leiceſter's* Uſurpation that the *Repreſentatives* of the People were admitted into the Parliament. In ſhort, it was a ſtrange Thing, that under a Monarchical Government, the People, or their *Repreſentatives* ſhould tell the King how he was to govern his Kingdom: Upon ſuppoſition of the People's having ſuch a Right, it would be neceſſary to impart to them all the Secrets of the State, and conſult them about Alliances, and Treaties, Peace and War. But as this had never been practiſed, it followed of Courſe that the Suppoſition was falſe, and that the People were called to Parliament only to find the King what Money he wanted, and to ſettle the Taxes and Impoſitions in a Manner the leaſt burthenſome to the Subjects. It was true indeed, that as to the Laws which concerned the 1622.

1622. internal Government of the State, it was thought proper to enact them with the Conſent of the People who were to be ſubject to them, that they might be the better executed: but no Conſequence could be drawn from thence, ether for foreign Affairs, or for the Executions of theſe ſame Laws which was left to the King alone, or for the general Government of the Realm.

The Favourers of the People ſaid on their Part, the King was not ſatisfied with *England's* being a Monarchy, but would make it an abſolute Monarchy. He affected to confound the ſeveral Kinds of Monarchies, whereof ſome were more, others leſs abſolute, in order to acknowledge one ſort only, to which he aſcribed an unlimited Power. The *Engliſh* Monarchy was not of this kind, but began with the Parliament, which being as antient as the Regal Dignity, formed, together with the Sovereign, the abſolute Power the King would aſſume to himſelf alone. The Parliament had Their Privileges, as the King had His, nor could be deprived of them, without deſtroying the Nature and Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. The Parliament *repreſented* the whole Nation, who were as much or more concerned in the Welfare of the State than the King himſelf. The King indeed had his undoubted Prerogatives: but they were intended for the Welfare and Preſervation of the State, and not for its Ruin and Deſtruction. Whilſt he kept within theſe Bounds, aud acted only for the Benefit of the Kingdom, he anſwered the End and Intent of his Prerogatives: But it was deſtroying the Conſtitution, to pretend that his *Prerogative-Royal* gave him Power to ſubvert the Laws, to make Alliances repugnant to the Good of the Realm, to render the Nation contemptible in the Eyes of Foreigners, to expoſe Religion to the Danger of being trampled upon, out of an extreme Careleſſneſs and Condeſcenſion for its Enemies. In ſuch a Caſe, as he ſwerved from the End and Deſign of his Prerogative, it was the People's or their *Repreſentatives* Buſineſs,

ſineſs, to let him know the Inconveniencies of ſuch a Conduct, to propound Means to prevent them, and to give him proper Advice for their Cure. If this were not ſo, it would follow that the King would be abſolute and arbitrary: that he might ruin and deſtroy the Kingdom at his Pleaſure, trample upon the eſtabliſhed Laws, oppreſs the Subjects, take away their Lives and Fortunes, which was directly contrary to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. As to the Reſt, it evidently appeared, that the King was labouring to bring the Privileges of the Parliament to little or nothing. Does the Parliament repreſent to him the People's *Grievances?* It may, ſays he, from thence be inferred, that the King governs ill, and this tends to alienate from him the Love of his Subjects. Is he deſired to put the Laws againſt *Recuſants* in Execution? He anſwers, That Affair muſt be left to his Care, he knows very well what is proper to be done: He is an old experienced King, who has no need to be taught his Leſſon, and yet he is not ſeen to do the leaſt Thing towards redreſſing the Grievance complained of. Do the *Commons* repreſent to him, that the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Spaniſh Infanta* may be of bad Conſequence to Religion? He replies, They have no Buſineſs to meddle with his Family-Concerns. Do they ſtrive to make him ſenſible that the *Proteſtant* Religion is in danger of being deſtroyed throughout all *Europe*, for want of Aſſiſtance; and that the King of *Spain* amuſes him with fair Promiſes, whilſt he is over-running the *Palatinate?* He anſwers, Theſe are Matters of State above the Reach of the People's *Repreſentatives*, who have neither Wiſdom nor Capacity enough to comprehend the Myſteries of Government: *Ne ſutor ultra Crepidam.* In a word, he reduces the Privileges of the *Commons* to the giving the King Advice, when he ſhall do them the Honour to ask it, and to the ſupplying him with Money when he demands it on ſome Pretence, though the Pretence be evidently falſe, ſince he will not ſuffer his Reaſons to be exami- 1622.

1622. ned. But this is not all. He tells the *Commons* openly, that their Privileges are only bare Conceſſions of himſelf and Predeceſſors, and gives them to underſtand, they ſhall keep them no longer than their Submiſſion makes them worthy of them. Is it poſſible, ſay they, to give plainer Marks of a ſettled Deſign to uſurp an Arbitrary Power? Suppoſing the *Commons* were not called to Parliament till the Reign of *Henry* III, which however cannot be proved, have they not been, ever ſince, an eſſential Part of Parliament, and conſequently have they not an undoubted Right to all Parliamentary Privileges?

*The Puritans are for the People.*

This is Part of what was then ſaid on both Sides, and is what ſerved to cheriſh Diſſention between the two Parties, who have ſcarce ever ſince ceaſed to revile one another. It is eaſy to gueſs which of the two Parties the *Puritans* cloſed with. They loved not the King, who, on his part, diſcovered on all Occaſions that he was their mortal Enemy. But, as I ſaid, there were two Sorts of *Puritans*, namely, State-*Puritans* and Church-*Puritans*. Before the King declared his Mind ſo openly with reſpect to his *Prerogative-Royal*, the *State-Puritans* were few in Number, becauſe the King having gone no great lengths, his Intention was only ſuſpected as yet. But after the Diſſolution of the Third Parliament, their Number increaſed mightily, and the King, out of a Policy very deſtructive of his Intereſts, ſtudied always to confound theſe two Sorts of *Puritans*. He drove them by that Means to become one and the ſame Party, though they agreed in one Point only, namely, in oppoſing the Maxims of the Court. So the *Church-Puritans*, who before made a very poor Figure in the Kingdom, formed on a ſudden a very conſiderable Party, by the Union of the *State-Puritans* with them. This Party grew in the End ſo ſtrong, that they overthrew the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, and the *Monarchy* itſelf: But this happened not till the following Reign.

On

1622.

On the other Hand, the King's Party was ſtrengthned by the *Arminians* joining with them, who were pretty numerous. *Arminius's Doctrine* had bred Diſputes in *England*, though with leſs Noiſe than in *Holland*. Many *Clergymen* had embraced this *Doctrine*, though condemned by the *Synod* of *Dort*, whoſe Authority they admitted not, and in ſpite of the King's open Declaration to reject *Arminius's* Tenets. Theſe Men taking Advantage of the Opportunity ariſing from the Diſcord between the two Parties, readily joined with the *Royaliſts*, and from that time were as much careſſed at Court as they were hated before. By this Means *William Laud*, a Clergyman of great Parts and Learning, was qualified, though *Arminian*, to be promoted to the *See* of St. *David's* by the Marqueſs of *Buckingham's* Intereſt, who deſired the Biſhop of *Lincoln* * to recommend him to the King. It was however with ſome Difficulty that the King agreed to his Preferment, being prejudiced againſt him on account of his proud and turbulent Spirit. After the *Arminians* had liſted themſelves in the King's Party, they were in the Height of Proſperity, favoured by the Courtiers, who were doing their utmoſt to hinder the Growth of *Puritaniſm*. On the other Hand, the *Papiſts* alſo declared openly for the King, becauſe it was an abſolute Power alone that could help them to what they wanted, whereas the Parliament had declared againſt them. In fine, the greateſt Part of the *Clergy* eſpouſed likewiſe the King's Side, looking upon him as the only Perſon capable of ſupporting them againſt the Attempts of the *Puritans*, whoſe Number continually increaſed.

*The* Arminians *are for the King.* Wilſon, p. 198.

Coke.

*Life of* Williams, p. 64.

*The Papiſts embrace the ſame Party,*

*as do the Clergy alſo*

The two Parties being thus made up of Men of different Kinds and Sentiments, mutually upbraided one another with what was moſt odious in each Party. The *Royaliſts* confounded under the Name of *Puritans*, all thoſe who oppoſed the King, and the *Puritans* taxed all the *Royaliſts* with being *Papiſts* and *Arminians*.

*Mutual Reproaches of the two Parties.*

* Lord-Keeper *Williams*.

1622. *The King is lightly esteemed Abroad.*

This Division, which began to be remarkable in *England*, did not help to revive the King's Reputation Abroad. It was now two Years since his Son-in-law's Dominions were invaded by the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Bavaria*, and he had not been seen to take any effectual Course for their Recovery. Embassies and Sollicitations were the only Arms he had used to attain his Ends. The King of *Spain* had amused him now for Four or Five Years with the Hopes of a Marriage which went not forward, and by that means tied up his Hands, whilst he over-ran the *Palatinate*. Lastly, when all *Europe* expected he would at length open his Eyes, and see the Interests of his Kingdom, his Family and his own, and take some vigorous Resolution, News came that he had quarrelled with his Parliament to a Degree not easily to be made up. Whereupon he was despised Abroad, and Insults quickly followed Contempt. In the *Netherlands* he was made a publick Jest of on their Stages. *Comedies* were acted with *Messengers* hastily bringing News that the *Palatinate* was going to be lost, considering the mighty Forces that were sending thither by the King of *Spain's* Enemies: The King of *Denmark* was to find a Hundred Thousand *Pickle-Herrings*; the *Hollanders* a Hundred Thousand *Butter-Boxes*; and the King of *England*, a Hundred Thousand *Ambassadors*. In another Place, King *James* was pictured with a Scabbard without a Sword, or with a Sword which no body could draw, though divers Persons stood pulling at it *. In *England* itself the almost-forgotten Story of *David Rizzo* was revived. But what troubled the contrary Party to the King most, was to see *Buckingham* bear so absolute a Sway, that the King seemed to have made his Favourite his Master. None were admitted to

*Pasquils made upon him in the Netherlands.* Wilson, p. 192. Coke, p. 126.

* In *Brussels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and not one Penny in them; and his Purse turned upside down. In *Antwerp* they painted the Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Irish* Mantlet with her Hair hanging about her Ears, her Child at her Back, and King *James* carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of these Pictures had several *Motto's* expressing their Malice. *Coke*, Vol. I. p. 126.

to Places but *Papiſts*, *Arminians*, or ſuch as were reckoned to have little or no Concern for Religion. In ſhort, ſuch only paſſed for *Proteſtants* with the Court, as were for the Royal Prerogative in its utmoſt Extent, let their Religion be what it would. Every Body elſe was *Puritan*. *Abbot* himſelf, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was reckoned among the *Puritans*, becauſe he approved not of the Court-Maxims. He had the Misfortune in the Year 1622 to kill a Man with an Arrow as he was ſhooting at a Buck *, and this Accident occaſioned his being deemed uncapable of performing any longer the Functions of a Biſhop. Whereupon he reſolved to ſave the Trouble likewiſe of going to the Council, where his Advice was little regarded, as coming from a Perſon of *Puritan* Principles. 1622.

*The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *is reckoned a Puritan.* Wilſon, p. 198.

*He kills a Man accidentally and retires from Court.*

Whilſt the Minds of the People were in this Sort of Fermentation, the King had Occaſion for Money. He had a Mind to ſend *Digby* to *Spain*, and *Weſton* to *Bruſſels*, to finiſh at once the Marriage and the Affair of the *Palatinate*. Beſides, *Buckingham* and his Relations were a Gulph which could not be filled. There was no Likelihood of a new Parliament, after the Steps the King had juſt taken. Though a Parliament could have been brought to give the King Money, it would not have been till after their Privileges were ſecured at the Expence of the *Prerogative-Royal*, which was a Remedy, in the King's Opinion, worſe than the Diſeaſe. Recourſe therefore muſt be had to extraordinary Ways. The ſpeedieſt and moſt ſure ſeemed to be the exacting from the People a Contribution under the Name of *Benevolence*. As the Court knew very well, if ſome Conſtraint were not uſed, the People's Liberality would not go very far, the Judges were ordered

*The King exacts a Benevolence.*

* In *Bramſhill*-Park in *Hampſhire*, belonging to the Lord *Zouch*, who had invited the Archbiſhop to a Buck-Hunting. The *Keeper* running among the Herd of *Deer* to bring them to the fairer Mark, the Archbiſhop ſitting on Horſeback, let fly a barbed Arrow from a Croſs-Bow, which unfortunately ſhot the *Keeper*, who died immediately of the Wound.

1622. dered in their *Circuits* to demand a *Benevolence*, and to intimate withal, that the King would not be satisfied with what should be voluntarily offered, if it was not according to the Giver's Abilities. To that purpose the Council directed a circular Letter to the Judges, concluding with these Words: *Nevertheless, if any Person shall, out of Obstinacy or Disaffection, refuse to contribute herein, proportionably to their Estates and Means, you are to certify their Names unto this Board. And so recommending this Service to your best Care and Endeavour, and praying you to return unto us Notes of the Names of such as shall contribute, and of the Sums offered by them* *.

Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 60.

*The King's Project.* The King's Project was to conclude the Prince his Son's Marriage, and receive the Dowry of two Millions, before he demanded the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, for fear the *Spaniard* should think of putting him off with this same Restitution in lieu of the Dowry. After that, he was in Hopes the King of *Spain*, out of Friendship, and in Consideration of their Alliance, would deliver up the *Lower Palatinate* to his Son-in-law, and oblige the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria* to restore to him the *Upper*. This is all he intended to do for his Daughter and Son-in-law. That this was his Design, manifestly appears from his *Instructions* to the Lord *Digby*, when he went to *Spain*, wherein he was expresly ordered, *not to make the Affair of the* Palatinate *one of the Marriage-Articles*. The King however would have had the World believe, that the procuring his Son-in-law the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was his chief Aim in matching his Son with the *Infanta* of *Spain*. This doubtless was one of those deep Mysteries of State which was above the Reach of the *Commons*. Perhaps he hoped in good earnest, that the Restitution would immediately follow after the

* Letters to the same Effect were directed to the *High-Sheriffs* and *Justices* of the *Peace* of the several *Counties*, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs throughout the Kingdom, and for making choice of Collectors, *&c.* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 61.

the Marriage; but theſe Hopes were built upon a very weak Foundation. In all Appearance, it was *Gondemar* that made him conceive ſuch imaginary Hopes. 1622.

However this be, *James*, wholly bent upon this Project, ſent *Digby* Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Spain*, to conclude the Marriage-Treaty jointly with Sir *Walter Aſhton*, who had been ſome Time at the Court of *Philip* IV *. The Articles concerning Religion were already ſettled, but the Reſt where not to be talked of, till the Pope's Diſpenſation was obtained, for fear of labouring in vain. This was an Artifice of the *Spaniſh* Court, to ſpin out the Affair, that they might have Time to finiſh the Conqueſt of the *Palatinate*, whilſt the Diſpenſation was expected, which to haſten or put back lay in all Appearance in the King of *Spain's* Breaſt. Mean while, the Hopes of a ſpeedy Concluſion of the Marriage, of the Dowry of two Millions, and of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, tied up the King's Hands in ſuch a manner, that he durſt not take the leaſt Step which might give Offence to the King of *Spain*, for fear of defeating ſo noble a Project. And therefore, whenever he talked of going to War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, it was always with this Reſtriction, if he could not obtain it by fair Means, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of his Negotiations ſucceeding as he had projected. It is then almoſt certain, that when he demanded Money of the Parliament, or exacted the *Benevolence* from the Pople, it was not with Deſign to prepare for War, though that was the Pretence, ſince a Rupture with the *Houſe* of *Auſtria* was inconſiſtent with his Project.

Digby *is ſent into* Spain.

When

* The Lord *Digby* carried Letters from King *James* and Prince *Charles* to the King of *Spain*, and one from the King to the Lord *Belthazar* of *Zuniga*, which the Reader may ſee in *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 57, *&c.*

1622. When *Digby*, who was made this very Year *Earl of Briſtol* *, ſet out for *Spain*, the King diſpatched *Gage* to *Rome*, to ſollicit the haſtening of the Diſpenſation, without which the new Ambaſſador could forward nothing at *Madrid*. But to render *Gage's* Inſtances more effectual, it was neceſſary to let the Pope ſee the King was not a Perſecutor of the *Catholicks*. Not that he had not already given very ſtrong Proofs of this: But he thought he ſhould on this Occaſion give a ſtill more convincing Proof, by releaſing all the *Recuſants* then in Priſon. This was done publickly and openly, by *Writs* under the *Great-Seal* to the *Juſtices* of *Aſſize*, together with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, exhorting them punctually to obey the King's Orders. Theſe *Writs*, contrary to the Law, to the *Commons* Remonſtrance, and to the King's own Anſwer to their *Petition*, were the Occaſion of many Cenſures, wherein the King's Conduct was not ſpared. As this Affair made a Noiſe among the People, the Lord *Keeper* was ordered to vindicate the King by a publick Writing. This Vindication begins with this noble Compariſon: *As the Sun in the Firmament appears to us no bigger than a Platter, and the Stars are but as ſo many Nails in the Pummel of a Saddle, by Reaſon of the Enlargement and Diſproportion between our Eye and the Object: So is there ſuch an unmeaſurable diſtance between the deep Reſolution of a Prince, and the ſhallow Apprehenſions of common and ordinary People; that as they will ever be judging and cenſuring, ſo they muſt needs be obnoxious to Errour and Miſtaking.* Then he gives two Reaſons, both very falſe, of this Conduct. The Firſt is, That as the King was now ſolliciting very zealouſly for ſome Eaſe to all the *Proteſtants* in *Europe*, it would be unreaſonable to put the Laws in Execution againſt the *Roman Catholicks*. The Second, That the *Engliſh Jeſuits* had publiſhed a Book to excite the *French* King to execute in his Kingdom againſt the *Huguenots*, the ſame Laws as thoſe

Digby *made Earl of* Briſtol. Wilſon. Ruſh.

Gage *is ſent to* Rome *to forward the Diſpenſation.* Wilſon, p. 195.

*The impriſoned* Recuſants *are all releaſed.*

*The Lord Keeper's Vindication of the King.* Ruſh I. 63. Annals, p. 64.

* The 15th of *November*. Dugdale.

thoſe enacted in *England* againſt the *Papiſts*. *But*, added the Biſhop, *to conclude, from the Favour done to the* Engliſh Papiſts, *that the King favours the* Romiſh Religion, *is a Compoſition of Folly and Malice, little deſerved by a gracious Prince, who by Word, Writing, Exerciſe of Religion, and Acts of Parliament, hath demonſtrated himſelf ſo reſolved a Proteſtant.* 1622.

*Iſſue of Count* Schwartzemburg. DuCheſne

I obſerved that about the latter End of the laſt Year, the Emperour ſent Count *Schwartzemburg* to the King, to treat about the Affair of the *Palatinate*. This Ambaſſador being received at *London* with great Magnificence, as witneſſing the Emperour's Regard for the King, could produce no *Powers* when he came to talk of Affairs. It was the Archdutcheſs *Iſabella* that was impowered by the Emperour to conclude the Truce the King deſired. There was a Neceſſity therefore of going to negotiate at *Bruſſels* with the Archdutcheſs, and the Envoys of ſome *Proteſtant* Princes. The King pitched for this Buſineſs upon Sir *Richard Weſton*, probably becauſe he thought his Religion would forward the Negotiation. But to gain the *Infanta's* Good-will, he made uſe of another Means alſo. And that was, he permitted the Lord *Vaux*, a Papiſt, to raiſe Two Thouſand * Men in *England*, to go and ſerve the *Infanta* againſt the *United Provinces*, and the *Proteſtant* Princes their Allies. By ſuch Means as theſe the King hoped to ſucceed in his Negotiations. We ſhall ſee the Iſſue preſently: But it will be neceſſary firſt to ſay a Word of what paſſed in *Germany* during the Year 1622.

Weſton *ſent to* Bruſſels. Vaux *is permitted to raiſe Men for the Service of the* Infanta *againſt the States.* DuCheſne

*Affairs of* Bohemia. *Hiſt. of the Reb. of* Boh. Coke.

The King of *Bohemia*, fully ſenſible that the King his Father-in-law made uſe of very ineffectual Methods to reſtore him to his Dominions, believed he ought to go ſome other Way to work. He was ſtill Maſter of *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*; and Count *Mansfeldt*, though withdrawn into *Alſatia*, had it in his Power to re-enter the *Lower-Palatinate*, when he pleaſed. In order to make ſome Advantage of

* Four Thouſand, ſays *Wilſon*, p. 203.

1622. of this his laſt Remedy, he agreed with Prince *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick*, Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Halberſtadt*, who accompanied him to the *Hague*, to go and raiſe an Army in *Weſtphalia*, and then to join *Mansfeldt*. At the ſame Time he made the like Agreement with the Prince of *Baden-Durlach*, who promiſed alſo to levy an Army for the ſame Purpoſe. It is likely, the *Hollanders* ſupplied the Money for theſe Levies, on account of the Benefit they ſhould reap from this powerful Diverſion. Theſe two Princes kept their Word with the King of *Bohemia*, and each put himſelf at the Head of Ten or Twelve Thouſand Men. The Difficulty was, How to enter the *Lower-Palatinate*, where the *Spaniards* were very ſtrong. However, the Thing not appearing impracticable, the Prince of *Brunſwick* took the Field in *Weſtphalia*, and made himſelf Maſter of ſome Places in the County of *Marck*. This drew upon him a Detachment of the *Spaniſh* Army in the *Low-Countries*, commanded by Count *Henry de Bergh*, who was joined by the Count of *Anhalt* with another Detachment of the Army of *Bavaria*, which Count *Tilly* commanded in the *Palatinate*. Whereupon Prince *Chriſtian* ſaw himſelf detained ſome Time in *Weſtphalia*. But at length, the Count of *Bergh* being recalled, gave him an Opportunity to move forward. On the other Hand, it was no eaſy Matter for the Prince of *Baden* to enter the *Palatinate*, all the Paſſages whereof were ſtopt up by Count *Tilly* and *Gonſalez* of *Cordova*.

In the mean while, the King of *Bohemia* departing privately from the *Hague*, went on board a ſmall Veſſel, and landing at *Calais*, travelled through *France* and got ſafe to *Mansfeldt's* Army, who was advanced as far as *Germerſheim*. Here they expected with Impatience the Approach of the two Armies which were coming to their Aſſiſtance. It would be needleſs to give a particular Account of the March of theſe two Armies, and the Obſtacles they met with from the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*. It will be ſufficient

ſufficient to ſay in two Words, that the Prince of *Baden* was defeated on the 6th of *May*: After which the King of *Bohemia* and *Mansfeldt* going to meet Prince *Chriſtian*, fell in with Count *Tilly*, who put them to rout, and forced them to retire to *Manheim*. This Battle was fought on the 12th of *June*. Eight Days after *Tilly* went alſo and attacked Prince *Chriſtian*, who was advanced as far as the Borders of the *Palatinate*, and though he had ſome Advantage over him, could not however prevent him from getting to *Manheim* with good Part of his Troops. 1622.

Some Time after the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians* received ſuch ſtrong Supplies, that their Army conſiſted of above Fifty Thouſand Men, with which they almoſt hemmed in their Enemies, who were encamped between *Manheim* and *Heidelberg*. Whereupon the King of *Bohemia* deſpairing ever to recover what he had loſt, returned to *Holland*. After his Departure, the Prince of *Brunſwick* and Count *Mansfeldt*, reſolved to go and join Prince *Maurice* in the *Low-Countries*, and took their Rout through *Lorrain*. As they were obliged to go round about, *Gonſalez de Cordova* parting from *Tilly*, went and expected them at *Brabant*, in order to hinder their Paſſage. The two Armies meeting between *Namur* and *Bruſſels*, fought with pretty equal Succeſs: But the Prince of *Brunſwick* had one of his Arms ſhot off by a Cannon-Ball. After the Battle *Mansfeldt* continued his March towards *Holland*.

Mean while Count *Tilly* having no Enemy to oppoſe him in the *Lower Palatinate*, carried *Heidelberg* by Storm, took *Manheim* by a long Blockade, and then went and laid Siege to *Frankendal*. Heidelberg *and* Manheim *taken, and* Frankendal *beſieged.*

Whilſt the King of *Bohemia* was in the *Palatinate*, Conferences were held at *Bruſſels*, to procure a Truce for that unfortunate Country, according to the King of *England's* Deſire, though he was not empowered by the King his Son-in-law, for whom at this Juncture, a Truce was not convenient. In this Negotiation two Difficulties immediately occurred, which ſerved *Negotiation at* Bruſſels. DuCheſne *Hiſt. of the Reb. of* Boh.

1622. to delay Matters a long while. The First was, the *English* Ambassador had not sufficient *Powers* from the King of *Bohemia* and his Allies. *James* had imagined doubtless, that since this Truce was negotiating on his Account, it was enough that they had to do with him. But the *Spaniards* gave to understand, They could treat only with the principal Parties. There was Occasion therefore to send to the *Palatinate* for *Full Powers* from the King of *Bohemia*, who was in no haste to dispatch them, whilst he had any Hopes of succeeding in his Enterprize. But sending at length these *Powers* when he saw his Affairs going to ruin, another Difficulty of the same Nature sprang up at *Brussels*. The Archdutchess had no other Power than the Emperour's bare Letter, desiring her to consult with the *English* Ambassador about Means to conclude a Truce for the *Lower-Palatinate*. From that Time the King of *Bohemia's* Affairs daily growing worse, the Archdutchess and Count *Schwartzemburg* prolonged the Affair on divers Pretences, till *Heidelberg* was taken, and *Manheim* closely blocked up. Then *James* wrote to the King of *Spain*, to desire him to order that the Affairs of the *Palatinate* might remain as they were till the Conclusion of the Truce, and the Blockade of *Manheim* be raised. *Philip* feigned to do thus much for his Sake; but before his Letter to the Archdutchess came to Hand, *Manheim* was taken (*a*). Nay, it did not hinder Count *Tilly* from besieging *Frankendal*, which he would have made himself Master of without Scruple, had not the overflowing of the Rivers constrained him to raise the Siege. Thus was the King amused with vain Hopes, whilst the Conquest of the *Palatinate* was in Hand. He found it out at last, but withal being shown that the Prince his Son's Marriage was just going to be concluded, he could not think of running the hazard of breaking off that Affair, by insisting too sternuously on the Restitution of

*The King is amused.*

16th September.

*He deceives himself.*

(*a*) That Place surrendered *November* the 4th.

of the Elector's Dominions. This may be clearly seen in his Letters to the Earl of *Briſtol* his Ambaſſador in *Spain*, of which I ſhall give here ſome Extracts. 1622.

*Sept.* 9. 1622.

*Right Truſty, and well-beloved.*

*The King's Letter to the Earl of* Briſtol. Wilſon. Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 68.

" YOUR Diſpatch of the 9th of *Auguſt* gave us ſo much Contentment, and ſo great Hopes of Satisfaction in all thoſe Buſineſſes, which you have there to treat with that King, as we could not expect any further Difficulties; notwithſtanding by that which hath come to our Hands immediately after, as well by *George Gage* from *Rome*, as by our Ambaſſador Sir *Richard Weſton* at *Bruſſels*, and our Miniſters in the *Palatinate*; we find that neither the Diſpenſation is granted for the Match, nor the Treaty of Ceſſation ſo near a Concluſion, as we conceived it would have been, now that the Auxiliaries, and all other Obſtacles are removed. But on the contrary Side, that new Delays and Excuſes are invented, our Garriſons in the *Palatinate* in the mean time blocked up, *Heidelberg* it ſelf actually beſieged.——

" Therefore our Pleaſure is, that you ſhall immediately, and with as much Speed as you may, crave Audience of that King, and repreſent unto him the Merit that we may juſtly challenge unto our ſelf, for our ſincere Proceedings with the Emperour and him in all the Courſe of this Buſineſs, notwithſtanding the many Invitations and Temptations which we have had, to engage our Self on our Son-in-law's Part. That we have had both from the Emperour and him Hopes given us from Time to Time of extraordinary Reſpect, howſoever our Son-in-law had deſerved, which we have attended and expected to the very laſt, with much Patience, and in Deſpight (as it were) of all the Oppoſition that hath been made to ſhake our Reſolution in that Behalf. If now when all Impedi-

1622. " ments are removed, and that the Way is ſo prepa-
" red, as that the Emperour may give an End unto
" the War, and make ſome preſent Demonſtration
" of his Reſpects towards us, in leaving us the Ho-
" nour of holding thoſe poor Places which yet re-
" main, quietly and peaceably, until the general
" Accommodation, the ſame ſhall nevertheleſs be
" violently taken from us, what can we look for
" when the Whole ſhall be in his Hands and Poſſeſ-
" on? Who amuſing us with a Treaty of Ceſſation,
" and protracting it induſtriouſly, (as we have rea-
" ſon to believe,) doth in the mean time ſeize him-
" ſelf of the whole Country; which being done, our
" Ambaſſador ſhall return with Scorn, and we re-
" main with Diſhonour.

" I ſhall not need to furniſh you with Arguments
" for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly
" Dealing more plainly unto them; your own Rea-
" ſon and Obſervation will find enough out of the
" Diſpatches, whereof Copies are ſent unto you; as
" namely, The withdrawing of the *Spaniſh* Forces,
" and leaving the Buſineſs wholly in the Hands of
" the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria*; The
" Stile of the *Infanta*, in anſwering our Ambaſſador
" with Recrimination, which was not her manner
" heretofore; the ſlight and frivolous Anſwer given
" by the Marqueſs of *Bedmar* unto our Ambaſſador,
" when he acquainted him with the Siege of *Heidel-*
" *berg*; The quarrellous Occaſion taken by the Em-
" perour for calling the Diet at *Ratisbon*, contrary
" to his own Promiſe, which in his Diſpatch to us,
" he confeſſeth to have broken, as you will ſee by
" the Copy. All which and many more, which your
" own Judgment (in the peruſal of the Diſpatches)
" will ſuggeſt unto you, do miniſter unto us Cauſe
" ſufficient of Jealouſy on the Emperour's Part, as
" you ſhall plainly tell that King; although we will
" not do him that Wrong as to miſtruſt that he
" gives the leaſt Conſent to it. In this Confidence,
" with much Earneſtneſs, we ſhall ſtill ſollicite him,

" that for the Affection he bears us, and the Deſire 1622.
" which we ſuppoſe he hath, that there may continue
" for ever a perfect Amity betwixt us and the whole
" Houſe of *Auſtria*, he will not ceaſe to do all good
" Offices herein; letting him know directly, that
" in theſe Terms, we cannot ſtand with the Empe-
" rour; but that if *Heidelberg* be won, or the Siege
" continue, or the Ceſſation be long unneceſſarily
" delayed, we muſt recal our Ambaſſador from
" *Bruſſels*, and treat no more, as we have already
" given Order; hoping that whatſoever Unkindneſs
" we ſhall conceive againſt the Emperour upon theſe
" Occaſions, it ſhall not be interpreted to reflect in
" any ſort upon the entire Affection that is at this
" preſent, and as we hope ſhall always continue,
" betwixt us and the Crown of *Spain*. And there-
" fore, as we have heretofore ſundry Times promi-
" ſed, in Teſtimony of the Sincerity of our Pro-
" ceedings, and of our great Deſire to preſerve the
" Amity inviolable between us and the whole Houſe
" of *Auſtria*, That in Caſe our Son-in-law would
" not be governed by us, that then we would not
" only forſake him, but take part, and join our
" Forces with the Emperour againſt him; So you
" may fairly repreſent unto that King, That in like
" manner we have reaſon to expect the ſame Mea-
" ſure from him, that (upon the Emperours's Averſe-
" neſs to a Ceſſation and Accommodation) he will
" likewiſe actually aſſiſt us for the Recovery of the
" *Palatinate*, and Electoral Dignity, unto our Son-
" in-law, as it hath been oftentimes intimated from
" *Spain* (*a*).

" To conclude, we ſhall not need to ſay any
" more unto you touching this Point, but to let
" you ſee that our Meaning is, to carry all Things
" fair with that King, and not to give him any

(*a*) It was Count *Gondemar* that intimated it to him, but without giving him a poſitive Promiſe, and yet the King looked upon it as an Engagement.

1622. "Cauſe of Diſtruſt or Jealouſy, if you perceive "they intend to go really and roundly on with "the Match".

Notwithſtanding all this, *Heidelberg* and *Manheim* were taken by the Emperour's Forces, and *Frankendal* beſieged.

Wilſon, p. 207. In another Letter to the ſame Ambaſſador, dated *October* 3. the King ſaid: "That while he was a- "muſed with Treaties at *Madrid* and *Bruſſels*, *Hei-* "*delberg* had been taken by Force, the *Engliſh* Gar- "riſon put to the Sword, and *Manheim* beſieged: "That the *Infanta* (having an abſolute Commiſſion "to conclude a Ceſſation and Suſpenſion of Arms) "when all Objections were anſwered, did not only "delay the Concluſion of the Treaty, but refuſe to "lay her Command upon the Emperour's Generals "to abſtain from the Siege of his Garriſons during "the Treaty, upon a Pretext of want of Authority. "And therefore for avoiding of further Diſhonour, "he had been forced to recal both his Ambaſſa- "dors, as alſo the Lord *Chicheſter*, whom he in- "tended to have ſent unto the Emperour to the "Diet at *Ratisbon*". After which he added:

*Seeing therefore that, merely out of our extraordinary Reſpect to the King of* Spain, *and the firm Confidence we ever put in the Hopes and Promiſes which he did give us, (deſiring nothing more than for his Cauſe principally to avoid all Occaſions that might put us in ill Underſtanding with any of the Houſe of* Auſtria*) we have hitherto proceeded with a ſtedfaſt Patience: truſting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other Means, which probably might have ſecured the Remainder of our Childrens Inheritance, and by this Confidence and Security of ours, are now expoſed to Diſhonour and Reproach. You ſhall tell that King, That ſeeing all thoſe Endeavours and good Offices which he hath uſed towards the Emperour in this Buſineſs, on the Behalf of our Son-in-law, have not ſorted to any other Iſſue, than to a plain Abuſe, both of his*

*his Truſt and ours; we hope and deſire that he will faithfully promiſe and undertake upon his Honour, (confirming the ſame alſo under his Hand and Seal) either that the Town and Caſtle of* Heidelberg *ſhall, within Threeſcore and ten Days after your Audience, and Demand made, be rendered into our Hands, with all Things thereto belonging; and the like for* Manheim *and* Frankendal, *if both or either of them ſhall be taken by the Enemy while theſe Things are in Treaty: As alſo that there ſhall be within the ſaid Term of* 70 *Days, a Ceſſation and Suſpenſion of Arms in the* Palatinate *for the future, upon the ſeveral Articles and Conditions laſt propounded by our Ambaſſador Sir* Richard Weſton; *and that the general Treaty ſhall be ſet a Foot again: Or elſe, in caſe all theſe Particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperour, that then the King of* Spain *do join his Forces with ours: Or if ſo be his Forces be otherwiſe employed, yet that at the leaſt he will permit us a free and friendly Paſſage through his Territories and Dominions, for ſuch Forces as we ſhall ſend and employ in* Germany *for his Service. Of all which, if you receive not from the King of* Spain *(within ten Days at the fartheſt after your Audience) a direct Aſſurance under his Hand and Seal without Delay, that then you take your Leave, and return to our Preſence, without further Stay; otherwiſe to proceed in the Negotiation for the Marriage of our Son, according to the Inſtructions we have given you.* 1622.

This Letter plainly ſhews that the King well knew he had hitherto been only amuſed. Yet for all that he wrote the very next Day to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to this Purpoſe. "Though you have order to come "away without farther Delay, in caſe you receive "not Satisfaction to your Demands from the King "of *Spain*; yet we would not have you inſtantly "come away upon it, but advertiſe us firſt, letting "us know privately (if you find ſuch Cauſes) that "there is no Good to be done, nor Satisfaction, as "you judge, intended us, (though publickly and Wilſon, p. 210.

1622. " outwardly you give out to the contrary) that we " may make use thereof with our People in Parliament, as we shall hold best for our Service".

*The King's false Measures.*

It is evident from these Letters how much the King was mistaken, in expecting to make up his Son-in-law's Matters, by the Method he had followed, and how he had been trifled with in his several Negotiations: That he himself owned so much; and yet all the Vengeance he took was to recal his Ambassador from *Brussels*. It is true, he seemed resolved to be revenged by way of Arms; but he would have the King of *Spain* join with him, to oblige the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* to restore a Country which he had himself delivered up to them. At least, he hoped the King of *Spain* would give him Leave to march through his Territories; Projects as chimerical as that of recovering the *Palatinate* by fair means, and his Sollicitations alone. In short, it is visible from these Letters, that the King made the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and Conclusion of the Marriage two distinct Affairs, and did not consider the last as depending upon the other. And indeed, though there was manifestly some Colluſion betwen the Emperour, *Philip* IV, and the *Infanta*, *James* ordered his Ambassador to do nothing that might give Offence to the King of *Spain*, for fear of prejudicing the Marriage, which he was always made to believe was as good as concluded.

In fine, after long waiting, *Gage* was sent back from *Rome*, where he had been solliciting the *Dispensation*, with Nineteen Articles, to each of which the Pope had put a *Postil* or short Note, after the manner practised in the Capitulations of Places. In all appearance, the Sense of the Three main Articles which were agreed on was explained, and the Nineteen following Ones had been formed by common Consent.

I. That

1622. *The Marriage Articles, with the Pope's Answers.* Du Chesne, p. 1160.

I. That the *Diſpenſation* of the Pope ſhall be firſt procured by the Endeavours of his *Catholick* Majeſty.

*Note. The two Parties are agreed in this Point.*

II. That the Marriage ſhall be celebrated in *Spain* according to the Rites practiſed in the Church of *Rome*; and afterwards in *England*, with ſuch Ceremonies as ſhall tend moſt to the Advantage of the King of *Great-Britain*, yet ſo, as that nothing be done contrary to the Religion profeſſed by the moſt excellent *Infanta*. But as to this Point, they ſhall agree about the Ceremonies to be performed in both Kingdoms.

Note. *The Marriage ought to be celebrated but once in* Spain, *and if any Ceremony is to be performed in* England, *Notice muſt be given of it beforehand, and let them be agreed about this ſame Ceremony.*

III. That the moſt gracious *Infanta* ſhall have free Exerciſe of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion.

Note. *This Article is granted.*

IV. That all the Domeſticks and Servants belonging to the moſt gracious *Infanta*, ſhall be appointed by his Catholick Majeſty, ſo as that the King of *England* ſhall not have the Liberty of nominating any one.

Note. *Granted.*

V. That the moſt gracious *Infanta* ſhall have an *Oratory*, where *Divine Service* ſhall be celebrated in ſuch manner as ſhe ſhall appoint.

Note. *This Article is granted.*

VI. That this *Oratory* ſhall be in her Palace, and there *Maſſes* to be celebrated at the Pleaſure of the *Infanta*.

Note. *A Church ſhall be built in* London, *beſides that in the Palace, and* Divine Service *ſhall be celebrated*

1622. *in each, and the Word of God preached, and the Sacraments adminiſtred.*

VII. That all the Officers and Domeſticks belonging to the *Infanta*, of what Sort ſoever, as alſo her Servants and Family, may be freely and publickly Catholicks; which is ſo to be underſtood, as that each of them in particular ſhall be obliged to profeſs the *Roman Catholick* Religion.

Note, *The Men and Women Servants of the moſt ſerene* Infanta, *their Children and Poſterity, with their whole Families, what Office ſoever they are in, ſhall have the free Exerciſe of the* Catholick Religion.

VIII. That the Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion ſhall be in Form following: The moſt gracious *Infanta* ſhall have in her Palace a Chapel ſo ſpacious, that her Servants and Family may enter and ſtay therein; in which there ſhall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the *Infanta* may have a Paſſage into the ſaid Chapel, where ſhe and others may be preſent at Divine Offices.

Note, *All the Servants muſt conform to this.*

IX. That the ſaid Chapel may be beautified with decent Ornaments, and other Things neceſſary for Divine Service, according to the Cuſtom of the Holy *Roman* Church; and that it ſhall be lawful for the Servants and others to go to the ſaid Chapel at all Hours.

Note, *Granted.*

X. That the Keeper and Guardians of the ſaid Chapel ſhall be appointed by the Lady *Infanta*, and they ſhall take Care no body may enter into it to do any undecent Thing.

Note, *The Keeper and Guardians of the Chapel and Church ſhall be* Spaniards.

XI. That

XI. That to ſerve in the Chapel aforeſaid, there ſhall be a convenient Number of Prieſts, as to the *Infanta* ſhall ſeem fit. And if any of them be Natives of *Great-Britain*, they ſhall not be admitted to ſerve, without her Conſent firſt obtained. 1622.

Note, *His Holineſs wills and means that this be a true Church.*

XII. That among the aforeſaid Prieſts, there ſhall be one Superiour Miniſter or Rector, with Authority to decide Caſes of Religion and Conſcience.

Note, *His Holineſs will have this Superiour to be a Biſhop.*

XIII. That this Superiour Miniſter may exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction upon all who ſhall offend in the *Infanta's* Family: And moreover, the Lady *Infanta* ſhall have Power to put them out of her Service, whenſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.

Note, *He muſt be a Biſhop.*

XIV. That it may be lawful for the Lady *Infanta* to procure from *Rome Indulgences* and *Jubilees*, and to do all other Things pertaining to Conſcience.

Note, *This Article is granted.*

XV. That the Servants and Family of the Lady *Infanta* ſhall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain*; provided that there be no Clauſe therein which ſhall be contrary to their Conſciences and the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and that the Form of the Oath be firſt approved of.

Note, *The Men and Women Servants ſhall be* Spaniards.

XVI. That the Laws made againſt the *Roman Catholick* Religion in *England*, ſhall not take hold of the Servants of the moſt gracious *Infanta*; but they ſhall be exempted from the ſaid Laws, and from all Penalties annexed thereunto, and of this a Declaration ſhall be made.

Note,

1622. Note. *The Laws already made or to be made hereafter in* England *concerning Religion shall not extend to the said Servants, who shall be exempted as well from the Penalties*, &c. *and for this Reason the Ecclesiasticks shall not be liable to any Laws but their Ecclesiastical Laws.*

XVII. That the Children of the most illustrious Prince, and the most gracious *Infanta*, shall not be constrained in Point of Conscience; and that in this Case, the Laws made against Catholicks in *England* shall not extend to them; and though any of them be Catholicks, they shall not lose the Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of *Great-Britain.*

Note. *This Article is granted by his Holiness.*

XVIII. That the Nurses which shall give Suck to the Children of the Lady *Infanta*, shall be chosen by the Lady *Infanta*, and accounted part of her Family.

Note. *The Nurses shall be Catholicks, chosen by the most serene* Infanta, *and reckoned among her Domesticks.*

XIX. That the Rector or Superiour Minister, and other Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons of the Family of the Lady *Infanta* shall wear their usual Vestment and Habit.

Note. *Granted.*

At the Bottom of these Articles, which were long debated and canvassed by the *Congregation* for the Propagation of Faith, the *Congregation* subjoined their Opinion in the following Terms.

Du Chesne's *Hist. of* Eng. *As to the Terms offered by the most serene King of* England, *it seems to us they are designed only to secure the most serene* Infanta's *Religion. But to the End his Holiness may grant the Dispensation, there are other Things necessary to the Privilege, Increase, and Welfare of the* Roman

Roman-Catholick *Religion. The ſaid Things are to be propoſed by the moſt ſerene King, that his Holineſs may conſider whether, upon ſuch Offers, he can grant the Diſpenſation.* 1622.

*Remarks on this Subject.*

It is eaſy to ſee that the Pope's *Notes* tended not only to the Benefit of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, but alſo to cauſe the Affair to be prolonged, purſuant to the Court of *Spain's* Intentions. Beſides that it was not expected *James* would agree to what was contained in the *Notes*, another Expedient was ready to ſtop the Concluſion of the Marriage, namely, to oblige the King to make ſome Offers for the Advantage of the *Roman* Religion, which the Pope, if he pleaſed, might never be ſatisfied with. Thus, after having waited ſix Years, *James* was juſt where he was when he firſt ſet the Buſineſs on Foot, except that he was willing to grant whatever the Pope did or might demand. And truly, this in a manner was the Courſe he took. He found now of what Conſequence the firſt Article was, which he had been made to ſign, that the Diſpenſation ſhould be firſt procured by the Endeavours of the King of *Spain*; for by this means, the *Spaniard* could manage the Negotiation as he pleaſed, could forward or break it off entirely, by cauſing the Pope to delay or refuſe the Diſpenſation. It is certain, as I ſaid, the Court of *Spain's* Intent at firſt was only to make uſe of the Project of this Match, as a Decoy to draw *James* into their Snare, for fear he ſhould enter into a League with the *Germon-Proteſtants*, and afterwards, for fear he ſhould ſend a powerful Aid to the King of *Bohemia*.

*The King is at a Loſs*

When *Gage* came from *Rome* with the Articles above-mentioned, the King was put to a terrible Stand. The *Palatinate* was almoſt quite over-run. The Negotiation at *Bruſſels* went backward inſtead of forward, and he could not but perceive that he was impoſed upon by the Emperour and King of *Spain*: So that he ſaw no other Way to procure the *Elector's* Reſtoration, but the Prince's Marriage with the *Infanta*.

1622. *fanta*. It is true, *England* was powerful enough to give the *House of Austria* a great deal of Trouble; but a Parliament must have been called, which the King could not think of. On the other hand, the Pope tacked to the Marriage such Terms as the King could not grant, without giving Occasion to his Enemies at home, to represent him as a Prince regardless of the Interests of the *Protestant* Religion, as he was but too much already accused of being. In this Perplexity, rather than break with *Spain*, and so lose the Dowry of two Millions which he had so much at Heart, with the Hopes of recovering the *Palatinate*, he chose to be liable to the Reproaches of his Subjects, which he did not seem to give himself much Trouble about. He drew up therefore a *Memorial* which he signed with his own Hand, containing his Offers in favour of the *Catholick* Religion, and sent it to the Earl of *Bristol*, with the Letter of the 9th of *September*, of which I have already given an Extract. Here follows the Conclusion of the same Letter, which I reserved for this Occasion, because the Match is there spoken of.

*The King's Letter to the Earl of* Bristol, *with a Memorial containing his Offers.*

" Nevertheless we must tell you, That we have " no great Cause to be well pleased with the Dili- " gences used on that Part, when we observe, " that after so long an Expectance of the Dispensa- " tion, upon which the whole Business (as they will " have it) depends, there is nothing yet returned but " Queries and Objections. Yet because we will not " give over our Patience a while longer, until we " understand more certainly what the Effect thereof " is like to be, wherein we require you to be very " wary and watchful, considering how our Honour " is therein engaged; we have thought fit to let you " know, how far we are pleased to enlarge our self, " concerning those Points demanded by the Pope, " and set down by Way of Postil unto the Articles " agreed upon betwixt *Spain* and us, as you shall " see by the Power which *Gage* brought us from " *Rome*,

" *Rome*, whereof we have ſent you a Copy, and our " Reſolutions thereupon ſigned with our own Hand, " for your Warrant and Inſtruction. And further " than that, ſince we cannot go without much Pre- " judice, Inconveniency and Diſhonour to our Self " and Son, we hope and expect the King of *Spain* " will bring it inſtantly to an Iſſue, without farther " Delay, which you are to preſs with all Diligence " and Earneſtneſs, that you may preſently know " their final Reſolution, and what we may expect " thereupon. But if any Reſpite of Time be earneſt- " ly demanded, and that you perceive it not poſſible " for them to reſolve until an Anſwer come from " *Rome*, we then think it fit that you give them two " Month's Time after your Audience, that we may " underſtand that King's final Reſolution before " *Chriſtmas* next at the fartheſt." 1622.

Though the King affirmed he could go no farther, yet Means were found to perſuade him to a greater Compliance, as will be ſeen hereafter. *The King reſolves at laſt to conclude the Marriage.*

Hitherto the *Spaniard* had fed the King's Hopes of the Marriage only to amuſe him. But ſince he plainly ſaw by the Articles and Offers ſigned with his Majeſty's own Hand, that *James* was reſolved to compaſs his Ends at any rate, he thought he ſhould not omit ſo fair an Opportunity to reſtore the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, which very probably might be accompliſhed by Means of this Match. So *Philip*, altering his Mind on a ſudden, appeared as eager to bring it to an Iſſue, as he had ſeemed backward before. From that Time, that is, from the End of the Year 1622, the Marriage was reſolved upon at the Court of *Madrid*. The Buſineſs was only to extort from the King ſuch Terms as ſhould pave the Ways to what was intended. All the King of *Spain's* Proceedings, from the Time I am ſpeaking of, evidently ſhow, that he was reſolved upon the Marriage, in Caſe he could obtain what he promiſed himſelf for the Advantage of the *Roman* Religion in *England*, and

1622. and which *James's* Impatience gave him Ground to expect. But it is no leſs certain, that before this, he was far from having any ſuch Deſign. This manifeſtly appears from King *Philip the Fourth's* Letter to the *Condé Olivarez*, and from that Miniſter's Anſwer. The Letters were as follows:

## *The* KING *of* SPAIN'S LETTER *to the* Conde d'Olivarez.

*Nov.* 5. 1622.

Wilſon. Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 71.

"THE King my Father declared at his Death, "That his Intent never was to marry my Siſter "the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*, "which your Uncle *Don Balthazar* underſtood, and ſo "treated this Match ever with Intention to delay it; "notwithſtanding, it is now ſo far advanced, that "conſidering all the Averſeneſs unto it of the *Infanta*, it is Time to ſeek ſome Means to divert the "Treaty, which I would have you find out, and I "will make it good whatſoever it be. But in all o-"ther Things, procure the Satisfaction of the King "of *Great-Britain*, (who hath deſerved much) and it "ſhall content me, ſo that it be not in the Match".

*The* Conde's *Anſwer to the King.* Annals. p. 71, Ruſh. I. 71.

The *Condé Olivarez* in his Anſwer agreed, that the late King never intended to conclude this Marriage, but only to amuſe the King of *England*, by reaſon of the Situation of Affairs in the *Palatinate* and *Netherlands*. He ſaid moreover, That the *Infanta* was determined to retire to a *Convent*, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be preſſed upon that Account.

After that, he repreſented to his Majeſty, "That "the King of *England* found himſelf equally enga-"ged in two Buſineſſes at that Time, namely, the "Marriage, and the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. "Suppoſing then, *added the Condé*, that the Marri-

"age

" age be made, we muſt come to the other Affair, 1622.
" and then your Majeſty will find yourſelf engaged
" with the King of *England* in a War againſt the
" Emperour, and the Catholick League: A Thing
" which to hear, will offend your Ears; or if you
" declare your ſelf for the Emperour, then you will
" find your ſelf engaged in a War againſt the King
" of *England*, and your Siſter married with his Son.
" If your Majeſty ſhould ſhew your ſelf Neutral,
" what a great Scandal will it be, for *Spain* to ſtand
" Neuter, in a Buſineſs wherein Religion is ſo much
" concerned?

" On the other hand, ſaid the *Condé*, ſuppoſing
" we could ſatisfy the King of *England*, by having
" the *Palatinate* reſtored to his Son-in-law, yet we
" muſt conſider whether it is in our Power to have
" it reſtored; ſince the Duke of *Bavaria* is poſſeſſed
" of all thoſe Dominions, and the Emperour, who
" hath promiſed to transfer to him the *Upper-Pala-*
" *tinate*, with the Electoral Dignity, is now in the
" *Dyet*, where that Tranſlation is to be made. Be-
" ſides, the Emperour hath given us to underſtand,
" how difficult it will be to wreſt the *Palatinate* out
" of the Duke of *Bavaria's* Hands, ſince it appears
" by the Memorial, which was Yeſterday preſent-
" ed to your Majeſty by the Emperours's Ambaſſa-
" dor, that the Duke of *Bavaria* alone can maintain
" more Troops, than all the Reſt of the Allies join-
" ed together."

The *Condé* therefore propoſed in the ſame Let-
ter, to remove theſe Inconveniencess by " ſetting
" two other Marriages on Foot, *viz.* between the
" Emperour's eldeſt Daughter and the Prince of
" *Wales*, and between the Prince *Palatine* and the
" Emperour's ſecond Daughter; by which Means
" all Matters might be accommodated, provided it
" were ſtipulated, that the Prince *Palatine's* Sons
" ſhould be bred in the Emperour's Court in the
" *Roman-Catholick* Religion".

If

1622. If it is considered that the King of *Spain's* Letter is dated the 5th of *November*, and that probably the Answer was made within a few Days after, it will be easy to perceive, that till then the *Spaniard* had never any Thoughts of concluding the Marriage. But presently after, as I said, he came to another Resolution.

1623. *Truce for fifteen Months concluded at* London. Du Chesne. *Hist. of* England.

The late Alteration in the Projects of the *Spanish* Court was the Means of the Earl of *Bristol's* obtaining a Letter from *Philip* IV to the Infanta *Isabella*, to desire her to raise the Siege of *Frankendal*, and renew the Conferences at *London* for a Truce, which were broken off at *Brussels*. This Request was a real Order which the *Infanta* obeyed, and the Negotiation of the Truce was begun again at *London*, where it was ended on the 27th of *March* 1623. The only Point was to hinder, by Means of this Truce, *Frankendal* from falling into the Emperour's Hands, being the only Place left in the *Palatinate*, and having an *English* Garrison. But on the other Side, the Emperour had Reason to fear that in Case *James* remained Master of this Place, he would make use of it to carry War into the *Palatinate*, and the rather, as he had threatened to have Recourse in the End to Arms. To adjust the clashing Interests of the Emperour and King *James*, this rare Expedient was at length found out. *Frankendal* should be delivered up to the Infanta *Isabella*, and a Truce made for fifteen or eighteen Months; after which, the *Infanta* should be obliged to restore the Place to the *English*. But withal, the *Elector* was to break his Alliance with the Prince of *Brunswick* and Count *Mansfeldt*.

*The Council of* England's *oversight in this Treaty.*

This Treaty gives no great Idea of the Capacity of King *James* and his Council. Not only was *Frankendal* delivered to the *Infanta*, as if she had been a third Person entirely unconcerned, though she had shown the contrary in this very Treaty; but the Elector also was deprived of all Hopes of being able to enter his Country again. Moreover, the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* were at Liberty either to dismiss their Troops,

Troops, or aſſiſt the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, ſince there was no longer any War to fear in the *Palatinate*. But what Benefit accrued to *James* by this Treaty? Indeed, he hindered the Emperour from taking *Frankendal*, but at the ſame Time, the Place was delivered up to *Spain*. On the other Hand, the Truce, which would have been for his Advantage had he kept *Frankendal*, turned to his Prejudice, ſince it deprived him of the Power to carry the War into the *Palatinate*, in favour of his Son-in-law. It is true, upon ſuppoſition of the *Infanta's* Sincerity, he was to have the Place again when the Truce was expired: But this was a very doubtful Suppoſition, ſince the *Infanta* was guided by the Directions of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. 1623.

*The Duke of* Bavaria *is made Elector.* Wilſon, p. 220. Jan. 1623.

Before the Truce was concluded at *London*, the Emperour going to the *Diet* of *Ratiſbon*, inveſted the Duke of *Bavaria* with the *Electoral* Dignity and the *Upper-Palatinate*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of ſeveral Princes who were poſſeſſed of Hereditary Dominions, and to whom ſuch a Precedent was a juſt Occaſion of Fear. Such was the Effect of the Negotiations *James* kept on foot for three Years on account of his Son-in-law, who was at length ſtript of his Dominions and Dignities. But the *Spaniſh* Match was to ſet all to Rights again. We muſt ſee now the Iſſue of that tedious Negotiation, the only remarkable Event of the Year 1623.

*Sequel of the Negotiation about the Marriage.*

The only Hindrance to the Marriage were the Articles concerning Religion. The Earl of *Briſtol* had been diſputing the Ground Inch by Inch ever ſince his Arrival in *Spain*, and *Philip* IV was not diſpleaſed with it, becauſe it gave him an Opportunity to prolong the Time. In *Auguſt* 1622, the *Spaniards* demanded certain Articles in favour of the *Engliſh Catholicks*, to which the Ambaſſador had returned no other Anſwer, but that he would acquaint the King his Maſter therewith. At the ſame Time, the Pope put his *Poſtils* or *Notes* to the Articles that were agreed on. Hence, it is eaſy to perceive that the Courts of *Rome*

1623. and *Spain* acted in concert, and went Hand in Hand, towards the ſame End. The King received, much about the ſame Time, the Pope's *Poſtils*, and the Court of *Madrid's* Demands in favour of the *Catholicks*. He kept theſe laſt by him out of Ceremony ſome Months without any Anſwer; but at laſt, ſigned All on the 5th of *January* 1623, and having made the Prince ſign them alſo, he ſent the ſame Articles to the Earl of *Briſtol*, who received them the 25th of the ſame Month. I believe the full and entire Reſolution of the *Spaniſh* Court to conclude the Marriage may be dated from this Time. From the Year 1616, to *November* 1622, the *Spaniard's* ſole Intent was to amuſe King *James*. From thence to the 25th of *January* 1623, they ſeemed to have reſolved upon the Marriage, provided they could obtain certain Advantages for the *Roman Religion*. In fine, after the Articles ſigned by the King and Prince had made them ſure of what they wanted, their Reſolution was fixed. Theſe Three Epocha's are to be carefully obſerved and diſtinguiſhed, the not doing of which has been the cauſe that moſt Hiſtorians are very obſcure in what they have written concerning this Affair.

*The King agrees to whatever the Pope requires for the Catholicks.*

*The Time of ſolemnizing the Marriage is fixed.*

The Court of *Madrid* being pretty well ſatisfied with the Articles ſent from *England*, which were much more advantagious to the *Catholicks* than thoſe agreed upon with the Earl of *Briſtol*, demanded Time to ſend them to *Rome*, and obtain the Pope's Diſpenſation. It was thought the Diſpenſation might come by *March* or *April* at fartheſt; and it was agreed, the Nuptials ſhould be ſolemnized four Days after its Arrival: The *Infanta* ſhould ſet out within Twenty Days after the Celebration of the Marriage, and whilſt the Diſpenſation was expected, the other Articles which were called *Temporal*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe relating to Religion, ſhould be ſettled. Purſuant to this Agreement, the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Walter Aſton* ſetting about this Buſineſs, together with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, theſe Articles were ready in the Beginning of *March*, to the mutual Satisfaction of

*Defence of the Earl of* Briſtol.

*The Temporal Articles are ſettled.*

of both Parties. On the 22d of *March*, the *Condé Olivarez* aud Count *Gondemar* came to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and ſhowed them a Writing with the King of *Spain's* Hand to it, whereby he approved of the *Temporal* Articles, and ordered them to finiſh the Matter. Theſe Articles concerned only the Portion and Dowry, and other Things relating thereto; but there was not one Word about the *Palatinate*. Beſides that he had commanded the Earl of *Briſtol*, in his Inſtructions, not to make the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* one of the Marriage-Articles; this ſame Command was repeated in the King's Letter to him of the 30th of *December* 1622, that is, two or three Months before. Moreover, at this very Time preciſely, the Truce and depoſiting of *Frankendal* were negotiating at *London*. 1623. *without any mention of the* Palatinate.

The Affair of the Marriage ſtanding thus, and being very probably near a Concluſion, nothing more was to be done but to wait with Patience till the end of *April*, to ſee whether any new Difficulties would occur; for thus far every Thing ſeemed to be ſettled to the King's Satisfaction. But on a ſudden the Face of this Affair was changed by a very odd and moſt extraordinary Adventure. The Marqueſs of *Buckingham* put it into the Prince of *Wales's* Head, to go to *Spain* and fetch home his Miſtreſs the *Infanta* himſelf. He told him, the more uncommon ſuch a Piece of Gallantry was among Princes, the more it would redound to his Honour: The *Infanta* herſelf would be charmed with it: His Preſence would immediately put an End to all Formalities, and remove all Difficulties which might yet occur: As after the Marriage, there was an Affair of Moment to be negotiated, namely, the Reſtoring the *Palatinate*, an Interceſſor like him, would do more in Three Days than Ambaſſadors could do in as many Months. In a Word, he knew how to ſet off this Project in ſuch a Manner, that the Prince, tranſported with the thoughts of ſo noble an Adventure, never reſted till he had brought it to paſs. The main Difficulty was to get

*Prince of* Wales *reſolves to go to* Spain. Wilſon, p. 225. Clarend. I. 11.

1623. the King's Conſent. The Prince asked his Leave before *Buckingham*, and expreſſed ſo earneſt a Deſire to make the Journey, that the King granted his Requeſt without much Heſitation, and put off till next Day to conſider how it ſhould be effected But after he had more ſeriouſly reflected on the Matter, his Mind was quite altered, on the Morrow, when the Prince and *Buckingham* came to him. He repreſented to them how fruitleſs ſuch a Journey would be, as the Buſineſs of the Marriage then ſtood, and the Inconveniences it might be attended with. But inſtead of anſwering his Reaſons, *Buckingham* rudely told him, he had given his Word, and if he broke it, no body would ever believe him again. The Reader may ſee in my Lord *Clarendon's* Hiſtory this Converſation at length, which ended with the King's Permiſſion, extorted by the Prince and *Buckingham*, for this ſtrange, raſh, and very dangerous Journey. It was reſolved, that *Buckingham* ſhould accompany the Prince, with two more only, namely, Sir *Francis Cottington*, who had been the King's Agent in *Spain*, and came from thence in the Month of *September*, and *Endymion Porter*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, who had been brought up at *Madrid:* That they ſhould go Poſt through *France*, and that the Secret ſhould be kept, that they might be a good Way off before their Departure were known. This Reſolution being taken, the Prince and *Buckingham* deſired only two Days to get ready.

*The King conſents to it.*

The Motives of this Journey are variouſly related, according to the Intereſt and Prejudices of the ſeveral Writers. Some ſay, the Court of *England* ſtill queſtioning the *Spaniſh* Court's Sincerity, thought proper that the Prince and *Buckingham* ſhould ſee with their own Eyes how Matters ſtood, that it might be known what could be depended upon. But ſuppoſing this Doubt, was it not the Height of Imprudence to put the King's only Son into the Hands of a Prince, whoſe Sincerity was believed to be juſtly ſuſpected? The King, Prince and Favourite muſt have

all

all Three loſt their Senſes, to be guilty of ſuch a Fault. This Motion therefore ſeems to be altogether improbable *. 1623.

The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, *Buckingham*, out of Envy that the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould have the ſole Management of ſo great an Affair, had a Mind to have himſelf the Glory of ending it. But he ſhould have thought of it ſooner, ſince all Particulars were already agreed on in *Spain*, at or about the Time the Prince ſet out for *Madrid*. So the Marqueſs could not acquire much Honour upon that account. Beſides, the Event ſhowed, this was not his Motive; ſince inſtead of promoting the Marriage, he was the ſole Cauſe of the Difficulties which unexpectedly happened, and in the End an entire Breach of the Match.

Others affirm, *Buckingham's* Aim was to induce the Prince inſenſibly to change his Religion, by expoſing him to all the Temptations which of courſe he would meet with at the Court of *Madrid*. Of this the Earl of *Briſtol* accuſed him afterwards before the Parliament, adding, the Project was formed ſeveral Months before the Prince's Departure, between *Buckingham* and *Gondemar*, by means of *Endymion Porter*, who had made a Journey to *Spain* for that Purpoſe. But the Proofs the Earl of *Briſtol* grounded his Accuſation upon, were but Preſumptions at beſt, and as he was profeſſed Enemy to the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, I do not know whether his Teſtimony may be relied on.

But whatever were the Favourite's real Motives with reſpect to this Journey, it can hardly be denied, that it argued great Lightneſs in the Prince, and no leſs Weakneſs and Imprudence in the King. The Affair of the Marriage was in ſuch a Poſture, that it was altogether needleſs to ſollicite afreſh the Court of *Spain*, with whom every thing was agreed upon. Two Months Patience would have let the King ſee

* *Weldon* ſeems to inſinuate this Motive, *p.* 143.

1622. how Matters were like to go, without expoſing his only Son and Heir-Apparent to ſo imminent Danger, by ſuffering him to put in Execution a *Romantick* Project, which could procure no Advantage. But the King's Condeſcenſion for the Prince and *Buckingham* prevailed above all theſe Conſiderations. They ſet out Poſt on the $\frac{17}{27}$ of *February*, and came to *Paris*, where they ventured to appear at Court, and be preſent at a Ball, where, though diſguiſed, they ran ſome risk of being diſcovered. However, they arrived ſafely at *Madrid* the $\frac{7}{17}$ of *March*, and went and alighted at the Earl of *Briſtol's*, who was not a little ſurprized to ſee the Prince *. I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the magnificent Manner the Prince was received in by the Court of *Spain*, when he made himſelf known. I ſhall only ſay in two Words, that he had all the Reſpect paid him due to his Birth, and all the Demonſtrations poſſibly ſhown him, how well were taken his Gallantry to the *Infanta*, and his Frankneſs in coming thus and confiding in the King's Generoſity. The only Thing they uſed any Reſerve in, was, the not ſuffering him to viſit the *Infanta* in private. The *Spaniſh* way did not admit of ſuch a Familiarity, and the rather becauſe the Diſpenſation not being yet come, he could not in Strictneſs be reckoned the *Infanta's* future Spouſe.

*The Prince ſets out with* Buckingham.

*He is well received in* Spain;

*but not ſuffered to ſee the* Infanta *in private.*

No ſooner was the Prince arrived in *Spain*, but all the *Spaniards* thought he was come to change his Religion before he eſpouſed the *Infanta*, no Body imagining there could be any other Motive of his Journey. Nay, Count *Gondemar* very ſeriouſly deſired the Earl of *Briſtol* not to oppoſe ſo pious a Deſign; and if we may believe the Earl, the Count hinted to him,

* The Prince and Marqueſs of *Buckingham* travelled under the borrowed Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*. The Mayor of *Dover* ſtopped them, thinking they were going to *France* to fight, ſo that *Buckingham* wrs forced to diſcover himſelf. At *Paris*, they both wore large buſhy Perriwigs that ſhadowed their Faces. Here the Prince ſaw the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, whom he afterwards married.

him, that the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* was not againſt it. The Earl of *Briſtol* perceiving that if the Court of *Spain* had any ſuch Hopes, it would be a Means to retard the Marriage, ſpoke of it to the Prince, and conjured him to impart the Secret to him, if there was really any Thing in it. But the Prince firmly denied it, and expoſtulated with the Ambaſſador for having ſo ill an Opinion of him. For this Reaſon the Earl of *Briſtol* intreated him neither to do nor ſay any Thing whatever that might feed the Hopes of the Court of *Spain* in that Reſpect, for fear of obſtructing the Marriage. Nevertheleſs he was attacked ſeveral Times, one while by *Eccleſiaſticks*, who took all Occaſions to diſpute with him about Religion; another while by Courtiers, who repreſented to him how powerful *England* would grow, if ſhe would return to the Obedience of the Pope. He even received a long Letter from *Gregory* XV, who exhorted him to come into the Boſom of the Church, and imitate his glorious Anceſtors, who had done ſo great Things for the Defence of Religion. The Prince returned an Anſwer to this Letter on the 20th of *June*. But becauſe the two printed Copies of this Anſwer differ very much, it will not be amiſs to inſert them both in this Place. 1623.

## *Prince* CHARLES *to Pope* Gregory XV.

" *Moſt Holy Father*,

" I Received the Diſpatch from your *Holineſs* with " great Content, and with that Reſpect which " the Piety and Care wherewith your Holineſs writes " doth require. It was an unſpeakable Pleaſure to " me to read the generous Exploits of the Kings my " Predeceſſors, to whoſe Memory Poſterity hath " not given thoſe Praiſes and Elogies of Honour " that were due to them. I do believe that your " Holineſs hath ſet their Example before my Eyes, " to the End that I might imitate them in all my

*The Princes Anſwer to the Pope* Wilſon, p. 223.

1623. " Actions; for in Truth they have often expoſed " their Eſtates and Lives for the Exaltation of the " Holy Chair. And the Courage with which they " have aſſaulted the Enemies of the Croſs of *Jeſus* " *Chriſt*, hath not been leſs than the Care and " Thought which I have, to the End that the Peace " and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting " in *Chriſtendom*, might be bound with a Band of " true Concord: For like as the common Enemy " of Peace watcheth always to put Hatred and Diſ- " ſention between Chriſtian Princes, ſo I believe " that the Glory of God requires that we ſhould en- " deavour to unite them. And I do not eſteem it " a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo great " Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their " Piety: In which it helps me very much to have " known the Mind and Will of our thrice honoured " Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his " Catholick Majeſty, to give a happy Concurrence " to ſo laudable a Deſign: For it grieves him ex- " tremely to ſee the great Evil that grows from the " Diviſion of Chriſtian Princes, which the Wiſdom " of your Holineſs foreſaw, when it judged the Mar- " riage, which you pleaſed to Deſign between the " *Infanta* of *Spain* and my ſelf, to be neceſſary to " procure ſo great a Good: For it is very certain, " that I ſhall never be ſo extremely Affectionate to " any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance " with a Prince that hath the ſame Apprehenſions " of the true Religion with my ſelf. Therefore I " entreat your Holineſs to believe, that I have been " always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be " a Partiſan of any Faction againſt the Catholick, " Apoſtolick, *Roman* Religion: But on the contra- " ry, I have ſought all Occaſions to take away the " Suſpicion that might reſt upon me; and that I " will employ my ſelf for the Time to come to have " but one Religion, and one Faith, ſeeing that we " all believe in one *Jeſus Chriſt*: Having reſolved " in my ſelf to ſpare nothing that I might have in

" the

" the World, and to ſuffer all manner of Diſcommo- 1623.
" dities, even to the hazarding my Eſtate and Life
" for a Thing ſo pleaſing unto God. It reſts only,
" that I thank your Holineſs for the Permiſſion which
" you have been pleaſed to afford me, and that I
" pray God to give you a bleſſed Health here, and
" his Glory, after ſo much Travel which your *Holi-*
" *neſs* takes within his *Church*.

*Madrid*, June 20. 1622. ſigned

CHARLES STUART.

*Here is another Copy of the ſame Letter.*

## *Prince* CHARLES *to Pope* Gregory XV.

" *Moſt Holy Father*,

" WE have received your Letter with no leſs Annals, p. 77. Ruſh. I. p. 82.
" Thankfulneſs and Reſpect than is due to
" the ſingular good Will and godly Affection where-
" with we know it was written. It was moſt ac-
" ceptable unto us, that the never-enough renowned
" Examples of our Anceſtors were propoſed to us
" by your Holineſs for our Inſpection and Imitati-
" on; who, though they often hazarded their Lives
" and Fortunes to propagate the Chriſtian Faith,
" yet did they never more chearfully diſplay the
" Banners of the Croſs of Chriſt againſt his moſt bit-
" ter Enemies, than we will to the utmoſt, that the
" Peace and Union which ſo long triumphed, may
" be reduced into the Chriſtian World, after a kind
" of Elimination or Exile. For ſince the Malice of
" the Father of Diſcords hath ſowed ſuch unhappy
" Diviſions amongſt thoſe who profeſs the Chriſtian
" Religion, we account this moſt neceſſary thereby

" to

1623. " to promote with better Succeſs the Glory of God,
" and Chriſt our Saviour, nor ſhall we eſteem it leſs
" Honour to tread in their Footſteps, and to have
" been their Rivals and Imitators in Holy Under-
" takings, than to have been deſcended of them.
" And we are very much encouraged to this as well
" by the known Inclinations of our Lord and Father,
" and his ardent Deſire to lend a helping Hand to
" ſo pious a Work, as by the Anguiſh that gnaws
" his Royal Breaſt, when he conſiders what cruel
" Deſtructions, what deplorable Calamities ariſe out
" of the Diſſentions of Chriſtian Princes. Your Ho-
" lineſs's Conjecture of our Deſire to contract an Al-
" laince and Marriage with a Catholick Family and
" Princeſs, is agreeable both to your Wiſdom and
" Charity; for we would never deſire ſo vehemently
" to be joined in a ſtrict and indiſſoluble Bond
" with any Mortal whatſoever, whoſe Religion we
" hated. Therefore your Holineſs may be aſſured,
" that we are, and always will be of that Modera-
" tion, as to abſtain from ſuch Actions, which may
" teſtify our Hatred againſt the Roman Catholick
" Religion; we will rather embrace all Occaſions
" whereby through a gentle and fair Procedure all
" ſiniſter Suſpicions may be taken away; That as
" we all confeſs one Individual Trinity, and one
" Chriſt Crucified, we may unanimouſly grow up
" into one Faith. Which that we may compaſs, we
" little value all Labour, and Watchings, yea, the
" very hazard of our Lives. It remains that we
" render Thanks to your Holineſs for your Letter,
" which we eſteem as a ſingular Preſent, and wiſh
" your Holineſs all Proſperity and Eternal Happi-
" neſs.

" *Dated at* Madrid, 20 Junij, 1623."

It muſt be obſerved of theſe two Letters which differ pretty much, that as they did not appear till after the Quarrel between King *Charles* I, and his Parliament, it is equally probable that one of the Parties

Parties qualified the Expreſſions, whilſt the other aggravated them: And therefore it is needleſs to make any Reflections upon them. 1623.

*The Pope adds new Conditions to the Diſpenſation.*

Mean while, ſince the Prince's Arrival in *Spain*, the State of the Marriage-Treaty was ſomewhat altered. The Diſpenſation came about ſix Weeks after, that is to ſay, about the Beginning of *May*. But the Pope had annexed certain Conditions, without which it was to be of no Force. Very probably, had not the Prince been in *Spain*, the Diſpenſation would have come ſooner, and without any Reſtriction; but it is no great Wonder that the Pope knowing the Prince was in *Spain*, ſhould be willing to make the moſt of ſo imprudent an Action. He ſent then the Diſpenſation, but it was to be delivered only upon theſe Terms, That the *Infanta* ſhould have a Church in *London*: That the Children by this Marriage ſhould be left to their Mother's Care till they were ten Years old: That the Nurſes ſhould be *Catholicks*, and appointed by the Mother: That the King of *England* ſhould give Security for the Performance of the Articles agreed upon concerning Religion. Wilſon, p. 235.

*The Article about the Education of the Children is agreed upon.*

The Article relating to the Education of the Children had been debated already, ever ſince *November* laſt, and the Pope and King of *Spain* inſiſted that the Children ſhould be brought up by their Mother till Marriageable. The King at firſt offered ſeven Years, and the Courts of *Rome* and *Spain* came to Twelve. Then the King allowed Nine, and the Pope Ten. At laſt, the Earl of *Briſtol* received the King's Orders, not to ſtand any longer upon a Year more or leſs. Wilſon, p. 211.

*Philip is Security for King James.*

After the Prince and Marqueſs of *Buckingham* came to *Madrid*, they engroſſed the Buſineſs of the Marriage to thmſelves, leaving the Earl of *Briſtol* little to do in the Matter. There was ſome Debate upon the Articles annexed to the Pope's Diſpenſation. The Prince of *Wales* ſaid, He had no Power to make the leaſt Addition to the Articles ſigned by the King his Father, DuCheſne p. 164.

1623. Father, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters maintained his *Catholick* Majeſty could not reject the Conditions on which the Pope had granted the Diſpenſation: That it lay in the Pope's Breaſt to grant his Favours upon what Terms he pleaſed, and that the Diſpenſation was null and void without theſe Conditions. In ſhort, it was thought proper to conſult the King of *England* by Letter, and to demand withal, what Security he would give for the Performance of the Articles. *James* made no Scruple about the Time of the Education of the Children, or about the Nurſes, becauſe theſe Matters were already agreed upon. As to the Security, he replied, He could give no other but his own, and the Prince's *Royal Words* and *Oaths*, confirmed by his Council of *State*, and exemplified under the *Great-Seal* of *England*. All this not ſatisfying the Pope's *Nuncio*, who pretended to have particular Orders upon that Point, the King of *Spain* offered to become Security himſelf: But it muſt firſt be determined by a *Committee* of *Eccleſiaſticks*, that *Philip* might lawfully ſwear for the King of *England*. Some believe this to be a [*Spaniſh*] Device, to make the King of *Spain Guarantee* of the Articles granted to the *Catholicks*. This Point being got over, the Prince ſent *Cottington* to *England* with the Articles about Religion, newly drawn up according to the Pope's Mind, and ſome other ſecret Articles which were not to be publiſhed ſo ſoon.

Wilſon, p. 235. Cottington *carries the Articles ſigned by the King of* England.

It muſt be remarked, that hitherto there was no other Writing concerning the *Infanta's* Dowry, and what related thereto, beſides a bare rough Draught, approved indeed by the King of *Spain* in a Letter directed to his Miniſters, which I have already mentioned, but which remained in the Hands of the *Conde Olivarez*. Much leſs was there any Care taken about the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, *James* being unwilling to make this one of the Marriage-Articles, for fear it ſhould be in lieu of the two Millions promiſed him for the *Infanta's* Dowry. But he would fain receive the *Palatinate* from the King of *Spain's* Bounty,

*Nothing is ſtipulated about the Dowry or* Palatinate Wilſon, p. 248.

after

after the Marriage ſhould be accompliſhed. This at leaſt was his Project; and no doubt at the Time when the Court of *Spain* ſought only to amuſe him, he had ſome Hopes given him of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, though without any written Engagement. Mean while, *James* depended upon this verbal Promiſe, as if it had been a Treaty ſigned with the King of *Spain's* own Hand *. 1623.

*Cottington* being come to *England* with the Articles, both publick and private, it was rumoured abroad, that the Pope and King of *Spain* demanded a Toleration for the *Engliſh Papiſts*. The King himſelf occaſioned this Rumour, by asking his Council whether it would be convenient to grant ſuch a Toleration. Whereupon *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had withdrawn to his own Houſe ever ſince the fatal Accident which happened to him, and came no more to the Council-board, thought it his bounden Duty to write the following Letter to the King. *The King debates in Council about tolerating the* Papiſts.

" *May it pleaſe your Majeſty*,

" I Have been too long ſilent, and I am afraid " by my Silence I have neglected the Duty of the " Place it hath pleaſed God to call me unto, and " your Majeſty to place me in: But now I humbly " crave Leave I may Diſcharge my Conſcience to- " wards God, and my Duty to your Majeſty; and " therefore I beſeech you freely to give me Leave to " deliver my ſelf, and then let your Majeſty do with " me what you pleaſe. Your Majeſty hath pro- " pounded a Toleration of Religion, I beſeech you " take it into your Conſideration what your Act is, " what the Conſequences may be. By your Act you " labour to ſet up the moſt Damnable and Hereti- " cal Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore " of *Babylon*: How hateful it will be to God, and " grievous *The Archbiſhop's Letter to the King againſt Toleration of Popery.* Wilſon. p. 236. Coke. Ruſh. I. p. 85.

* See King *James's* Inſtructions to the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Earl's Defence in *Ruſhworth* and the *Annals*.

1623. " grievous to your good Subjects, the Profeſſors of " the Goſpel, That your Majeſty who hath often " diſputed, and learnedly written againſt thoſe He- " reſies, ſhould now ſhew your ſelf a Patron of thoſe " wicked Doctrines which your Pen hath told the " World, and your Conſcience tells your Self, are " Superſtitious, Idolatrous, and Deteſtable. And " hereunto I add what you have done in ſending " the Prince into *Spain* without Conſent of your " Council, the Privity and Approbation of your " People: And although you have a Charge and " Intereſt in the Prince, as Son of your Fleſh; yet " have the People a greater, as Son of the Kingdom, " upon whom next after your Majeſty are their " Eyes fixed, and Welfare depends; and ſo ten- " derly is his going apprehended, as (I believe it) " however his Return may be ſafe, yet the Drawers " of him into this Action, ſo dangerous to himſelf, " ſo deſperate to the Kingdom, will not paſs away " unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. Beſides this Toleration " which you endeavour to ſet up by your Procla- " mation, cannot be done without a Parliament, " unleſs your Majeſty will let your Subjects ſee that " you will take unto your ſelf Ability to throw " down the Laws of your Land at your Pleaſure. " What dread Conſequences theſe Things may draw " afterwards, I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, " and above all, leaſt by this Toleration and Diſ- " countenancing of the true Profeſſion of the Goſ- " pel, wherewith God hath bleſſed us, and this King- " dom hath ſo long flouriſhed under it, your Ma- " jeſty do not draw upon this Kingdom in general, " and your ſelf in particular, God's heavy Wrath " and Indignation.

" Thus in Diſcharge of my Duty towards God, " to your Majeſty, and the Place of my Calling, " I have taken humble Leave to deliver my Con- " ſcience. Now, Sir, do what you pleaſe with me".

One

One may ſee by this Letter, it was not without Ground that the Archbiſhop paſſed for a *Puritan*, at leaſt according to the Notions of the Court, where all were looked upon as *Puritans* who refuſed to aſcribe to the King an unlimited Power. So his Counſels were not regarded.

*The King ſigns the Articles ſent from* Spain.

The King did not detain *Cottington* long in *England*. As there was no Time to diſpute any more, and as he was required to ſign the Articles juſt as *Cottington* had brought them, without making any Alterations, he choſe to do it rather than hazard a Breach of the Marriage, when the Prince his Son was in the Hands of the *Spaniard*. He ſigned them therefore, and ſolemnly ſwore to them. As theſe Articles were new-moulded, explained and encreaſed to three and Twenty, beſides four ſecret Articles, the Reader perhaps will be glad to view them here in their new Form, and ſee withal how far the King carried his Compliance.

*Articles ſworn by the King.* Wilſon. Annals *of* James I. p. 78. Ruſh VI. p. 86.

I. That the Marriage be made by Diſpenſation of the Pope, but that to be procured by the Endeavour of the King of *Spain*.

II. That the Marriage be once only Celebrated in *Spain*, and ratified in *England*, in Form following. In the Morning after the moſt gracious *Infanta* hath ended her Devotions in the Chapel, ſhe and the moſt Excellent Prince *Charles* ſhall meet in the King's Chapel, or in ſome other Room in the Palace, where it ſhall ſeem moſt Expedient; and there ſhall be read all the Procurations, by Virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated in *Spain*; and as well the moſt Excellent Prince, as the moſt Excellent *Infanta*, ſhall ratify the ſaid Marriage celebrated in *Spain*, with all Solemnity neceſſary for ſuch an Act: So as no Ceremony, or other Thing interveen, which ſhall be contrary to the *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick Religion.

III. That

1623. III. That the moſt gracious *Infanta* ſhall take with her ſuch Servants and Family as are convenient for her Service; which Family, and all Perſons to her belonging, ſhall be choſen and nominated by the Catholick King: So as he nominate no Servant which is Vaſſal to the King of *Great-Britain*, without his Will and Conſent.

IV. That as well the moſt gracious *Infanta* as all her Servants and Family, ſhall have free Uſe and publick Exerciſe of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, in Manner and Form as is beneath capitulated.

V. That ſhe ſhall have an Oratory and decent Chapel in her Palace, where, at the Pleaſure of the moſt gracious *Infanta*, Maſſes may be celebrated; and in like manner ſhe ſhall have in *London*, or whereſoever ſhe ſhall make her Abode, a publick and capacious Church near her Palace, wherein all Duties may be ſolemnly celebrated, and all other Things neceſſary for the publick Preaching of God's Word, the Celebration and Adminiſtration of all the Sacraments of the Catholick *Roman* Church, and for Burial of the Dead, and Baptizing of Children. That the ſaid Oratory, Chapel, and Church, ſhall be adorned with ſuch Decency as ſhall ſeem convenient to the moſt gracious *Infanta*.

VI. That the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants of the moſt gracious *Infanta*, and their Servants, Children and Deſcendants, and all their Families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her Highneſs, may be freely and publickly Catholicks.

VII. That the moſt gracious *Infanta*, her Servants and Family, may live as Catholicks in Form following: That the moſt gracious *Infanta* ſhall have in her Palace her Oratory and Chapel ſo ſpacious, that her ſaid Servants and Family may enter and ſtay therein; in which there ſhall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the *Infanta* may have a Paſſage into the ſaid Chapel, where ſhe and others, as aboveſaid, may be preſent at Divine Offices.

VIII. That

VIII. That the Chapel, Church and Oratory may be beautified with decent Ornaments of Altars, and other things neceſſary for divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them according to the Cuſtom of the Holy *Roman* Church; and that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Servants and others to go to the ſaid Chapel and Church at all Hours, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient. 1623.

IX. That the Care and Cuſtody of the ſaid Chapel and Church ſhall be committed to ſuch as the Lady *Infanta* ſhall appoint, to whom it ſhall be lawful to appoint Keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any undecent Thing.

X. That to the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and to ſerve in Chapel and Church aforeſaid, there ſhall be Four and Twenty Prieſts and Aſſiſtants, who ſhall ſerve weekly or monthly, as to the *Infanta* ſhall ſeem fit; and the Election of them ſhall belong to the Lady *Infanta*, and the Catholick King, provided that they be none of the Vaſſals of the King of *Great-Britain*, and if they be, his Will and Conſent is to be firſt obtained.

XI. That there be one Superiour Miniſter or Biſhop, with neceſſary Authority upon all Occaſions which ſhall happen belonging to Religion; and for Want of a Biſhop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and Juriſdiction.

XII. That this Biſhop or Superiour Miniſter may correct and chaſtiſe all *Roman* Catholicks who ſhall offend, and ſhall exerciſe upon them all Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical: And moreover alſo, the Lady *Infanta* ſhall have Power to put them out of her Service, whenſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.

XIII. That it may be lawful for the Lady *Infanta* and her Servants to procure from *Rome* Diſpenſations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces, as ſhall ſeem fit to their Religion and Conſciences, and to get and make uſe of any manner of Catholicks Books whatſoever.

1623. XIV. That the Servants and Family of the Lady *Infanta*, who ſhall come into *England*, ſhall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain*: Provided, That there be no Clauſe therein which ſhall be contrary to their Conſciences, and the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and if they happen to be Vaſſals to the King of *Great-Britain*, they ſhall take the ſame Oath that the *Spaniards* do.

XV. That the Laws which are or ſhall be in *England* againſt Religion, ſhall not take hold of the ſaid Servants; and only the foreſaid Superiour Eccleſiaſtical Catholick may proceed againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, as hath been accuſtomed by Catholicks: And if any ſecular Judge ſhall apprehend any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon for any Offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be delivered to the aforeſaid Superiour Eccleſiaſtick, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the Canon Law.

XVI. That the Laws made againſt Catholicks in *England*, or in any other Kingdom of the King of *Great-Britain*, ſhall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and though they be Catholicks, they ſhall not loſe the Right of Succeſſion to the Kingdom and Dominions of *Great-Britain*.

XVII. That the Nurſes which ſhall give ſuck to the Children of the Lady *Infanta*, (whether they be of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, or of any other Nation whatſoever) ſhall be choſen by the Lady *Infanta*, as ſhe pleaſeth, and ſhall be accounted of her Family, and enjoy the Privileges thereof.

XVIII. That the Biſhop, Eccleſiaſtical and Religious Perſons of the Family of the Lady *Infanta*, ſhall wear the Veſtments and Habit of their Dignity, Profeſſion, and Religion, after the Cuſtom of *Rome*.

XIX. For Security that the ſaid Matrimony be not diſſolved for any Cauſe whatſoever, The King and Prince are equally to paſs the Word and Honour of a King; and moreover, that they will perform whatſoever ſhall be propounded by the Catholick

King for further Confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly. 1623.

XX. That the Sons and Daughters which ſhall be born of this Marriage ſhall be brought up in the Company of the moſt Excellent *Infanta*, at the leaſt until the Age of Ten Years, and ſhall freely enjoy the Right of Succeſſion to the Kingdoms, as aforeſaid.

XXI. That whenſoever any Place of either Man-Servant or Maid-Servant, which the Lady *Infanta* ſhall bring with her (nominated by the Catholick King her Brother) ſhall happen to be void, whether by Death, or by other Cauſe or Accident, all the ſaid Servants of her Family are to be ſupplied by the Catholick King as aforeſaid.

XXII. For Security that whatſoever is capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of *Great-Britain* and Prince *Charles* are to be bound by Oath; and all The King's Council ſhall confirm the ſaid Treaty under their Hands: Moreover, the ſaid King and Prince are to give their Faiths in the Word of a King, to endeavour, if poſſible, that whatſover is capitulated may be eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

XXIII. That conformable to this Treaty, all theſe things propoſed, are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an Apoſtolical Benediction, and a Diſpenſation neceſſary to effect the Marriage.

The King ratified theſe Articles in the uſual Form, and ſwore to obſerve them, before the two *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors and Twenty Privy-Counſellors, who ſet their Hands alſo to the Treaty. When the King came to take the Oath, he had ſome Diſpute with the Ambaſſadors. His Majeſty would not give the Pope the Title of *Holy Father*, or *His Holineſs*, ſaying, he had wrote againſt this *Title*, and it was unreaſonable to make him retract what he had ſaid. But the Ambaſſadors inſiſting upon it, the King yielded at laſt, not thinking he ought for ſo ſmall matter re-

1623. tard a Treaty, which had now been Seven whole Years on Foot.

After having publickly taken this Oath, he withdrew into his Closet, where, in the Presence of the same Ambassadors, and some of his Privy-Counsellors, he ratified and swore to these Four secret Articles.

*Private Articles.* Wilson, p. 1168. *Annals of* James I. p. 79. Rush. Vol. I. p. 89.

1. That particular Laws made against *Roman* Catholicks, under which other Vassals of our Realms are not comprehended, and to whose Observation all generally are not obliged; as likewise general Laws under which all are equally comprized, if so be they are such which are repugnant to the *Romish* Religion, shall not at any time hereafter, by any Means or Chance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution against the said *Roman* Catholicks; and we will cause that our Council shall take the same Oath as far as it pertains to them, and belongs to the Execution which by the Hands of them and their Ministers is to be exercised.

2. That no other Laws shall hereafter be made anew against the said *Roman* Catholicks, but that there shall be a perpetual Toleration of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, within private Houses throughout all our Realms and Dominions, which we will have to be understood as well of our Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*; which shall be granted to them in Manner and Form, as is capitulated, decreed and granted in the Article of the Treaty concerning the Marriage.

3. That neither by us, nor any other interposed Person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, will we treat (or attempt) any thing with the most renowned Lady *Infanta Dona Maria*, which shall be repugnant to the *Romish* Catholick Religion; neither will we by any means persuade her that she should ever renounce or relinquish the same in Substance or Form, or that she should do any thing

thing repugnant or contrary to thoſe things which are contained in the Treaty of Matrimony. 1623.

4. That we and the Prince of *Wales* will interpoſe our Authority, and will do as much as in us ſhall lie, that the Parliament will approve, confirm, and ratify all and ſingular Articles in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, capitulated between the moſt renowned Kings by reaſon of this Marriage: And that the ſaid Parliament ſhall revoke and abrogate particular Laws made againſt the ſaid *Roman* Catholicks, to whoſe Obſervance alſo the Reſt of our Subjects and Vaſſals are not obliged; as likewiſe the general Laws under which all are equally comprehended, to wit, as to the *Roman* Catholicks, if they be ſuch as is aforeſaid, which are repugnant to the *Roman* Catholick Religion: And that hereafter we will not conſent that the ſaid Parliament ſhould ever at any time enact or write any other new Laws againſt *Roman* Catholicks (*a*).

Theſe are the Four Articles which ſerved for Foundation to the Pope's Diſpenſation: For, as the *Congregation de Propaganda* ſaid, the other Articles were only to ſecure the *Infanta's* Religion: but there muſt be ſomething more for the *Catholicks* in general, before the Diſpenſation could be granted. *Nalſon* and others pretend, theſe Four ſecret Articles are all a Fiction, groundleſs, and even improbable. But beſides that they follow very naturally from what the *Congregation de Propaganda* had demanded; and that the Archbiſhop's Letter to the King manifeſtly alludes thereto, we ſhall ſee preſently a Paper which will put it out of doubt, that the King had engaged to perform the Contents of the Four Articles.

It is ſaid all theſe Articles, as well publick as private, ſigned by the King and Privy-Council with the Great-Seal annexed, being brought to *Spain*, the Prince of *Wales* added the following ones. But I confeſs the Proofs for theſe laſt do not ſeem to me ſo ſtrong

(*a*) The Author of the *Annals* ſays, theſe four Articles muſt be taken entirely upon *Ruſhworth's* Credit, p. 80,

1623. as those for the first. This depends upon the Degree of Credit one is inclined to give to the first Publishers.

*Articles sworn to by the Prince of* Wales. Wilson, p. 247. Du Chesne. Annals, p. 80. Rush. Vol. I. p. 89.

" Moreover, I *Charles* Prince of *Wales* engage " my self (and promise that the most illustrious King " of *Great-Britain*, my most honoured Lord and " Father, shall do the same both by Word and " Writing,) That all those things which are contain- " ed in the foregoing Articles, and concern as well " the Suspension as the Abrogation of all Laws made " against the *Roman* Catholicks, shall within three " Years infallibly take effect, and sooner, if it be " possible, which we will have to lie upon our Con- " science and Royal Honour: That I will interceed " with the most illustrious King of *Great-Britain* my " Father, that the Ten Years of the Education of " the Children which shall be born of this Marriage, " with the most illustrious Lady *Infanta* their Mo- " ther, accorded in the 23d *Art.* (which Term the " Pope of *Rome* desires to have prorogued to Twelve " Years) may be lengthened to the said Term. Fur- " thermore, I Prince of *Wales* oblige my self up- " on my Faith to the Catholick King, That as often " as the most illustrious Lady *Infanta* shall require " that I should give ear to Divines or others whom " her Highness shall be pleased to employ in Matter " of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, I will hearken " to them willingly without all Difficulty, and laying " aside all Excuse. And for further Caution in Point " of the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion, " and the Suspension of the Law above-named, I " *Charles* Prince of *Wales* promise and take upon " me in the Word of a King, that the Things above " promised and treated concerning those Matters, " shall take Effect and be put in Execution as well " in the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as of " *England*".

This

This is what occaſioned the Prince's and *Buckingham's* Journey to *Spain*; a Journey not only needleſs but even deſtructive, as is evident from all the Additions made to the Articles which were agreed upon by the Earl of *Briſtol*. The King was ſo glad he had finiſhed the Affair of the Marriage, that he defied all the Devils in Hell to break the Match. As a grateful Acknowledgement for the great Service his Favourite had done him, he ſent him a *Patent*, creating him *Duke of Buckingham*. There was no other Duke at that Time in *England**. 1623.

*Buckingham is created a Duke.* Coke.

The King's Compliance in every Thing he had ſigned and ratified went ſo far, that the *Spaniards* could heardly believe he was in Earneſt. Some of them who were acquainted with the Nature of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, maintained it was not in the King's Power to perform what he promiſed, or in caſe he attempted it, a Rebellion would infallibly enſue. Whereupon the King of *Spain* appointed a Committee to take this Matter into Conſideration. The Reſult of the Debate was, That it would not be proper to ſend the *Infanta* to *England* before the next Spring, that they might be ſure, in the mean while, of the Performance of the Articles granted to the *Catholicks*, and the Effects thereof. Upon this, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors in *England* had Orders to deſire the King to begin putting in Execution his Engagements in favour of the *Catholicks*. This Demand put him to a Stand. What he had promiſed was ſecret, and not to be performed till after the Marriage, and he was preſſed to make it publick by the Execution, whilſt the Prince was ſtill in *Spain*. This was in a Manner to threaten him that the Marriage

*Freſh Difficulty in* Spain.

*The Court of* Spain *want to ſee the ſecret Articles executed.*

* Viſcount *Doncaſter* (lately made *Earl of Carliſle*) brought over the *Patent*. The Lord *Kenſington*, Captain of the King's Guard, came alſo to ſee the Prince, as did the Earl of *Denbigh*, *Edward* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Viſcount *Mandeville*, the Viſcount *Rochford*, and divers other of the Nobility; and the Prince was ſo incircled with a ſplendid Retinue of his own Nation, that it might be ſaid, *There was an* Engliſh *Court in the King of* Spain's *Palace*. Wilſon, p. 229.

1623. ſhould not be ſolemnized, before he had given publick Marks of his Sincerity. He was very ſenſible a Proclamation for granting the *Papiſts* a Toleration, muſt be attended with ill Conſequences; that theſe Conſequences might cauſe the Match to be broken off, and that the Prince his Son would run the Hazard of being detained in *Spain*. To get out of this Perplexity, he reſolved to give the Ambaſſadors ſome Satisfaction, by putting into their Hands a Declaration of his Council, containing his Intention about this Affair. In all appearance, the Ambaſſadors were prevailed with to conſent, that the Performance ſhould be deferred, on account of what might happen. The Declaration was as follows:

Salisbury, *Aug.* 37, 1623.

# A DECLARATION

## *Touching the* Pardons, Suſpenſions, *and* Diſpenſations *of the* Roman Catholicks.

*Declaration in behalf of the* Roman *Catholicks* Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 288. *Annals of* Charles I. p 143. Du Cheſne, p 1168. *The Earl of* Briſtol's *Defence.*

" FOR the Satisfaction of their Excellencies, " the Marqueſs *Ynojoſa* and *Don Carolus de Co-* " *lonia*, the Lords Ambaſſadors for the King of " *Spain*; and to the End it may appear that his Ma- " jeſty of *Great-Britain* will preſently and really put " in Execution the Grace promiſed and intended to " the *Roman* Catholicks his Majeſty's Subjects, and " of his own Grace more than he is tied to by the " Articles of the Treaty of Marriage (*a*).

" We do declare in his Majeſty's Name, That " his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure is, that a Legal " and Authentical Pardon ſhall be paſſed under the " Great-Seal, wherein ſhall be freely pardoned all " thoſe

(*a*) The Treaty of the Twenty-three Articles contained no Grant at all in favour of the *Catholicks* in general. Conſequently this muſt relate to the ſecret Articles of the ſame Treaty.

" thoſe Penalties, Forfeitures, and Seizures, In- 1623.
" dictments, Convictments and Incumbrances what-
" ſoever, whereunto the *Roman* Catholicks are liable,
" or have been proceeded againſt, or might be, as
" well Prieſts, or others, for Matters of Conſcience
" only, and to which the Reſt of his Majeſty's Sub-
" jects are not liable. And to the end his Majeſty
" may make himſelf clearly underſtood, where it
" ſhall happen that any of thoſe Forfeitures and Pe-
" cuniary Mulcts have been given away under his
" Majeſty's Great-Seal; his Majeſty will not hide
" that it is not in his Power ſo to make void thoſe
" Letters Patent, except they be voidable by Law;
" and then his Majeſty will be pleaſed that all *Roman*
" Catholicks may in thoſe Caſes plead in Law, if they
" find good, and ſhall have equal and legal Trial.
" And his Majeſty is likewiſe pleaſed, that his ge-
" neral Pardon ſhall remain in Being five Years, to
" the End all that will may in that Time make it
" out; And his Majeſty will give Order for the
" Comfort of the poorer Sort, that the Pardon ſhall
" not be coſtly, but ſuch like Courſe ſhall be taken
" as was in a like Occaſion at his Majeſty's coming
" into *England*; and that it ſhall be lawful to put as
" many as can poſſibly into one Pardon.

" And we do further declare, That his Majeſty's
" Will and Pleaſure is, to the End that the *Roman*
" Catholicks, his Majeſty's Subjects, may have a pre-
" ſent and a free Fruition of as much as is intended
" them by the Articles of Treaty of Marriage, to
" cauſe a preſent Suſpenſion under his Majeſty's
" Seal of all thoſe penal Laws, Charges, and For-
" feitures, whereunto the *Roman* Catholick Subjects
" of his Majeſty have heretofore been ſubject, and
" to which the Reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects have not
" been liable; and in the ſame Grant, and under
" the ſame Seal, to give a Diſpenſation and Tolera-
" tion to all the *Roman* Catholicks his Majeſty's Sub-
" jects, as well Prieſts, as Temporal Perſons and o-
" thers, of and from all the Penalties, Forfeitures,

" Troubles,

1623. " Troubles, and Incumbrances, which they have been " or may be subject to, by Reason of any Statute or " Law whatsoever, to the Observation whereof, the " Rest of his Majesty's Subjects are not bound. We " do likewise declare, that his Majesty hath promi- " sed in his Royal Word, that the Execution shall " be no Ways burthensome or penal to the *Roman* " Catholicks, but that for the Manner of privileging " and freeing them from that, he must confer with " Bishops and Advocates, into which he will presently enter and expedite by all means.

" And we do further declare, That his Majesty's " further Will and Pleasure is, for the better Satis- " faction and Discharge of the Care and Endeavour of " their Excellencies the Ambassadors, that it shall be " lawful to them to assign a discreet Person to enter- " tain such sufficient Lawyers as shall be thought fit " to take Care to the Strength, Validity, and Secu- " rity of the said Grants: And his Majesty's Attor- " ney shall have Charge to receive and admit the " said Lawyers to the Sight and Judgement of the " said Draughts, and in any Doubts to give them Sa- " tisfaction, or to use such legal, necessary and " pertinent Words and Phrases, as he the said Law- " yer shall propound for the Security of the *Roman* " Catholicks, and Sure-making of the said Grants.

" And we further declare, That his Majesty's " Pleasure is, to make a Dispatch into *Ireland* unto " his Deputy there, by the Hands of the Lord " Treasurer and Secretary of State Sir *George Calvert*, " for the present confirming and sealing the Things " concerning the *Roman* Catholicks, answerable to the " Articles of Treaty, his Royal Promise and Pro- " ceedings here: And for *Scotland*, that his Majesty, " according to the Constitution of his Affairs there, " and Regard to the publick Good, and Peace of " that Kingdom, as soon as possible, will do all that " shall be convenient for the Accomplishment of his " Promise in Grace and Favour of the *Roman* Ca-

" tholicks

" tholicks his Subjects, conformable to the Articles " of the Treaty of Marriage". 1623.

This Declaration ſigned by Secretary *Conway* and ſome Privy-Counſellors, who were moſt truſted by the King, was very probably ſent to *Spain* as a Pledge of the King's Intention to perform his Engagements. There it was that the Earl of *Briſtol* found Means to come at either the Original itſelf or a Copy, which he produced before the Parliament in 1626, to ſhow what the Duke of *Buckingham* had negotiated in *Spain* without his Privity. It is manifeſt, firſt, That this Declaration ſuppoſes the ſecret Articles above-mentioned; ſecondly, That the Earl of *Briſtol* would not have ventured to produce it before the Parliament, had he not been able to prove it was no Forgery.

*Death of* Gregory XV. *which renders the Diſpenſation null.*

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation in *England*, News came to *Madrid* of Pope *Gregery* XV's Death, which was a freſh Obſtacle to the Concluſion of the Marriage. When *Cottington* came from *England* with the Ratification of the Articles, the *Nuncio* refuſed to deliver the Diſpenſation, affirming, That as the Marriage was not yet celebrated, the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no Force, and therefore it was neceſſary to ſtay till there was a new Pope, who might grant a valid Diſpenſation. By this Accident the Prince of *Wales* ſaw himſelf detained in *Spain* till the Election of a new Pope. The 29th of *Auguſt* however was appointed for the Wedding-Day, it being taken for granted that before that Time there would be a Pope, and a new Diſpenſation.

*They are forced to ſtay for a new Diſpenſation.*

Mean while, there was nothing ſaid about the Reſtoring of the *Palatinate*, or if it were mentioned, it was only by way of Converſation, without any Thing poſitive being demanded of the King of *Spain*, or his Miniſters on that Account. I have told the Reaſon of it already. As to the *Temporal* Articles, they were in the ſame State as when the Prince came to *Madrid*, and nothing ſigned on either Side; ſo that if

1623. if the Dispensation had arrived before the 29th of *August*, the Marriage must have been either deferred, or else solemnized before these Articles were settled.

*Project to persuade the Prince to turn Papist.*

But the Court of *Spain* was intent upon a Project of greater Moment. And that was to endeavour to persuade the Prince of *Wales* to turn *Catholick*; and it is no Wonder, they flattered themselves with the Hopes of succeeding after what had passed. Besides, if we may believe the Earl of *Bristol* in the Impeachment he brought before the Parliament against *Buckingham*, that Duke gave the *Spaniards* but too much Room to hope for this pretended Conversion. We are not to look for any other Reason of the Delay of the Dispensation. *Urban* VIII, who was chosen the 6th of *August*, would not have failed to send it, had he not waited for this happy Event, which he strove to forward by his Letters to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*. This was the Occasion of the Marriage being broke off in the end, after having been so long deferred.

*Urban VIII chosen Pope, delays to grant the Dispensation.*

*Probable causes of the Breach of the Marriage.*

I have very carefully sought after the real Cause of this Breach, but could never meet with any Thing satisfactory. All agree, that it was the Duke of *Buckingham* that first inspired the Prince with the Thoughts of it, and afterwards the King; but it is hard to guess what might be his Motive, and what made him break his first Measures, and steer a quite contrary Course, so ill is this Point explained by the Historians. Some say, the Duke had rendered himself contemptible and odious to the Court of *Spain*, by his affecting to follow the *French* Fashions in almost all Points opposite to the *Spanish*: That for this Reason, foreseeing the *Infanta* and the *Spaniards* would have great Power at the Court of *Emgland*, he thought they might in the End do him some Ill-turn, and therefore resolved to break off the Match. Others say, the *Condé Olivarez*, Favourite of *Philip* IV, having put the Duke in Mind of his Promise that the Prince should turn *Catholick*, the Duke gave him the Lye to his Face, and from that Time he only sought

Wilson. Annals, p. 85.

Means

Means to get from the *Spaniſh* Court, out of Fear of the *Condé's* Revenge. Some ſay the Queen of *Bohemia*, perceiving there was no Likelihood of recovering the *Palatinate* by Means of this Marriage, and having much better Ground to expect great Advantages from a Rupture between *England* and *Spain*, ſent a truſty Meſſenger to the Duke, with certain Offers, in Caſe he would procure a Breach. This is not unlikely, and the *Hollanders*, to whom the Union between *Spain* and *England* muſt have been prejudicial, might well have a Hand in the Project. In fine, the Duke of *Buckingham's* greateſt Favourers affirm, that the Duke having ſounded the King of *Spain's* Intentions concerning the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, found there was nothing to be expected, and therefore took a Reſolution to break off the Marriage, which was intended for no other Purpoſe. It is certain at leaſt, the King, Prince, aud Duke, made uſe of this Pretence to juſtify the Breach. 1623. Du Cheſne, p. 1169. Wilſon, p. 249.

*The Prince reſolves to depart from* Spain

However this be, the Duke of *Buckingham* having taken this Reſolution, ſoon prevailed upon the Prince to agree to it, over whom he had now a very great Aſcendant. There were two Difficulties to be ſurmounted in the Execution of this Deſign. The firſt was to obtain the King's Conſent. The ſecond, to get the Prince out of *Spain*. The Duke muſt needs have been fully perſuaded of his Power over the King, to hope he ſhould be able all on a ſudden to prevail with him to give over a Deſign he had ſo cloſely purſued for ſeven Years together, juſt at the Time when every Thing was concluded, and nothing wanting but the Nuptial Ceremonies. He deſpaired not however of ſucceeding, and therefore he ſent him Word that he had at laſt diſcovered the King of *Spain's* Inſincerity: That not only he had no Inclination to cauſe the *Palatinate* to be reſtored, but alſo was far from having the leaſt Thought of accompliſhing the Marriage, and that the Prince was in Danger of being detained in *Spain* all his Life. To back what the Duke ſaid, the Prince himſelf wrote to

*He gets the King's Conſent.*

the

1623. Weldon, p. 148. Coke, p. 135.

the King his Father, telling him, *He muſt now look upon his Siſter and her Children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had ſuch a Son.* The King fell, or rather, threw himſelf headlong into this Snare, without the leaſt Reflection, and immediately wrote to *Buckingham* to bring away the Prince by all means. At the ſame Time, he ſent ſome Ships to St. *Andero* in *Biſcay* to take them on Board.

*Means uſed by the Prince to leave* Madrid, *without cauſing any Suſpicion in the Court.*

The firſt Difficulty being got over, Means were to be deviſed to quit *Spain*, without giving the Court any Suſpicion, which could not be done without wounding the Prince's Honour and Conſcience. Luckily for them, *Urban* VIII had not yet ſent the Diſpenſation, nor ſo much as fixed any Time when it ſhould be done. So *Buckingham* notified to his *Catholick* Majeſty the Order he had received to bring back the Prince to *England*, his Return being abſolutely neceſſary to remove the Nation's Jealouſy of his ſo-long Stay in *Spain*. Adding, his Departure would make no conſiderable Alteration, ſince he would leave a Proxy in the Hands of any Perſon his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to appoint, to eſpouſe the *Infanta* in his Name, as ſoon as the Diſpenſation ſhould come. The Prince's Deſign ſurprized the King of *Spain* a little. However, as he did not deſire the *Infanta* his Siſter ſhould go before Spring, he imagined that after the Eſpouſals, it would be more eaſy to detain her, than if the Prince of *Wales* was actually in *Spain*, and therefore, he very readily conſented to the Prince's Departure *.

The

* It has by ſome been wondered at, That the King of *Spain* ſhould be ſo willing to let the Prince go, when it was in his Power to keep him as long as he pleaſed, and make what Advantage of it he had a Mind to. But this Point is cleared by the Remark with which *Spanheimius* ſums up what relates to the *Spaniſh* Affair, *That never Prince was more obliged to a Siſter, than King* Charles *the Firſt was to the Queen of* Bohemia; *ſince it was only the Conſideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of* England, *that prevailed with the Court of* Spain *to permit him to ſee* England again. This puts me in Mind of a pleaſant Jeſt in Mr. *Coke's* Reign of King *James* I. His Majeſty

The only Point then was to be ſure of the Celebration of the Marriage, and the King himſelf deſired to be the Prince's *Proxy*, together with Prince *Edward* of *Portugal*. The *Proxy* was drawn up by the King's Secretary, and the Prince of *Wales* ſigning it in the Preſence of ſeveral Witneſſes, left it in the Hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, with Orders to deliver it to the King of *Spain* Ten Days after the Diſpenſation ſhould be received. This done, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſet out firſt, under Colour of going to prepare for the Prince's Reception, on board the *Engliſh* Fleet lying at St. *Andero*. The Court ſaw him depart without any Concern, or rather with a Satisfaction equal to his Impatience to be in a Place of Safety. After he was gone, all imaginable Honours were paid to the Prince. The King himſelf conducted him as far as the *Eſcurial* *, where he received and feaſted him as a Prince that was to be very ſhortly his Brother-in-law. I ſhall not give a particular Account of all the Civilities that were ſhown him. It will ſuffice to ſay, that on the very Day of his Departure

1623. *He leaves a Proxy to celebrate the Marriage.*

Buckingham *ſets out firſt.*

ſty a little after the Prince's Departure from *Spain*, being in one of his penſive Moods, *Archy* his Buffoon comes in, and tells him he muſt change Caps with him: Why? ſays the King: Why! who (replies *Archy*) ſent the Prince into *Spain*? But what, (anſwered the King) wilt thou ſay if the Prince comes back again? Why then (ſaid *Archy*) I will take my Cap from thy Head, and ſend it to the King of *Spain*. Which it is ſaid, troubled the King ſore. But his *Catholick* Majeſty did not care to do any Thing that ſhould help the Elector *Palatine* or his Heirs to the Crown of *England*.

* The *Eſcurial* lies about 18 Miles from *Madrid*. It is reckoned one of the moſt magnificent Structures in *Europe*. This Noble Monaſtery was built by *Philip* II, in which are 200 Friars of the Order of St. *Jerom*, with a College for young Students. The *Spaniards* calls it the Eighth Wonder of the World. This *mighty Fabrick* is built in the Form of a *Gridiron* (the Emblem and Inſtrument of St. *Lawrence's* Martyrdom, to whom it is dedicated) the Handle whereof, is the King's Palace, and the Square of the *Gridiron* is divided into 12 ſpacious Quadrangles. In the Middle of the Square ſtands a magnificent Cathedral, to which *Philip* IV, added a Chapel for the Sepulchre of ſuch Kings and Queens as leave Iſſue behind them, who lie in curious Coffins of black Marble, which are placed in Arches round the Marble Wall. The Chapel is built in Form of the *Pantheon*. See *Wilſon*, *p.* 250.

1623. parture, he solemnly swore again to the Articles of the Marriage, and then it was he left the *Proxy* with the Earl of *Bristol*, of which one of the Secretaries of State made an authentick Act, which was signed by several Witnesses.

*The Prince swore to the Articles again.*

*The Prince departs.*

The Prince went away, laden with Honours, Caresses, Presents, and attended by several Lords of the Court, who waited upon him to the Fleet. He was no sooner come there, but he dispatched to the Earl of *Bristol* Mr. *Edward Clarke*, one of *Buckingham's* Creatures, with positive Orders not to let the *Proxy* go till he had Assurances given him that the *Infanta*, after the Espousals, would not betake herself to a *Cloister*, and to send him Word before the delivery of the *Proxy* what Security was offered, that he might be Judge himself, whether it was proper to accept it. This was the first Trick the Prince used to gain Time, apprehensive as he was that the Dispensation would come, and the Marriage be solemnized before he had disposed the King his Father to break off the Match. The Earl of *Bristol* not perceiving as yet the Intent of the Order he had received, was afraid if he should stay till the last, it might be an Obstacle to the finishing of the Marriage. He thought proper therefore to be in a readiness before the Dispensation should arrive, and to know beforehand what Security the Court of *Spain* would be willing to give to remove the Prince's Scruple. He received as satisfactory an Answer as he could wish, and certified the King and Prince with the same by Letter.

*He sends an Order to the Earl of* Bristol *not to deliver the Proxy.* Wilson, p. 255. *Defence of the Earl of* Bristol.

*He arrives in* England.

The Prince and Duke arrived on the $\frac{5}{1}$, of *October* at *Portsmouth*, and from thence they went with all speed to *Royston*, where the King was. It seems they durst not immediately discover their Design to the King about the Breach of the Marriage, but thought fit to prepare him for it first, that it might be less strange to him. What makes me think this, is, that the Earl of *Bristol's* Letter coming soon after, the King wrote to him the 28th of *October*, that

*He defers acquainting the King with his Designs.*

he was ſatisfied with the Security offered by the Court of *Spain*, and ſhould be eaſy on that Account. The Prince, who in all Appearance had not yet prepared all his Batteries, concealing his Deſign, writ likewiſe to the Earl of *Briſtol* the following Letter which no doubt was to be ſhown to the King his Father. 1623.

*Your Letter to the King and me, concerning that doubt I made after I came from St.* Laurence, *hath ſo ſatisfied us both, that we think it fit no longer to ſtick upon it, but leave it to your Diſcretion to take what Security you ſhall think fitting.* Ruſh. I. 297.

The Prince however was in danger of the Diſpenſation's arriving at *Madrid*, before the Earl of *Briſtol* received a poſitive Order not to deliver the *Proxy*, ſince in that Caſe, he would not be able to help executing what was enjoined him by the Prince himſelf when he went from the *Eſcurial*. But there was a neceſſity of running this Risk, there being no avoiding it, before he had inclined the King to a Breach. It is true, himſelf and the Duke had already begun to fill the King's Mind with Doubts concerning the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. And therefore the King in his Letter of the 28th of *October* above-mentioned, writ to the Earl of *Briſtol* that he hoped to receive before *Chriſtmas* the agreeable News both of his Son's Marriage, and Son-in-law's Reſtoration. Though this was not an expreſs Order to demand the *Palatinate* before the Eſpouſals, the Earl of *Briſtol* thought proper however to take ſome Care about an Affair that had been ſo much neglected during the Prince's ſtay in *Spain*, and even ſince the Marriage-Articles were agreed upon. So he ſpoke of it to the *Condé Olivarez*, and made him paſs his Word that the *Proxy* ſhould not be demanded till a written Promiſe was put into his Hands that the *Palatinate* ſhould be reſtored. This is what he acquainted the King with in a Letter of the 24th of *November*, wherein he told him, he hoped by *Chriſtmas*, he ſhould congratulate

*The King's Letter to the* Earl *of* Briſtol *about the* Palatinate

*The Court of* Madrid *promiſes the Reſtitution of the* Palatinate.

1623. gratulate the Prince his Son, and the Princeſs his Daughter; the one upon his Marriage, the other upon the end of his Sufferings.

*Artifice of the Prince of* Wales. Wilſon, *p.* 255.

It muſt be obſerved, That the Prince of *Wales*, before he left *Spain*, had uſed an Artifice to prolong the Time, knowing he could not break off the Marriage without the King's Conſent. He had cauſed it to be inſerted in the *Proxy*, that it ſhould be valid only till *Chriſtmas*. He was in hopes the Diſpenſation would not come before that time, or in caſe it came but a few Days before, the *Proxy* would be null. And indeed, as the Earl of *Briſtol* was not to deliver it till ten Days after the arrival of the Diſpenſation at *Madrid*, if the tenth Day fell out after *Chriſtmas*-Day, the *Proxy* would be of no Force, by virtue of the Clauſe inſerted in it. But this Precaution was not ſufficient, becauſe the Diſpenſation might happen to be at *Madrid* above ten Days before *Chriſtmas*. This obliged the Prince and Duke at length to diſcover their Minds to the King. Whether *James* yielded to their Reaſons, or out of a too great Condeſcenſion for his Son and Favourite, was willing to ſave them the Vexation of a Refuſal, he writ to the Earl of *Briſtol* the 12th of *November* expreſsly ordering him not to deliver the *Proxy* till after *Chriſtmas*: That is to ſay, when it was no longer valid. Moreover, he enjoined him not to make known this Order to the Court of *Spain* till the very laſt. This Letter was ſent to the Earl by three * ſeveral Meſſengers, two by Land and one by Sea, for fear of Accidents. It came in the critical Moment, for the Diſpenſation arrived at *Madrid* in the beginning of *December*, New *Stile*, and the King's Letter the 13th of *November* Old *Stile*. Upon the coming of the Diſpenſation, *Philip* immediately ordered all neceſſary Preparations for the Eſpouſals to be

*The King is prevailed with by the Prince and* Buckingham.

*He orders the Earl of Briſtol not to deliver the Proxy.*

* *Wilſon* ſays Four, Mr. *Killigrew*, *Greſley*, *Wood*, and *Davies*, p. 256.

be got ready *. But when the ten Days were expired, and when he expected the Marriage to be solemnized, the Earl of *Briſtol* notified to him the King his Maſter's Orders, not to deliver the *Proxy* till after *Chriſtmas*. He eaſily perceived the King of *England*'s Intent, ſince the *Proxy* would be then invalid. That very Day he ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to demand no more Audiences, and gave command that the *Infanta* ſhould be no longer called the *Princeſs of Wales*, as ſhe had been ever ſince the coming of the Diſpenſation, and cauſed all Preparations for the Wedding to ceaſe. Mean while, in order to caſt all the blame on the King of *England*, he ſent the Earl of *Briſtol* on the 8th of *January* 1624, a written Promiſe ſigned with his own Hand, whereby he bound himſelf to cauſe the *Palatinate* to be reſtored to the Elector *Palatine*. This the Earl of *Briſtol* affirmed before the Parliament in his Defenſe, which he produced there in the following Reign. 1623. DuCheſne Wilſon, *p.* 257.

There is ſcarce an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian but what affirms that the want of this ſame Reſtitution was the Cauſe of the Breach of the Marriage, and that the Earl of *Briſtol* having demanded it of his *Catholick* Majeſty, as a Condition without which the Marriage could not be accompliſhed, *Philip* coldly anſwered, *The* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and they might apply to the Emperour*. But this is directly contrary to the Earl of *Briſtol*'s own Account, who doubtleſs knew more of the Matter than any one elſe. The Earl of *Clarendon* took Care not to ſpeak like the reſt. He contents himſelf with aſcribing the Breach to ſome hidden Deſign of *Buckingham*'s.

* The King of *Spain* had ſent into *England Don Mendoſa de Alcorcana* to congratulate the Prince's ſafe return, and from thence he had Inſtructions to go and make known to all Princes and Potentates, Allies to *Spain*, how near the Marriage was. When the *Diſpenſation* came, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, the 19th of *December* was fixt for the Wedding Day, Preſents were provided for our King and Prince, the *Infanta*'s Family was ſettled, *&c. Wilſon, p.* 256.

1623. Thus ended the Affair of the *Spaniſh* Match which had wholly taken up King *James* for ſeven Years. During all that Time, he moſt earneſtly ſollicited it, and laboured to bring it to paſs; he made no ſcruple to ſacrifice the Intereſts of his Son-in-law, his own Reputation, the Religion he profeſſed, the Good of his People and the Laws of his Realm. But when it was juſt going to be concluded, he ſuddenly broke it off, without any one being ever able to know fully the Motives which induced him to this Breach. It can only be aſcribed to his Weakneſs, in not being able to deny any Thing to his Favourite. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſays poſitively that the King was compelled to it by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who acted with no leſs Inſolence and Impetuoſity to break the Marriage, than when he conſtrained the King to conſent to the Prince's Journey to *Spain*. He adds, the King plainly found the Prince and Duke were reſolved upon a Breach with or without his Approbation, and that he never forgave the Duke what he had done, but retained as ſharp a Memory of it as his Nature could contain. 'Tis to be preſumed the Earl of *Clarendon* was pretty well acquainted with this Affair, and the rather, as he is not the only Writer that intimates, the King had neither the Power nor the Courage to withſtand the Prince and Duke, who were ſtrictly united together ſince their Journey to *Spain*.

Clarend. l. 18, 19.

1624. Mean while, for fear the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould deviſe ſome Means to renew a Treaty broken off with ſo little reaſon, they cauſed him to be recalled. The King conſented the more readily to his Return, as he ſaw no Perſon in his Court able to give him good Counſel in order to free him from the Slavery he was under, but the Earl of *Briſtol*, who never ſtooped to *Buckingham*'s Haughtineſs. And this had drawn upon him the Favourite's Enmity to ſuch a degree, that ever after he was continually expoſed to his Perſecutions, and the Prince's Indignation, who following *Buckingham*'s Suggeſtions, omitted nothing

Annals, p. 86. Clarend. p. 22.

to ruin him, even when he came to the Throne, 1624.
though without being able to bring it to paſs.

Since the Return of the Prince and Duke, the King no longer ruled, all his Affairs were managed by them, and he had nothing to do but to execute their Counſels. The King had not one Man about him he could truſt. All his Officers, all his Courtiers were the Duke's Creatures, and the more firmly attached to him, as they ſaw him in great Favour with the Prince. In this Condition the King ſaw no other Remedy but to give himſelf up to them, and do whatever they pleaſed, whether he was afraid their Boldneſs would encreaſe by Reſiſtance, or that he waited for ſome favourable Opportunity to throw off their Yoke. Not only the Breach of the Marriage had been reſolved upon betwixt them, but alſo a War with *Spain*, and the King durſt not contradict them, notwithſtanding the Averſion he had to the taking up Arms. Their firſt Project was to demand for this War a *Benevolence* of every Subject. Nay, they made the King ſign an Order to levy it. *Baker* ſays in his *Chronicle*, he himſelf paid fifty Pound on this Occaſion. But on a ſudden, the King by the Advice of the Prince and *Buckingham*, gave over this Project, and reſolved to call a Parliament. That was indeed the moſt proper way to juſtify the Breach of the Treaty with *Spain*, and to procure Money, which he was in extreme want of. Ruſh. I. 107. Clarend. I. 20.

There was not one good *Engliſhman* but what had all along looked upon the *Spaniſh* Match as very prejudical to the Kingdom. 'Twas known in general, that the King had made large Conceſſions with reſpect to Religion, on account of the Marriage, though the Particulars, and eſpecially the ſecret Articles were known to very few. But the King's Condeſcenſion for the *Roman Catholicks*, was a plain Indication the Court of *Spain* had gained much upon him in their Behalf. The Duke of *Buckingham* not being ignorant of the People's Averſion to the Marriage, the Breach whereof was not yet ſpread abroad,

1624. doubted not but he ſhould gain their Good-will, by getting a Parliament to be called, and declaring himſelf the Author of this happy Breach, which all good *Engliſhmen* paſſionately deſired. To compaſs his Ends, he ſtrove to become popular, and affected to careſs both the *Church* and *State-Puritans*. Nay, he conſulted with [Dr. *John Preſton*] Head of the *Puritan*-Party, how the King might ſeize the *Dean* and *Chapter* Lands. Nothing could be more proper to procure him the Love of the People, the *Clergy* for the moſt part having rendered themſelves odious by the Zeal wherewith they maintained the *Prerogative Royal*. So the preſent Juncture being very favourable, the Duke got the King to call a Parliament, notwithſtanding his Reſolution never to ſummon another. Nay, ſuch was his Power over the King, that he made him ſpeak to the Parliament in a manner the moſt repugnant to his Opinions and Principles.

Coke, p. 139.

*The King calls a Parliament.*

*Project of a Match between the Prince and Henrietta Maria of France.* Annals, p. 87.

Mean while the Prince aud Duke had another Project in their Heads, namely, the Prince's Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the King of *France*, to which his Majeſty readily conſented. He was ſo proud of his Grandeur, that he could not think of marrying his Son to any but a Princeſs of Royal Extraction, and the Third Daughter of *Henry* IV was the only one then in *Europe* of that Character. 'Tis very probable, the Perſon ſent by the Queen of *Bohemia* to *Buckingham* in *Spain*, made him the firſt Overture of this Match, and that the Duke thereupon reſolved to break the Marriage the Prince was juſt going to conſummate with the *Infanta*. However this be, the King approving the Project, *Henry Rich* Baron of *Kenſington* was on ſome Pretenſe ſent to *France*, in order to ſound the Court with reſpect to this Marriage; and before his Departure, he was created *Earl of Holland*. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the Iſſue of this Negotiation; but we muſt firſt ſee what paſſed in the Parliament which met on the 29th of

Coke, p. 147.

*February*,

*February*, New Stile *. The King made a Speech to both *Houſes* ſo different from thoſe he had made to the two former Parliaments, that one ſhould hardly believe ſuch oppoſite Expreſſions came from the Mouth of one and the ſame Prince, if it were not known how great an Aſcendent the Duke of *Buckingham* had over him, and how neceſſary it was to the Favourite's Deſigns, that the King ſhould talk in this Manner. As the Speech is not ſo long as the others, the Reader prehaps will be glad to ſee it. 1624.

*My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

"I Have aſſembled you at this time, to impart to you a Secret and Matter of great Importance, as can be to my State, and the State of my Children; wherein I crave your beſt and ſafeſt Advice and Council, according as the Writ whereby you were aſſembled, imports, *That the King would adviſe with you in Matters concerning his Eſtate and Dignity*. And as I have ever endeavoured, by this and the like ways, to procure and cheriſh the Love of my People towards me, ſo I do Hope, and my Hope is exceeded by Faith; for I fully now believe, that never any King was more beloved by his People; whom you, my Lords and Gentlemen, do here preſent, ſo would I have you truly to repreſent all their Loves to me; that in you, as in a true Mirror or Glaſs, I may perfectly behold it, and not as in a falſe Glaſs that repreſents it not at all, or otherwiſe than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful Councils in the Matter

*The King's Speech to the Parliament.* Annals *of* James I. *p.* 87. Wilſon, Ruſh. Vol. I. *p.* 115.

* The Parliament it ſeems was to meet the 12th of *February*, but the King that Morning miſſing *Lodowick Stuart* Duke of *Richmond* *, and ſending in haſte for him, his Dutcheſs goes to his Bed-ſide to wake him, and drawing the Curtain, found him dead in his Bed. Upon News whereof the King would not adorn himſelf that Day, and put off the Parliament till the 19th. His Body was intered in *Henry* VII's Chapel, and leaving no Iſſue, his Eſtate and Honours deſcended to his Brother *Eſme Stuart*. * 21 Jac.

1624. " I propose, of which you have often heard, *the* " *Match of my Son:* wherein, as you may know, I " have spent much time with great Cost in long " Treaties, desiring always therein (and not without " reason hoping to have effected my desires) the " Advancement of my State and Children, and the " general Peace of *Christendom*, wherein I have al- " ways constantly laboured, depending upon fair " Promises. At the earnest instance of my Son, I " was contented (although it was of an extraordinary " Nature) to send him to prosecute his Desires in " *Spain*; and for his own safety, sent *Buckingham* " (in whom I ever reposed most Trust of my Per- " son) with him with this Command, *continually to* " *be present with him, and never to leave him till he* " *had returned again safely unto me.* Which he per- " formed, though not with that effect in the Busi- " ness that I expected, yet not altogether without " Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wisdom, " *Qui versatur in generalibus*, is easily deceived, and " that *Generality* brings nothing to good Issue; but " that before any Matter can be fully finished, it " must be brought to Particulars: For, when as I " thought the Affair had been before their going, " produced to a narrow Point, relying upon their " general Propositions, I found when they came " there, the Matter proved so raw, as if it had ne- " ver been treated off; the Generals giving them " easy way to invade, and affording them Means to " avoid the effecting of any thing (*a*).

" The Particulars that passed in the Treaty, I " mean not now to discover to you, the time being " too short; I refer you to *Charles* and *Buckingham*, " and the Secretaries Reports, who shall relate un- " to you all the Particulars. And after that, *Super* " *totam materiam*, I desire your best Assistance to " advise

(*a*) All this can relate only to the *Palatinate*, for the Treaty of Marriage was really concluded before the Prince's Voyage to *Spain*.

" adviſe me what is beſt and fitteſt for me to do, 1624.
" for the good of the Common-wealth, and the Ad-
" vancement of Religion, and the good of my Son,
" and my Grand-children of the *Palatinate*. And
" of our Eſtate, I know you cannot but be ſenſible,
" conſidering that your Welfare conſiſts in ours, and
" you ſhall be ſure to have your ſhare in what Miſe-
" ry ſhall befall us: And therefore I need to urge
" no other Argument to you in this behalf, in offer-
" ing me your wiſeſt and ſureſt Counſel and Furthe-
" rance. And I aſſure you in the Faith of a Chri-
" ſtian King, that it is, *res integra*, preſented unto
" you, and that I ſtand not bound, nor either way
" engaged, but remain free to follow what ſhall be
" beſt adviſed.

" To plant is not ſufficient, unleſs like good Gar-
" diners, you pluck up the Weeds that will choak
" your Labours: And the greateſt Weeds among
" you are Jealouſies, root them out. For my Acti-
" ons, I dare avow them before God: But Jealou-
" ſies are of a ſtrange depth. I am the Huſband, and
" you the Wife, and 'tis ſubject to the Wife to
" be jealous of her Huſband: Let this be far from
" you! I can truly ſay, and will avouch it before
" the Seat of God and Angles, that never King go-
" verned with a purer, ſincerer, and more uncorrupt
" Heart, than I have done, far from all will and
" meaning of the leaſt Errour or Imperfection of my
" Reign.

" It hath been talked of my remiſſneſs in Main-
" tainance of Religion, and ſuſpicion of a Tolera-
" tion: But as God ſhall judge me, I never thought
" nor meant, nor ever in Word expreſſed any thing
" that ſavoured of it (*b*). It is true, that at times,
for

(*b*) The Archbiſhop's Letter to the King, and the Council's Declaration to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, not to mention the Marriage-Articles, publick and private, evidently ſhow the contrary. But the King had this Hole to creep out at here, that he conſidered what he had done, and what he intended to do for the *Catholicks*, only as a Suſpenſion of the *Penalties*, and not as a real *Toleration*.

1624. " for Reasons best known to my self, I did not so
" fully put those Laws in Execution, but did wink
" and connive at some things, which might have
" hindered more weighty Affairs; but I never in all
" my Treaties ever agreed to any thing to the over-
" throw and disagreeing of those Laws, but had in
" all a chief Preservation of that Truth which I
" have ever professed: And as in that respect I have
" a charitable Conceit of you, I would have you
" have the like of me also, in which I did not trans-
" gress: For it is a good Horseman's part, not al-
" ways to use his Spurs, and keep strait the Reins,
" but sometimes to use the Spurs, and suffer the
" Reins more remiss; so it is the part of a wise King,
" and my Age and Experience in Government hath
" informed me, sometimes to quicken the Laws
" with streight Executions, and at other times upon
" just Occasion, to be more remiss. And I would also
" remove from your Thoughts all Jealousies, that I
" might, or ever did question or infringe any of
" your lawful Liberties or Privileges; but I pro-
" test before God, I ever intended you should en-
" joy the fulness of all those that former times give
" good Warrant and Testimony of, which, if need
" be, I will enlarge and amplify.

" Therefore I would have you, as I have in this
" Place heretofore told you, as St. *Paul* did *Timothy*,
" avoid Genealogies and curious Questions, and nice
" Querks and Jerks of Law, and idle Innovations;
" and if you minister me no just Occasion, I never
" yet was, nor ever shall be curious or captious to
" quarrel with you: But I desire you to avoid all
" doubts and hinderances, and to compose your
" selves speedily and quietly to this weighty Affair I
" have proposed; for that I have found already,
" Delays have proved dangerous, and have bred
" Distraction of this Business; and I would not have
" you by other Occasions to neglect or protract it.
" *God is my Judge*, I speak it as a Christian King,
" never any wayfaring Man, that was in the Deserts

" of

" of *Arabia*, and in danger of Death for want of " Water to quench his Thirſt, more deſired Water, " than I thirſt and deſire the good and comfortable " Succeſs of this Parliament, and Bleſſing upon your " Councils, that the good Iſſue of this may expiate " and acquit the fruitleſs Iſſue of the former. And " pray I God, your Counſels may advance Religi- " on, and the Publick Weal, and the good of me " and my Children ". 1624.

This Speech like the reſt the King had made to his Parliament, was liable to many Cenſures which bore hard upon his Sincerity. It could not be conceived that he really believed he was more beloved by his People than any of his Predeceſſors, ſince no King had ſo frequently quarrelled with his Parliament, which ſurely is no proper way to gain the Love of the People. Thoſe who were acquainted with the Poſture of Affairs, thought it very ſtrange the King ſhould tell the Parliament, that at the Prince's Arrival in *Spain*, the Affair was ſo raw as if it had been never treated of, ſince he had already ſigned the Marriage-Articles, and ſince as to the *Palatinate*, he would not have it mentioned before the Marriage ſhould be accompliſhed. Theſe ſame Perſons could not help wondering that he ſhould take God to witneſs that he never ſo much as thought or intended to grant a *Toleration* to the *Papiſts*, ſince it was one of the ſecret Articles of the Marriage, and ſince, without being informed of ſuch an Article, it was eaſy to perceive *Philip* gave his Siſter the *Infanta* to the Prince of *Wales*, ſolely upon that Account. In fine, ſome unlucky Perſons obſerved, that the King, when he ſaid, he never intended to invade the People's Liberties, might very juſtly have the *Simile* applied to him, which himſelf had uſed on another Occaſion, of the Perſon who took a Man's Purſe, aſſuring him he had no Deſign to rob him. *His Speech is cenſured.*

A few

1624. *Buckingham explains the pretended Reasons of the Breach of the Marriage.* Annals, p. 89. Rush. l. 119.

A few Days after the King had delivered his Speech, the two *Houses* having resolved upon a Conference together in order to take into Consideration the Business the King had recommended to them, the Prince and *Buckingham* came and informed them of all that had passed. After the Prince had said a few Words, the Duke of *Buckingham* went on and made a pretty long Speech, which he divided into six Heads, under Colour of giving a more clear and distinct Account of Things, but in reality to perplex and confound the Matter, and conceal the natural Coherence of the Particulars he was to relate. Under the first Head, he set forth the Motives of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*. In the second, he spoke of the Treaty of the Marriage apart by it self. In the Third, he joined together the two Affairs of the Marriage and *Palatinate*. In the Fourth, he declared the Reasons of the Prince's Return. In the Fifth, he informed the Parliament of his Majesty's subsequent Proceedings in the Affairs of the Marriage and *Palatinate* since the Prince's Return. In the sixth and last, taking together the whole of what he had been saying, he stated the Question, wherein both *Houses* were to offer to his Majesty their Advice and Council. Whilst he was speaking, he turned every now and then towards the Prince, asking him whether what he was saying was not true, to which the Prince did not fail to answer, *Yes, 'tis true*, or to the like Effect. The Scope of this whole Speech was to show, that the King had been unadvisedly ingaged in the Treaty of the Marriage, by the false Hopes the Earl of *Bristol* had given him: That the Court of *Spain* had never any Design to make this Match, and still less to restore the *Palatinate*, though the Earl of *Bristol* assured the contrary: That the Prince had been ill used in *Spain*: And had been much pressed to turn *Catholick*: In a Word, he intimated that the whole Blame lay at the Earl of *Bristol*'s Door, who had abused his Majesty's Confidence. It is the easiest Thing in the World to accuse one that is absent. 'Tis only

Weldon, p. 163.

*Remark on this Speech.*

only passing over in Silence what makes for him, giving an ill-turn to his most innocent Actions, aggravating his Faults if he has any, and loading him with Crimes he never committed. This is precisely what the Duke of *Buckingham* did with regard to the Earl of *Bristol*, with the Prince's Approbation and Help. This is so true, that two Years after, the Prince being in the Throne, and having himself accused the Earl of High-Treason, the Earl, in his Defence to the Parliament, gave a quite different Narrative of the *Spanish* Negotiation from what the Duke of *Buckingham* had made. He proved what he said by *Papers*, against which nothing could be objected, and defied the Duke to answer him. He did not content himself with affirming, that in all the Duke had said, there was not one Word of Truth, but also impeached him in form, and gave in his Impeachment to the *House of Lords*, which remained unanswered. This is sufficient to show how false the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Narrative was. And therefore I think it needless to dwell any longer upon this Subject. 1624.

The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Speech was received however with Applause, for several Reasons. First, he had been making a Party beforehand in the two *Houses*. Secondly, he had prevented the *Spanish* Match from being accomplished, wherein he had done a Thing very grateful to the Nation and Parliament. In the Third Place, he had brought home the Prince, contrary to the Expectation of all the World, and so removed the just Fears of the *English*. Finally, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Narrative being attested by the Prince himself, no Body could imagine it was false. As the Publick was not informed of the secret Circumstances of the Negotiation, it is no wonder the Parliament should believe what they were told by the King, Prince and Duke. But afterwards, when the whole Business came out, People were of another Mind. *The Parliament applaud the Duke.* Wilson. p. 264.

The

1624. *The Spaniſh Ambaſſador complains of the Duke.* Annals, *p.* 93.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador being informed of what had paſſed at the Conference between the two *Houſes*, demanded an Audience of the King *(a)*, and boldly complained, that the Duke had reflected on the King of *Spain*'s Honour. Adding, if any one of his Majeſty's Subjects had ſpoken thus of the King of *England*, it would have coſt him his Head. Probably, the Ambaſſador had been wrong informed, ſince the Duke had not uſed any offenſive Expreſſions againſt the King of *Spain*. He had only hinted, that *Philip* had all along no other Deſign but to amuſe the King and Prince. As the Duke of *Buckingham* was now the Parliament's Favourite, as well as the King's and Prince's, the two *Houſes* openly took his Part, and preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, declaring the Duke had ſaid nothing which could give Offence to the King of *Spain*, and thanked the Duke for his faithful Relation atteſted by the Prince. The King was ſo pleaſed with this Addreſs, that he went and thanked the two *Houſes* in a Speech, where he forgot not to ſound forth the Praiſes of his Favourite. He ſaid, he could not doubt the Truth of his Narrative, becauſe he made the ſame to himſelf at his return from *Spain*. But the King muſt have wilfully ſhut his Eyes not to ſee the falſeneſs of the Duke's Relation, or elſe muſt have been ſtrangely kept under by the Favourite, if he was made to atteſt before the Parliament what he knew to be a Lie.

*The Parliament takes the King's Part* Ruſh. I. 126.

*The Parliament adviſes the King to break the* Spaniſh *Match.* Wilſon. *p.* 265. Annals, *p.* 94.

The Parliament was extremely well pleaſed to ſee the King diſpoſed to break the *Spaniſh* Match, not knowing, or feigning not to know it was really broken off, by the Affront put upon the King of *Spain*. But the King having affirmed it was yet *Res integra*, the two *Houſes* could not ſay otherwiſe. So forgetting all former occaſions of Diſcontent, and applying themſelves wholly to the Buſineſs propoſed by the King, they jointly preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty,

*(a)* March 24.

Majeſty, to adviſe him to break off the Treaty he had begun with *Spain*, as well for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* as for the Marriage. They grounded their Advice upon four chief Reaſons, the firſt whereof was, that in the beginning of the Treaty, the *Spaniards had* inſiſted only upon *Liberty of Conſcience* to the *Infanta* and her Family, with the free exerciſe of their Religion. But that afterwards, taking advantage of the Prince's being in their Power, they importuned a general Toleration, contrary to the uſage of other *Catholick* Princes in the like Treaties. That beſides, the *Popiſh* Faction had increaſed to ſuch a degree, during the courſe of the Negotiation, that there was no way to ſuppreſs them as long as the Treaty continued. 1624

The ſecond Reaſon was taken from that, during the Treaty, the *Proteſtant* Party in *Germany* was oppreſſed, and the *Palatinate* invaded: That the *Spaniards* had deluded the King, and offered Indignity to the Prince, by importuning him to change his Religion, contrary to the Law of Hoſpitality and the Privileges of Princes.

The third was grounded upon the Inſincerity of the *Spaniards*, as well in the former Overture of Marriage for the late Prince *Henry* as in this: Upon the ſcornful Propoſition made to the King, of the Prince's turning *Catholick*, and upon the Deceit uſed in the Treaty of *Bruſſels*, the ſole End whereof was to cauſe *Heidelburg* to be taken.

Laſtly, The Parliament added as a fourth Reaſon, the Tranſlation of the *Electorate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, the King of *Spain*'s Letter to *Condé Olivarez*, with the *Condé*'s Anſwer, which plainly imported, that the *Spaniards* never intended to accompliſh the Marriage: The Shift deviſed by a *Junto* of *Divines*, to ſend home the Prince without the *Lady*.

*The King conſents to the Breach and demands Money.* Ruſh. I. 129. Annals, p. 94.

All theſe Reaſons were ſo many indirect Reproaches to the King for ſuffering himſelf to be ſo long amuſed. But his Majeſty, making as if he perceived it not, came to the Parliament, and made a Speech to

1624. to ſhow he could not break the Treaties, without knowing firſt how he ſhould be able to maintain the War which would unavoidably enſue, ſince the *Palatinate* was to be recovered by way of Arms. He declared therefore, that if they thought proper to enter into a War with *Spain*, he would readily conſent the Money they ſhould grant ſhould be managed by Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament. Moreover, he promiſed the Two *Houſes* that he would not make a Peace without their Advice. He concluded with ſaying: *I am ſo deſirous to forget all Rents in former Parliaments, that it ſhall not be in my Default, if I am not in love with Parliaments, and call them often, and deſire to end my Life in that Intercourſe between me and my People, for the making of good Laws, reforming of ſuch Abuſes as I cannot be well informed of but in Parliament, and maintaining the good Government of the Commonwealth.*

*The Commons offer the King Money.* Wilſon, *p.* 269. Ruſh. V. I. p. 135 Annals, P. 97.

How different is this Speech from thoſe the King made to the former Parliaments! But the King's Thoughts are not ſo viſible in theſe Expreſſions as the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Policy, who, after having broke off the Prince's Marriage, had a mind to carry his Point, and get War proclaimed with *Spain*. To compaſs his Ends, a Parliament muſt be called, and in order to gain the Good-will thereof, it was neceſſary the King ſhould talk after this manner.

Some Days after the *Commons* preſented an Addreſs to the King, offering him Three whole *Subſidies*, and Three *Fifteenths*, as ſoon as he ſhould publickly declare he had broken off the Treaties about the Prince's Marriage and the *Palatinate*. But they took him at his word, concerning his Offer that the Money ſhould be depoſited in the Hands of *Commiſſioners* of their chuſing. The King thanked them for their kind and affectionate Expreſſions, and let them know, he was reſolved to truſt for the future wholly and ſolely to his Parliament. After which, he diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Court of *Spain*, with his laſt Reſolution to break off the Treaty. But upon notice that a [ſharp] *Petition*

*Petition* againſt the *Popiſh Recuſants* framed by *the Commons*, was going to be preſented to him, he writ the following Letter [with his own Hand] to Secretary *Conway*.

1624. *He has notice of a Petition againſt the Recuſants, and ſtops the Courier who is going to* Spain. Wilſon, p. 265. Annals, p. 100.

*I Doubt not but you have heard what a ſtinging Petition againſt the Papiſts the Lower-Houſe have ſent to the Higher-Houſe this Day, that they might jointly preſent it unto me. Yet know my firm Reſolution, not to make this a War of Religion; and ſeeing I would be loth to be* Cony-catched *by my People, I pray ſtay the Poſt that is going to* Spain, *till I meet with my Son, who will be here To-morrow Morning: Do it upon Pretext of ſome more Letters ye are to ſend by him; and if he ſhould be gone, haſten after him to ſtay him upon ſome ſuch Pretext; and let none living know of this, as you love me. And before Two in the Afternoon To-morrow, you ſhall without fail here from me. Farewel.*

In all appearance the King imagined the Parliament in this *Petition* would have demanded Things he had no deſign to grant. And therefore, for fear he ſhould be forced to diſſolve the Parliament, he would not haſten the Rupture with *Spain*. But afterwards, being told the *Petition* * contained nothing of what he dreaded, he ſuffered the Meſſenger to depart. As ſoon as the People knew the Rupture with *Spain* was reſolved upon, the whole City of *London* was full of Bonfires, which ſhowed what Offence was taken at the *Spaniſh* Match, and the Danger Religion had been expoſed to. It was not yet known, that another Match was now actually treating in *France*, which was no leſs dangerous.

* The *Stinging Petition*, which was framed by the *Commons* and ſent to the Lords, was afterwards reduced to another Form, and is preſented to the King. This which follows here ſeems to be an Extract of the firſt before it was reduced. The other being reduced to two *Petitions*. See *Wilſon*. p. 273.

1624. The *Petition*, which was presented to his Majesty from both *Houses*, contained the Seven following Articles:

*The Petition of both Houses to the King.* Rush. Vol. I. p. 141. Wilson. *Annals of* K. James I. p. 100.

" I. That all *Jesuits* and *Seminary Priests* may be " commanded forthwith to depart out of the Realm, " and not to return or come hither again, upon Pe- " ril of the severest Penalty of the Laws now in " force against them.

" II. That his Majesty would be pleased to give " Charge to the Justices of the Peace, that they take " from all *Popish Recusants* all such Armour, Gun- " powder and Munition of any kind, as any of " them have.

" III. That all *Popish Recusants* be commanded " forthwith to retire themselves from or about *Lon-* " *don*, to their several Dwellings, or Places by the " Laws appointed, and there to remain confined " within five Miles of their Dwelling-places: And " for that purpose to discharge all by-past Licences " granted unto them; and that they presume not " any time thereafter to repair to *London*, or within " Ten Miles of *London*, or to the King's Court, or " to the Prince's Court wheresoever.

" IV. That his Majesty would forbid and restrain " the great Resort of his own Subjects, for the " hearing of *Mass*, to the Houses of foreign Am- " bassadors.

" V. That his Majesty would be pleased to dis- " charge *Popish Recusants* from those Places of Trust, " [as Lords Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, *&c.*] " by which they have that Power in the Country " where they live, as is not fit to be put into the " Hands of Persons so affected.

" VI. That his Majesty would be pleased generally " to put the Laws in due Execution against *Popish* " *Recusants*; and that all his Judges, Justices, *&c.* " may he commanded to do their Duty therein.

" VII. That

1624.

" VII. That seeing they were happily delivered " from that Danger which the Treaties with *Spain* " would certainly have drawn upon *England*, his Ma- " jesty would be pleased to engage his Royal Word, " That upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty, or " other Request in that behalf from any foreign " Prince or States whatsoever, he will take off, or " slacken the Execution of the Laws against the " Popish Recusants" *.

To which *Petition* his Majesty returned this Answer.

*My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses,*

*The King's Answer.* Rush. Vol. I. p. 143. Wilson. *Annals of* James I. p. 101.

" I Cannot but commend your Zeal in offering " this Petition to me; yet on the other Side, I " cannot but hold my self unfortunate, that I should " be thought to need a Spur to do that which my " Conscience and Duty binds me unto. What Re- " ligion I am of, my Books do declare, my Pro- " fession and Behaviour doth shew; and I hope in " God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; " surely I shall never deserve it; and for my part, " I wish it may be written in *Marble*, and remain " to Posterity as a Mark upon me, when I shall " swerve from my *Religion*; for he that doth *dissemble* " with God, *is not to be trusted with Men.*

" My Lords, for my part *I protest before God*, that " my Heart hath bled when I have heard of the " Encrease of *Popery*; *God* is my *Judge*, it hath been " such a Grief to me, that it hath been as Thorns in " my Eyes, and Pricks in my Sides; and so far I " have been, and shall be from turning another way. " And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be my " *Confessors*, that one way or other it hath been my

* This *Petition*, after it was reduced to another Form, and so presented to his Majesty, consisted only of *two Articles*, which were much the same with the first and last of these.

1624. " Desire to hinder the Growth of *Popery*; and I " could not be an honest Man if I should have done " otherwise. And this I may say further, that if I " be not a *Martyr*, I am sure I am a *Confessor*; and " in some Sense I may be called a Martyr, as in the " Scripture *Isaac* was persecuted by *Ishmael* by mock- " ing Words: for never King suffered more ill " *Tongues* than I have done, and I am sure for no " Cause; yet I have been far from Persecution; for " I have ever thought that no way more encreased " any Religion than Persecution, according to that " saying, *Sanguis Martyrum est semen ecclesiæ.*

" Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your Peti- " tion, I will not only grant the Substance of what " you crave, but add somewhat more of my own; " for the Two Treaties being already annulled, (as " I have declared them to be) it necessarily follows " of itself, that which you desire, and therefore it " needs no more; but that I do declare by *Proclama-* " *tion*, (which I am ready to do) that all *Jesuits* " and *Priests* do depart by a Day; but it cannot be as " you desire by our *Proclamation* to be out of our " Dominions; for a Proclamation here extends but " to this Kingdom.

" This I will do and more, I will command all " my Judges when they go their Circuits to keep the " same Courses, for putting all the Laws in Execu- " tion against *Recusants*, as they were wont to do " before these Treaties, for the Laws are still in " force, and were never dispensed with by me: God " is my *Judge*, they were never so intended by me, " but as I told you in the Beginning of this Par- " liament, you must give me Leave, as a good " Horseman, sometimes to use the *Reins*, and not " always to use the *Spurs*: So now there needs nothing " but my Declaration for the *disarming* of them; " that is ready done by the Laws, and shall be done " as you desired: and more, I will take Order for " the shameful Disorder of the resorting of my Sub- " jects to all foreign Ambassadors; for this I will

" adviſe with my Council how it may be beſt reform- 1624.
" ed. It is true, that the Houſes of Ambaſſadors
" are privileged Places; and though they cannot
" take them out of their Houſes, yet the Lord
" *Mayor*, and Mr. *Recorder of London*, may take
" ſome of them as they come from thence, and
" make them Examples: Another Point I will add
" concerning the Education of their Children, of
" which I have had a principal Care, as the Lord of
" *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and o-
" ther Lords of my Council can bear me witneſs,
" with whom I have adviſed about this Buſineſs; for
" in good *Faith* it is a Shame their Children ſhould
" be bred here as if they were at *Rome*. So I do
" grant not only your Deſire, but more. I am ſorry
" I was not the firſt Mover of it to you, but had
" you not done it, I ſhould have done it my ſelf.

" Now for the ſecond Part of your Petition, you
" have here given me the beſt Advice in the World;
" for it is againſt the Rule of Wiſdom that a King
" ſhould ſuffer any of his Subjects to tranſgreſs the
" Laws, by the *Interceſſion* of other Princes; and
" therefore aſſure your ſelves that (by the *Grace* of
" *God*) I will be careful that no ſuch Conditions be
" foiſted in upon any other Treaty whatſoever; for
" it is fit my Subjects ſhould ſtand and fall to their
" own Laws".

What a happy Harmony is here between the King and his Parliament! Nothing can be more affable, more obliging than this Anſwer, and the free and eaſy Manner wherewith he went into the Meaſures of the Two *Houſes*. To render their Happineſs compleat, nothing more was wanting, but the Performance of what the King had promiſed. We ſhall ſee preſently how careful he was to keep his Word.

*The Parliament preſents to the King a Liſt of the Papiſts in Poſts.*

The King had artfully avoided to anſwer the two principal Articles of the *Petition*, namely, the IIId and Vth, wherein the Parliament required, that all *Papiſts* ſhould he removed from *London* and the

1624. Court, and discharged from all Places of Trust. Had he yielded these two Requests, the Face of the Court would have been entirely changed. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Mother, who, by her Son's Means, disposed of all the Posts, must have been sent away. His Dutchess likewise would have been of the Number, as well as one of the Secretaries of State, with many others who had considerable Places at Court, and in the Country. The King's Silence in this Matter was the Cause of the Parliament's drawing up a List of Fifty-seven *Popish* Lords and Knights who were in publick Offices, and presenting it to the King. But it does not appear that he took much notice of it. As it nearly concerned the Duke of *Buckingham*, it was he, very probably, that hindered the King from giving the Parliament any Satisfaction in this Point. And the *Houses* did not insist upon it much, that they might not too openly offend a Lord, whose Credit was so great both with the King and Prince *.

Wilson, p. 276.

*The* Spanish *Ambassador privately informs against* Buckingham *to the King.* Coke. p. 154. Rush. p. 144.

But though no *Englishman* durst attack the Favourite directly, a Foreigner however undertook to ruin him in the King's Favour. This was the Marquis of *Inoiosa* the *Spanish* Ambassador, who being enraged at the unworthy Manner wherein the Duke had caused the Marriage to be broke off, burnt with Desire to revenge the King his Master and the *Infanta*. One Day as the King had few about him, he took an Opportunity to slip a Paper into his Hand with a Wink, that he should put it into his Pocket. Which the King did, and withdrew to his Closet to read it. He was exceedingly surprized to see the following Particulars.

" 1. That

* This whole Paragraph is built upon our Author's Mistake, in imagining the *Petition* containing the Seven Articles was presented to the King; whereas it was new modelled, and the IIId and Vth Articles, *&c.* left out. So it is no wonder the King should not take notice of them in his Speech. The *Petition*, as it was presented to the King, is to be seen in *Wilson*, p. 272.

" I. That he was kept from all faithful Ser- 1624.
" vants, that would inform him by the Miniſters of Coke,
" the Prince and Duke, and that he was a Priſoner p. 154.
" as much as King *John* of *France* and *England*, or Ruſh.
" King *Francis* at *Madrid*, and could not be ſpoken Vol. II.
" withal, but before ſuch as watched him. p. 144.

" II. That there was a ſtrong and violent Ma-
" chination in Hand, which had turned the Prince a
" moſt obedient Son, a quite contrary Courſe to his
" Majeſty's Intentions.

" III. That the Council began laſt Summer at
" *Madrid*, but was lately reſolved on in *England*,
" to reſtrain his Majeſty from the Exerciſe of the
" Government of his Kingdoms; and that the
" Prince and Duke had deſigned ſuch Commiſſioners
" under themſelves, as ſhould intend great Affairs,
" and the Publick Good.

" IV. That this ſhould be effected by beginning
" of a War, and keeping ſome Companies on Foot
" in this Land, whereby to conſtrain his Majeſty to
" yield to any Thing, chiefly brought into Straits
" for want of Monies to pay the Soldiers.

" V. That the Prince and Duke's encloſing his
" Majeſty from the ſaid Ambaſſadors, and others
" of his own Loyal People, that they might not
" come near in private, did argue in them a fear
" and diſtruſt of a good Conſcience.

" VI. That the Emiſſaries of the Duke had
" brought his Majeſty into Contempt with the po-
" tent Men of this Realm, traducing him for ſloth-
" ful and unactive, for an Addiction to an ingle-
" rious Peace, while the Inheritance of his Daugh-
" ter and her Children is in the Hands of his Foes;
" and this appeared by a Letter which the Duke
" had writ into *Holland*, and they had intercepted.

" VII. That his Majeſty's Honour, nay, his Crown
" and Safety, did depend upon a ſudden Diſſolution
" of the Parliament.

1624. "VIII. They loaded the Duke with ſundry Miſ-
"demeanours in *Spain*, and his violent Oppoſition
"to the Match.

"IX. That the Duke had divulged the King's Se-
"crets, and the cloſe Deſigns between his Majeſty
"and their Maſter King *Philip*, about the States of
"*Holland*, and their Provinces, and laboured to put
"his Majeſty out of the good Opinion of the *Hol-*
"*landers*.

"X. That the Duke was guilty of moſt corrupt
"Dealing with the Ambaſſadors of divers Princes.

"XI. That all theſe Things were carried on in
"the Parliament with an Head-ſtrong Violence, and
"that the Duke was the Cauſe of it, who courted
"them only who were of troubled Humours.

"XII. That ſuch Bitterneſs and Ignominies were
"vented in Parliament againſt the King of *Spain*, as
"were againſt all good Manners and Honour of the
"*Engliſh* Nation.

"XIII. That the *Puritans* (of whom the Duke was
"Head) did wiſh they could bring it about, that
"the Succeſſion of the Kingdom might come to the
"Prince *Palatine* and his Children, in right of the
"Lady *Elizabeth*.

In a *Poſtſcript*, the Paper prayed the King, That the Secretary to the Marquiſs *Inoioſa*, might be brought to the King, when the Prince and Duke were ſitting in the Lords *Houſe*, to ſatisfy ſuch Doubts as the King might raiſe.

*The King entertains ſtrong Suſpicions againſt the Prince and Duke.*

The King talked with the Secretary, and diſcourſed likewiſe in private with *Padro Maeſtro* a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit. 'Tis not known what theſe Men told him: But the King was perceived, after theſe Converſations, to grow very Melancholly and to be much out of Humour. He affected, in ſpeaking to the Prince and Duke, to uſe broken and myſtical Expreſſions, which let them ſee ſomething lay heavy upon his Mind. At laſt, the King going one Day to *Windſor*, and taking Coach at St. *James*'s, ordered the Duke,

*The Duke is upon the Point of being diſcarded.*

on

on ſome ſlight Pretenſe to ſtay behind. Then the Duke hardly queſtioning any longer his Diſgrace, beſought him for God's Sake, to tell him what was laid to his Charge. The King made him no other Anſwer than that he was very unhappy to be forſaken of thoſe who were moſt dear to him, and taking the Prince his Son with him, left *Buckingham* at *London*. The Duke retired to his own Houſe, overwhelmed with Grief, and thinking himſelf ruined paſt Redemption. But by the Advice of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, he went immediately to *Windſor*, where he found means to remove the King's Suſpicions. At leaſt, the King feigned to be cured of them. But the Earl of *Clarendon* confirms in his Hiſtory, what others aſſure, that the Duke had entirely loſt the King's Favour. Mean while, *James* was naturally ſo timorous, that inſtead of getting rid of a Favourite whom he might eaſily have diſcarded, he gave himſelf up more and more to him, ſo apprehenſive was he of his Union with the Prince. He expected with Impatience the Arrival of the Earl of *Briſtol* to have the Benefit of his Advice: But means were found to prevent him from declaring his Mind to him, and even of ſpeaking to him.

1624. *He gets off.*

Before the Parliament broke up, the King received a freſh Mortification at the Hands of the Prince and Duke. Whilſt they were in *Spain*, *Lionel Cranfield*, Lord-Treaſurer, lately created *Earl of Middleſex*, having the Courage to refuſe them ſometimes the exorbitant Sums they demanded, they reſolved to ruin him as ſoon as they came Home. They made uſe for that Purpoſe of their Credit with the Parliament, and cauſed him to be accuſed by their Creatures of Miſmanagement in the Diſcharge of his Office. The King knowing this Impeachment came from them, deſired them for God's Sake, to uſe their Intereſt with the two *Houſes* to let it drop: But they ſtood out againſt all the King's Intreaties. So the Lord-Treaſurer was condemned in a *Fine* of fifty Thouſand Pound, and declared uncapable of ever ſitting

*The Prince and Duke cauſe the Treaſurer to be condemned in ſpite of the King.* Wilſon, *p.* 278. Clarendon I. 23.

in

1624. in the *House of Peers*. All the Historians agree, he did not deserve so rigorous a Treatment. But the Duke who had raised him from the Dust, had a Mind to show he was powerful enough to bring him down to his primitive State, for an Example to all such as should dare to rise up against him. After this, it must not be thought strange, if the King, when he spoke to this Parliament, appeared so different from what he was with respect to the preceeding Parliaments. Not that his Opinions and Principles were altered; but he durst not do any Thing without the Direction of the Prince and Duke, who had formed Projects to which a Parliament was necessary. The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, the King was extremely surprized in the beginning of this Parliament, when he was informed of the Contents of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Narrative, concerning the Treaty of Marriage: A Narrative, says that famous Historian, which for the most part, the King himself knew to be untrue. Mean while, he had the Weakness, as I said, to attest the Truth of it, and to assure the Duke had made the like to him. There cannot be a clearer Evidence of the Subjection the Prince and Favourite held him in.

*The King is kept under by the Prince and Duke.*

P. 22.

*He is forced to turn the Earl of Bristol out of Favour.* Clarendon I. 24.

Here is also another remarkable Proof of the King's Weakness or Fears. He saw no Remedy but in the Earl of *Bristol*'s Counsels, whose Return he impatiently waited for. And yet no sooner was this Lord arrived in *England*, but the King was constrained to send him express Orders at *Dover*, not to come to Court, but to remain at his own House till he had answered certain Questions, which should be put to him by some of the Council. The Parliament being prorogued shortly after, the Earl writ often to the King, to desire he might be examined. The King wished it: But it was not the Prince's nor *Buckingham*'s Interest, who still found fresh Excuses to put off the Examination. The Earl was examined however at last, after much Sollicitation, and returned such Answers, that his Examiners could not help declaring,

May 29.

*The Earl of Bristol's Defence.*

claring, that his Conduct was unblameable. But this could not procure him his Liberty nor Admittance into the King's Preſence. Some Time after, the Duke ſent him Word he was much miſtaken, if he imagined his Anſwers were ſatisfactory to the King, the Prince, or himſelf the Duke; but his only way to come into Favour again, was to make the Acknowledgment he had ſent him. The Earl refuſed to do it, and the King told *Buckingham*, it was horrible Tyranny to make an innocent Perſon confeſs Faults which he was not guilty of. Notwithſtanding all this, it was not in his Power to ſpeak with the Earl, becauſe the Prince and Duke did not think it proper. 1624.

*The King ſends ſix Thouſand into Holland.*

The Parliament being prorogued, it was neceſſary to think of the War. The Aid granted the King was very conſiderable. It had been computed that with this Money he might have ſent Twenty-five Thouſand Men into the *Palatinate*, under the Command of an *Engliſh* General. But the Court had already taken other Meaſures. Six Thouſand Men were at firſt ſent into *Holland*, to ſerve in the Army of the *States*, under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and other Troops were levied for Count *Manſfeldt*, who was during the Winter to open himſelf a Paſſage into the *Palatinate*.

*Treaty of the Princes Marriage with* Henrietta *of* France. Wilſon. *p.* 276. DuCheſne

Mean while, the Earl of *Holland*, who had been diſpatched into *France*, having ſent Word that *Lewis* XIII was inclined to liſten to the Overture of a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, the King appointed the Earl of *Carliſle* to go and negotiate the Affair jointly with him. The two Ambaſſadors repairing to *Compagne*, where the Court of *France* was, Commiſſioners were nominated to treat with them, of whom the Marquiſs of *la Vieuville* Super-intendant of the Finances was the firſt. The Conferences began a few Days after the Parliament of *England* was prorogued, and at the Time the King, according to his Promiſe, was putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh*

*The King executes the Laws againſt* Recuſants.

*Recuſants*,

1624. *Recusants*, particularly against *Fryars* and *Priests*, some of whom were thrown into Prison.

*They complain to the King.*

This Security made the *Catholicks* exclaim, who expected other Things a few Months before. They could not forbear complaining, That whereas the Negotiation of the *Spanish* Match had procured them great Ease. This with *France* on the contrary seemed only to serve to increase their Miseries. Several writ to *France* in that strain, intimating that they had nothing to trust to but the Piety, Zeal, and Protection of *Lewis*. Among others, a *Scotch Franciscan* wrote upon this Subject to *Hugo* Archbishop of *Ambrun*, who had been *General* of the *Order*, and to whom he was known. The Archbishop showed the Letter to the King, and aggravated the Sufferings of the *English* Catholicks, who expected Relief only from his Intercession. The King of *France* had already done all he could to pacify the *English Catholicks*, letting them know by means of *Tilliers* his Ambassador at *London*, that he would not forget them. But their repeated Complaints obliged him at length to take some Step in their Favour, and the rather, as he was afraid, they would raise some Obstacle to the Pope's Dispensation, for which there would soon be an Occasion. He resolved therefore to send to *James* a secret Agent to interceed for the *Catholicks*, and pitched upon the Archbishop of *Ambrun* for this Business, who came to *London* in disguise and passed for a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*. At his Arrival, he waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, who seemed very much inclined to countenance him in his Negotiation. The Countess of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, the Earl of *Rutland* and some other *Catholicks*, did the Archbishop great Services, and acquainted him with many Things which it was necessary for him to know, in order to compass his Ends. The King being informed that the Archbishop wanted to speak with him, sent for him to *Royston*, where he then was, confined to his Bed with the Gout. The Archbishop's first Confe-

*Lewis sends the Archbishop of Ambrun to James.*

*James receives him graciously.*

rence

rence with the King, was followed by the Releaſe of 1624.
ſeveral *Popiſh* Recuſants, who had been impriſoned ſince the Parliament's *Petition*. Moreover, the King gave the Archbiſhop leave to adminiſter *Confirmation* in the *French* Ambaſſador's Houſe, to all that ſhould come and receive it. This was done in ſo publick a Manner, that not only the Houſe but the Street itſelf was crowded with People. If we may give Credit to the Archbiſhop's own Narrative, he *confirmed* above ten Thouſand Perſons, which ſeems to me to be a little magnified. However this be, the Number muſt have been very great, ſince the Magiſtrates of *London* complained of it to the King, who owned, that it was done with his leave. And yet it was but very lately that he told the Parliament, it was a Shame to ſuffer ſuch Crowds of *Papiſts* at Ambaſſador's Houſes.

*Conferences between the King and the Archbiſhop of Ambrun.*

From that Time, the King had ſeveral Conferences with this Prelate; and one Day as he was expreſſing earneſt Deſire to live in ſtrict Friendſhip with the King of *France*, the Archbiſhop took Occaſion to tell him, that one of the beſt means to that End, was to grant a full *Toleration* to the *Catholicks*. Whereupon the King ſqueezing him by the Hand, ſaid theſe Words to him: *I perceive you are the Man ſent me from God, to whom I may freely open my Mind.* Adding, "He had always a good Opinion of the *Ca-*
"*tholick* Religion, and had often been in Danger of
"being aſſaſſinated for its ſake, during his Minority:
"He intended to grant a full *Toleration* to the *Ca-*
"*tholicks*; and in order to bring it about, was
"willing that an Aſſembly of *Divines*, as well Fo-
"reign as *Engliſh*, ſhould be held, and therein be
"decided, that it was neceſſary to grant to all the
"World *Liberty of Conſcience*: And he had already
"caſt his Eyes on the *Engliſh* Divines he would ſend
"thither: If the Meeting could not be at *Dover*,
"he would agree it ſhould be at *Bologne*, as ſoon as
"his Son's Marriage ſhould make him him ſure of
"the Aſſiſtance of *France*: He thought it proper
"that

1624. "that the Archbishop should now return to *France*, "under colour of waiting on the Princess, and he "would send him two Letters under his own Hand; "one for the Pope, the other for the King of "*France*, wherein he would set forth more fully the "Particulars of his Project: He would also give "him a *Memorial* on the same Subject, that being "provided with these two *Papers*, he might go and "negotiate at *Rome* with the Pope for whom he had "a very great Respect, being obliged to him for a "Copy of Verses he had formerly [when *Cardinal*] "made upon the Queen his Mother and the House "of *Stuart*." At the same time he showed the Verses to the Archbishop; and then said, "If he "returned from *Rome*, with the Pope's approbati-"on, with respect to the Assembly he had mentio-"ned, it should be held out of hand, and he did "not question but it would turn greatly to the Ad-"vantage of the *Catholick* Religion: In the mean "time, he intended to negotiate with the *Protestant* "Princes of *Germany*, and endeavour to prevail "with some of the chief *Puritan* Lords in *England* "and *Scotland*."

*Deageant's Memoirs.*

On supposition of the Truth of what I have been saying, taken from the Archbishop of *Ambrun*'s Narrative, at the end of *Deageant*'s *Memoirs*; all that can be inferred from it, is that *James* had formed a *chimerical* Project of a mutual *Toleration* throughout all *Christendom*, and thought himself qualified to bring it about, with the Assistance of *Franee*. But *Deageant* says something more. He affirms that *James* writ a Letter to the Pope, and sent it by an *English Roman-Catholick* Gentleman. In this Letter, according to that Auther, "He owns the Pope for *Christ's Vi-"car* upon Earth, and *Head* of the *Church Univer-"sal*. He assures him he intends to declare himself "a *Catholick*, as soon as he has provided against "some Inconveniences he foresees his Declaration "may cause. He promises, the *Priests* shall not be "disturbed

*The King's Ingagement according to* Dageant.

" disturbed who are sent into *England* by *his Holi-* 1624.
" *ness* or the King of *France*, unless they are *Jesuits*.
" Moreover, desires the Pope not to think of causing
" to be restored to the *Church*, the *Abbey-Lands*
" granted or sold to the chief Families in the King-
" dom, for fear of ruining the whole Project. He
" says further, nothing hinders him from making
" open Profession of the *Catholick* Religion, but his
" hopes of gaining first his Brother-in-law the King
" of *Denmark*, to whom he had sent to desire him,
" on some other Pretence, to come to *England*. And
" when they two shall be closely joined in the same
" Design, he does not doubt but they shall prevail
" upon most of the other *Protestant* Princes."

*Deageant* assures, that no body knew any thing of this Letter but the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Bearer; but he does not say, how he himself came to know the Contents? To speak the truth, I can hardly believe, first, That *James* really intended to declare himself a *Catholick*: Or secondly, that although he should have had such a Design, he would have been so hasty to write such a Letter to the Pope, as Matters then stood with him. In short, I think it very unlikely that a Letter of this Nature should fall into *Deageant*'s Hands. So, I suspect, this Author has taken what he relates from *Memoirs* only, communicated to him by some *English* Catholick, on whose Credit whether we may rely, cannot be known.

*Remark on this Subject.*

The Archbishop of *Ambrun*'s Narrative is on the contrary, very probable, first, because that Prelate says nothing but what he had himself from the King's own Mouth: In the second Place, because he relates nothing but what is agreeable to that Prince's constant Proceedings through the whole Course of his Life. His Religious Notions were very particular, and such as the rest of the *Protestants* were not agreed in. He believed that difference of Opinion, with respect to the Doctrines of *Transubstantiation*, *Invocation* of *Saints*, and the other Points wherein the two Religions differed, and which he looked upon

1624. as *School-Questions*, was not sufficient to justify a *Schism*. Consequently the *Roman* and *Protestant* Churches were one and the same Church, from whence he inferred that it was incumbent upon all *Christians* to support one another, and live like Brethren. It followed equally from this Principle, that the *Protestants* ought neither to persecute nor molest the *Catholicks*, and that the *Catholicks* should behave in the same Manner to the *Protestants*. He observed this Rule himself very punctually; but without any just Ground that the *Catholick* Princes would do the like. So, the Scheme of an universal *Toleration*, which he meant to set up among all *Christians*, was properly a Chimera only, since he had not Authority sufficient to make all the World come into his Measures. Nevertheless, as his Maxims led him to look upon the *Catholicks* with a different Eye from what the other *Protestants* did, it is no wonder that he passed, with the *Protestants* and the *Papists* themselves, for a Prince well-affected to the *Catholick* Religion. And indeed, so far was he from having any Aversion to that Religion, that he considered the Church of *Rome* as the *Mother-Church*, from whence the *Protestant-Church* was sprung, and doubtless, had it been in his Power to unite them again, he would have given the Preference to the first, leaving to every one the liberty of believing what he pleased concerning the *Doctrines*. There was but one thing perplexed him; the exorbitant Power ascribed to the Pope, and the damnable Maxim of its being lawful to kill Kings on account of Religion. To get rid of this Perplexity, he endeavoured to deceive himself, by imagining, there were but very few *Catholicks*, who were fond of the unlimited Power the Pope assumed to himself, and that the King-killing Doctrine was peculiar to the *Jesuits*. On the other hand *Puritanism* in the *Protestant* Religion was so odious to him, that, in all appearance, he would if he could, have shut out the *Puritans* from the general *Toleration* he was willing to grant to all other *Christians*.

King

King *James* had the Misfortune to govern himself by general Maxims, without considering that such Maxims could not be adapted always to particular Cases. His Notions concerning Religion were of the same Nature with his Opinions about Regal Power, the general Principles whereof he applied to the Government of *England*, contrary to the particular *Constitution* of that Kingdom. 1624.

*The Treaty of the Prince's Marriage is carried on in France.*

Whilst the Archbishop of *Ambrun* was in *England*, the Negotiation of the Marriage was continued in *France* between the *English* Ambassadors and the *French* Commissioners. The *English* moved at first the carrying on of the Treaty formerly begun for Prince *Henry*'s Marriage with the Princess *Christina* who espoused the Duke of *Savoy*. But this Motion was rejected by the *French* Commissioners first, because that Negotiation was properly but just entered upon, without any Progress being made in it: Secondly, because *France* would not be contented with less than was offered by the King of *England*, for the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*. So, the *French* Commissioners demanded in their turn, that the Articles concerning Religion granted to *Spain*, should serve for Foundation to the Treaty in hand. The Ambassadors expected this Demand, and by their private Instructions knew what they had to do; but they made as if they could not grant what was demanded, without fresh Orders. They sent therefore a Courier to *London*; but the Court of *France* knew it was not upon that account, so, they were pressed the more briskly to declare what they would grant with respect to Religion. At last, after being importuned a little, they offered the Articles which were agreed upon with *Spain*, except Four, Liberty of Conscience to the *Catholicks*: A Church in *London*: The Education of the Children by the Queen till ten years old: A Bishop with Ecclesiastical Authority over the Princess's Family. These four Articles were much debated, and at length, the Ambassador yielded the two last. But

Coke. p. 169.

1624. for the two first, they said, they could not, positively, grant them, because of the King's solemn Promise to the Parliament. This Reason appeared so strong to the *French* Commissioners, that they judged it fruitless to insist any longer upon these two Articles. The Portion was settled without much trouble. The King of *France* offered eight-hundred-thousand Crowns, on Condition the Prince assigned a Jointure of sixty-thousand Crowns a Year; which Offer and Condition were accepted. So, in all appearance, this Affair was to be ended in a very short Space; but two Things retarded the Conclusion of it.

In the first Place, the Pope did not approve of the Matter, because, hearing that the *English* Ambassadors had proposed a League to the King of *France*, he was afraid the Design of it might be to dispossess the Duke of *Bavaria* of the *Palatinate* and *Electoral* Dignity. For which Reason he endeavoured at first to dissuade *Lewis* XIII from giving his Sister to an *Heretical* Prince. But finding *Lewis* did not much regard his Arguments, he declared he would not grant a Dispensation, unless the Match were made upon the same Terms as had been granted to *Spain*. Whereupon the King of *France* resolved to send Father *Berulle*, *General* of the *Fathers* of the *Oratory* to sollicit the Dispensation. His Instructions signed the 31st of *July*, imported among other Things, that in the Articles which were already agreed on, the Princess, as well as all her Domesticks were very safe, as to Religion; she had a Bishop with twenty-eight Priests or Monks; and a Chapel in every Place where she shall reside: She was to breed up her Children till the Age of thirteen Years, whereas in the *Spanish* Articles, the time was fixed to ten Years. In fine, she was well-instructed and very firm in the *Faith*; and instead of having any Thing to fear for her, it was to be hoped, *considering how well inclined the King of* England *was to be a* Catholick, she would convert him as well as the Prince her

Coke, *p.* 178.

Spouſe, after the Example of *Bertha of France*, who made a Convert of King *Ethelbert*. 1624.

The Marquiſs *de la Vieuville*'s Diſgrace, which happened at this very time, was the other Cauſe of the delay of this Affair, and ſtopped Father *Berulle* who was juſt going to ſet out. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was commiſſioned to treat with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, in the room of the diſgraced Superintendent, pretended, that this Laſt had acted without Orders, or at leaſt without the Approbation of the King or Council. *James* being informed of this new Difficulty, believed the Court of *France* uſed this Pretence to break off the Treaty, and made great Complaints to the Marquiſs *d'Effiat*, who was lately come to his Court in the Place of *Tillieres*. But Cardinal *Richlieu* was far from breaking off a Negotiation ſo advantageous to *France* upon many accounts. So, contenting himſelf with caſting a Blemiſh upon *la Vieuville* by this Accuſation, he renewed the Treaty. *Life of Cardinal Richlieu, p.* 14.

The late Change in the Miniſtry inſpired the *Nuntio* with freſh Hopes. He repreſented to the Cardinal, that his own and the Pope's Honour were at ſtake, in abating any Thing of the *Spaniſh* Articles, and that aſſuredly the Diſpenſation would not be granted upon any other Terms. The Cardinal told him, the King of *England* and Prince of *Wales* had complied with all that they really intended to grant to the King of *Spain*, though not with what was extorted from them, whilſt the Prince was a ſort of Priſoner at *Madrid*, and what was not in their Power to perform. Moreover he hinted to him, that there was no ſuch abſolute Occaſion for a Diſpenſation, but that the Thing might be done without it, and if one was demanded, it was not ſo much out of Neceſſity as out of Reſpect for the Pope's Perſon. So, Father *Barulle* departed with his Inſtructions, notwithſtanding the *Nuntio*'s oppoſition.

If the Court of *France* had ſhown leſs Reſolution, the Buſineſs would never have been done. The Pope be-

1624. haved on this Occaſion in a Manner which plainly ſhowed he only wanted a Pretence to deny the Diſpenſation, or at leaſt to delay it as long as poſſible. He ſpun out the Affair by laying it before a *Congregation*, where freſh Difficulties were continually ſtarted. They were not ſatisfied that the King of *England* and Prince of *Wales* ſhould ſwear to the Articles; they would have the King of *France* be Guarantee, like the King of *Spain*; and *Lewis* was forced in the end to promiſe it. They inſiſted above all things upon demanding a publick Church in *London* for the *Catholicks*, though they were told, it was not in the King of *England*'s Power to perform ſuch an Article, ſhould he grant it. In a word, there was no Delay, no Trick, no Artifice but what the Pope put in practice to prolong the time, till at laſt the *French* Ambaſſador had Orders to declare, That if the Diſpenſation was deferred much longer, the Buſineſs would be done without it. This Menace making the Pope apprehenſive that he might very unſeaſonably expoſe his Authority, he promiſed the Diſpenſation, after a tedious Sollicitation which would have held a good while longer, had it been the Court of *France*'s Intereſt to ſpin it out. But Cardinal *Richlieu* was afraid a longer Delay would bring with it alterations that might cauſe a breach of the Marriage, as it fell out in *Spain*. So the Treaty was ſigned at *Paris* the 10th of *November*. It contained thirty publick Articles, with three ſecret ones, wherein the ſame Advantages, in ſubſtance, were ſtipulated for the *Catholicks* as in thoſe of *Madrid*. The Articles of the Treaty were,

*Articles of the Marriage*, Du Cheſne, *p.* 1182

I. His *moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty, to diſcharge what his Dignity and Piety bind him to, and that he may treat about the Marriage in hand with a ſafe Conſcience, undertakes to procure the Pope's Diſpenſation, within two Months at fartheſt.

II. The Articles and Conditions of the Marriage being ſigned, the King of *Great-Britain* ſhall appoint ſuch

ſuch Perſons of Quality as he ſhall think proper, to eſpouſe *Madame* in the Prince his Son's Name, according to the uſual Form in the *Roman-Catholick-Apoſtolick*-Church. 1624.

III. The Nuptials ſhall be celebrated in *France*, after the Manner obſerved in the Marriage of the late King with Queen *Margaret*, and in that of the Dutcheſs of *Bar*.

IV. After the Celebration of the Marriage, *Madame* ſhall be conducted at his *moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty's Charges, as far as *Calais*, where ſhe ſhall be delivered to the Perſon commiſſioned by the King of *Great-Britain* to receive her.

V. From *Calais* to *England*, her Expences ſhall be born by the King of *Great-Britain*, and every thing ſhall be done on both ſides, as is ſuitable to a Princeſs of the Royal Family of *France*, joined in Marriage to the Heir of *Great-Britain*.

VI. The Marriage being celebrated in *France*, and *Madame* arrived in *England*, a Day ſhall be fixed, on which the King of *Great-Britain*, the Prince his Son, and *Madame* his Wife being in ſome convenient Room of the Palace, dreſſed in their Royal Robes, the *Contract* and *authentick Inſtrument* of the Celebration of the Marriage, ſhall be publickly read, together with the *Procurations*, by virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated. Which done, the ſaid Contract ſhall be ratified anew by the King and the Prince his Son, in the Preſence of ſuch as the *moſt Chriſtian* King ſhall commiſſion to that End, and of the Lords of *Great-Britain* who ſhall be preſent on this Occaſion, without the intervention of any *Church-Ceremony*.

VII. The free Exerciſe of the *Roman-Catholick-Apoſtolick*-Religion ſhall be granted to *Madame*, as likewiſe to all the Children that ſhall be born of this Marriage.

VIII. To that end, *Madame* ſhall have a Chapel in all the Royal Palaces, and in every Place of the

1624. King of *Great-Britain*'s Dominions where ſhe ſhall be or reſide.

IX. The ſaid Chapel ſhall be beautified with decent Ornaments, and the Care and Cuſtody thereof ſhall be committed to ſuch as *Madame* ſhall appoint. The preaching of God's Word, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments ſhall be entirely free, and the *Maſs*, and other Parts of *Divine Service*, ſhall be celebrated according to the Cuſtom of the Holy *Roman* Church, with all *Jubilees* and *Indulgences* which *Madame* ſhall procure from *Rome*. There ſhall be alſo a Church-yard, allowed in the City of *London*, to bury, according to the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Church, ſuch of *Madame*'s Attendants in, as ſhall happen to die, which ſhall be done in a modeſt Manner. The ſaid Church-yard ſhall be incloſed, that it may not be profaned.

X. *Madame* ſhall have a Biſhop for her *Almoner*, who ſhall have all neceſſary Authority and Juriſdiction in all Things belonging to Religion, and ſhall have Power to proceed according to the *Canons* againſt ſuch as ſhall be under his Charge. And in caſe the Civil-Court ſhall lay hold on any of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, for ſome State-Crime, and Information be made againſt him, he ſhall be ſent to the ſaid Biſhop, with the Informations and Proceedings, and the ſaid Biſhop, after degrading him, ſhall put him again into the Hands of the Secular Court. For any other Crimes, the Civil-Court ſhall ſend back the ſaid *Eccleſiaſtick* to the Biſhop, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the *Canons*. And in caſe of abſence or ſickneſs, the Biſhop's *Vicar* ſhall have the ſame Authority.

XI. *Madame* ſhall have in her Houſe twenty-eight *Prieſts* or *Eccleſiaſticks*, Almoners and Chaplains included, to ſerve in her Chapel, and if there are any *Regulars*, they ſhall wear the Habit of their Order.

XII. The King and Prince ſhall oblige themſelves by Oath not to attempt by any Means whatever, to perſuade

perſuade *Madame* to change her Religion, or to ingage her in any thing repugnant to it. 1624.

XIII. *Madame*'s Houſhold ſhall be ſettled with as much Dignity, and conſiſt of as many Officers as any Princeſs of *Wales* ever had, and in the ſame manner as was agreed upon for the Marriage of the *moſt Serene* Prince with the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

XIV. All the Domeſticks *Madame* ſhall bring into *England* ſhall be *French Catholicks*, choſen by the *moſt Chriſtian* King, and in the room of thoſe that ſhall die, ſhe ſhall take other *French Catholicks*, with the Conſent however of the King of *Great-Britain*.

XV. *Madame*'s Domeſticks ſhall take the following Oath to the King, Prince and *Madame*:

*I promiſe and ſwear to be faithful to the King of* Great-Britain, *to the moſt Serene Prince* Charles, *and to* Madame Henrietta-Maria *Daughter of* France, *and to keep truly and inviolably this my Promiſe. And if I know of any Thing to be attempted againſt the Perſons of the ſaid* King, Prince, *and* Madame, *or againſt the State or publick Good of the ſaid King's Realms,* I *will diſcover the ſame to the ſaid* King, Prince *and* Madame, *or to thoſe who ſhall have charge thereof.*

XVI. *Madame*'s Portion ſhall be eight-hundred thouſand *French* Crowns, one half to be paid in *London* by his *moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty on the Day before the Eſpouſals, and the other half within a Year after the firſt Payment.

XVII. If the Prince die before *Madame*, without Iſſue, the whole Portion ſhall be reſtored to *Madame*, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe pleaſes, whether ſhe ſtays in *England*, or returns to *France*, in which laſt caſe, it ſhall be in her Power to bring the Money with her.

XVIII. But in caſe there are Children, only two Thirds of the Portion ſhall be reſtored, the othee Third remaining for the Children, whether *Madame* goes back to *France*, or ſtays in *England*: But in

1614. this caſe, ſhe ſhall be paid the Intereſt at five *per Cent.*

XIX. The Children which ſhall be born of this Marriage, ſhall be brought up by *Madame* their Mother, till the Age of thirteen Years.

XX. The Children ſhall inherit alſo the two Thirds reſtored to their Mother, unleſs ſhe marries again; and then, the Children of the ſecond Bed, ſhall have an equal ſhare with thoſe of the firſt.

XXI. If *Madame* die firſt without Children, his *moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty grants that in ſuch caſe, only half of the Portion ſhall be paid back to him, but if there are Children, the whole ſhall go to them.

XXII. *Madame*'s Jointure ſhall be ſixty-thouſand *French* Crowns, which ſhall be aſſigned her by the King of *Great-Britain.*

XXIII. The King of *Great-Britain* ſhall preſent *Madame* on account of the Marriage, with fifty-thouſand Crowns worth of Jewels and Diamonds, which ſhall be *Madame*'s own Property, as well as thoſe ſhe has now, or ſhall be given her hereafter.

XXIV. The King of *Great-Britain* ſhall be obliged to maintain *Madame* and her Houſhold; and in caſe ſhe becomes a Widow, ſhe ſhall enjoy her Portion and Jointure with all other Things to her granted.

XXV. In caſe the Prince die firſt without Iſſue, *Madame* ſhall freely enjoy, where-ever ſhe pleaſes to live, her Jointure which ſhall be aſſigned her in Lands, Caſtles or Houſes, whereof one ſhall be fit for her to reſide in, and furniſhed ſuitably to a Princeſs of her Quality.

XXVI. *Madame* ſhall have the free diſpoſal of the *Offices* and *Benefices* of the ſaid *Lands*, part of which ſhall have the Title of Dutchy or Earldom.

XXVII. *Madame* ſhall be at liberty, whether ſhe have Children or not, to return to *France* with her Houſhold-Goods, Jewels, Diamonds, and Portion, as ſpecified in the Articles above. And in this caſe, the King of *England* ſhall be obliged to conduct

her at his Charge to *Calais*, in a manner ſuitable to her Quality. 1624.

XXVIII. *Madame* ſhall renounce all paternal, maternal, and collateral Inheritance, as to the Lands of the Royal Domain ſubject to *Reverſion*, by *Appennage* or otherwiſe.

XXIX. The Contract of Marriage ſhall be enrolled in the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, and ratified by the Parliament of *England*, and regiſtred in the uſual Courts. And the ſaid King and Prince ſhall promiſe not to act contrary to any Clauſe or Condition of the ſame.

XXX. Moreover, it is agreed, that He of the two Kings which ſhall refuſe to accompliſh the preſent Treaty, ſhall be obliged to pay the other the Sum of Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, as a Penalty for the ſaid Refuſal.

## PRIVATE *or* SECRET ARTICLES.

1. That the *Catholicks*, as well *Eccleſiaſticks* as *Temporal*, impriſoned ſince the laſt Proclamation, which followed the Breach with *Spain*, ſhould all be ſet at Liberty. Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 169.

2. That the *Engliſh Catholicks* ſhould be no more ſearched after, nor moleſted for their Religion.

3. That the Goods of the *Catholicks*, as well *Eccleſiaſtical* as *Temporal*, that were ſeized on ſince the forementioned Proclamation, ſhould be reſtored to them.

One ſees in this, as well as in the *Madrid*-Treaty, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Courts great Concern for the Intereſt of the *Catholick* Religion, and the little Zeal of King *James*, the Prince, and the Duke of *Buckingham* for the *Proteſtant*. The XIXth Article relating to the Education of the Children was of very ſad Conſequence to *England*. It had very near been the Ruin of *Church* and *State*.

If

1624. If it is asked what could induce the King to purchaſe this Marriage with ſuch hard Terms to the Religion profeſſed by himſelf and almoſt the whole Kingdom, there can be, in my Opinion, but two Motives aſſigned. The firſt was, the marrying the Prince his Son to a Wife of Royal Extraction, any other Princeſs ſeeming to him to be beneath him. The ſecond was, the Portion of Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, which might excite his Deſire. As to the Prejudice he might bring by this Treaty to the *Proteſtant* Religion, he did not much trouble himſelf about it, for he never had the Intereſt of that Religion greatly at Heart.

*The Recuſants are no longer proſecuted.*

The Treaty being ſigned at *Paris*, Mr. *de Lomenie* Secretary of State was ſent to *London* to ſee the King and Prince ſwear to it. Immediately after, all the Proſecutions againſt the *Papiſts* ceaſed, and the King promiſed that all the Priſoners ſhould be releaſed, as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated.

*Contempt of the King and Council.*

When the Earl of *Carliſle* was ſent to *France* to forward the Treaty of Marriage, he had Orders to propoſe to that Court a League againſt the *Houſe of Auſtria*. This was the Prince's and *Buckingham*'s grand Aim. There was then a Diſpute about the *Valtaline*, between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, which made the Court of *England* imagine *Lewis* would readily liſten to ſuch a Propoſal. And indeed he did ſo: but it was only to frighten the Pope and the King of *Spain*, and not with any Deſign to conclude the League propoſed. The Duke of *Bavaria* had Friends in the *French* Court, who cauſed him to be much more regarded than the Elector *Palatine*, expelled his Dominions, and fled for Shelter to *Holland*. So *Lewis*'s Miniſters told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, that the League and Marriage were two diſtinct Things, which could not be negotiated together: but after the Marriage was concluded, the League ſhould be treated of. By this Anſwer, they kept the *Engliſh* in Hope, and the *Spaniards* in Fear. On the other Hand, the Count of *Mansfeldt* ſtayed at or near *Paris*,

*Paris*, and the *Spaniards* knew very well he had frequent Conferences with the Miniſters. 1624.

Some time after, *Mansfeldt* came to *England*, where he was received with extraordinary Careſſes, and lodged by the Prince in his Palace at St. *James*'s. Here, after ſome Conferences, he agreed with the King, the Prince and the Duke, that he ſhould have a Body of Twelve Thouſand Men, to go and carry War into the *Lower-Palatinate*. This Project being laid, the King preſſed the Court of *France* with reſpect to the League: but his Propoſal was evaded on divers Pretences, though without an abſolute Denial. He was forced therefore to be contented till the League ſhould be concluded, with demanding of the *French* King a Paſſage through his Dominions for *Mansfeldt*'s Army. *Lewis* in general or ambiguous Terms made him hope not only that he would grant a Paſſage, but that he would alſo ſtrengthen this Army with a Body of his own Troops. The Event ſhowed, that he meant after the Concluſion of the League; whereas the *Engliſh* took it for a poſitive Promiſe, whether the League were concluded or not. Purſuant to this Project, the Forces *Mansfeldt* was to command were got ready.

*The King ſends* Mansfeldt *with an Army to the* Palatinate.

Whilſt this Army was preparing to march, *James* cauſed a Memorial to be preſented to the *Infanta Iſabella*, demanding the City of *Frankendal*, which ſhe held in Sequeſtration, and which, by the Treaty of *London*, ſhe was to keep no longer than till the End of the Truce, which was to expire the 26th of *October*. Moreover, he demanded in the ſame Memorial a free Paſſage for the Garriſon he was to ſend to *Frankendal*, not only through the *Infanta*'s and his *Catholick* Majeſty's Dominions, but alſo through the Territories of their Friends and Allies. The *Infanta* anſwered, ſhe would ſend Orders to the Governour of *Frankendal* to give up the Place on the Day appointed, to ſuch as ſhould produce a Power from the King of *England*: That ſhe would grant a Paſſage through her own and the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, to the Fifteen

*He demands* Frankendal *of the* Infanta, Sept. 30. Ruſh. Vol. I. p. 151. *and a Paſſage for a Garriſon through the Empire.*

1624. teen Hundred *Foot*, and Two Hundred *Horse*, which, according to the Treaty of *London*, were to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Frankendal*, and that in general ſhe would punctually execute the Treaty. But as to the King's farther Demand, to procure him a Paſſage for his Troops through the Empire, ſhe declared, it was not in her Power, neither was ſhe obliged to it. Thus the Court of *England* found by Experience their great over-ſight, in not inſerting in the Treaty of *London* what they were afterwards forced to demand, and what the *Infanta* might with reaſon deny. It is very true, in withdrawing the *Engliſh* Garriſon from *Frankendal*, *James* met with no Obſtacle: but he could not expect the ſame thing when he ſhould come to ſend them back. Some ſay, that on the 25th of *October* the Governour of *Frankendal* marched out of the City with his Garriſon, but finding no body appear on the King of *England*'s Behalf, to take Poſſeſſion inſtantly marched in again.

*The Infanta can't grant a Paſſage through the Empire*

Ruſh. V. I. 151.

This was not the only Blunder of the Court of *England*, the moſt Impolitick then in *Europe*. The Twelve Thouſand Men *Mansfeldt* was to lead to the *Palatinate* were embarked in the Month of *December*, in extreme cold Weather, without the leaſt doubt being made of their Paſſage through *France*. Nevertheleſs, when the Army came before *Calais*, the *French* would not ſuffer them to land. A good deal of time was ſpent in going from *Calais* to the Court, and from the Court to *Calais*, even ſeveral times, and all to no purpoſe. The King of *France* conſtantly aſſerted, he had never poſitively promiſed to grant theſe Troops a Paſſage. The *Engliſh* Authors call this a downright Breach of Faith. I do not know whether they are in the Right, and whether the Court of *England* is not rather to be blamed for not having managed better, and made more ſure of a Paſſage through *France*, before the Army was embarked. However this be, the Army ſuffering greatly on board the Ships where the Soldiers were ſtowed one upon another, *Mansfeldt* was forced to ſail into *Zeland*, where he

*Mansfeldt is denied a Paſſage through France.* Wilſon, p. 283. Coke.

he met with the ſame Difficulties. The *Zelanders* ſaid, they had no Proviſions for ſuch a Number of Troops, not having had any notice they were to land there. Much time was employed in negotiating. Meſſengers were ſent to the *Hague*, and afterwards to *London*. In the mean while, the Peſtilence growing among the Soldiers, above Two Thirds periſhed before they were ſuffered to land. Moſt of thoſe that eſcaped, either deſerted or liſted among the Six Thouſand Men which were in the Service of the *States*. Thus, by the Court's wrong Meaſures, this Army became uſeleſs, and the Money ſpent in raiſing it was thrown away *. 1624.

It was the Beginning of *February* 1625 before Pope *Urban*'s Diſpenſation came. When it arrived at *Paris*, they were ſurprized to ſee two new Conditions added, which were not mentioned in the Treaty. 1. That the Domeſticks of the Children which ſhould be born of this Marriage, ſhould be *Catholicks*. 2. That the Princeſs ſhould appoint them. And the Pope abſolutely required, that the King of *England* and the Prince his Son ſhould ſwear to theſe two Articles, otherwiſe the Diſpenſation was invalid. The King of *France* was very angry with Father *Berulle* for accepting ſuch a Diſpenſation. But the *Father* was ſo far from thinking he had done ill, that he himſelf, as it is ſaid, inſinuated to the Pope, that he would do well to add theſe two Articles, as having been omitted in the Treaty. The Court of *France* therefore 1625. *Difficulties about the Diſpenſation.*

* Theſe 12000 Men were divided into ſix Regiments, the Colonels whereof were the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Doncaſter*, Son to the Earl of *Carliſle*, the Lord *Cromwel*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burrows*, and Colonel *Grey* a *Scotchman*, who had been an old *German* Commander, and affected to wear *Buff* in time of Peace, and at Court, with a Brace of Piſtols at his Girdle, which the King never liked to ſee. At their Winter Quarters at *Roſendale*, the Earl of *Southampton* and his Son the Lord *Wriotheſley* were both ſeized with burning Fevers. The Son died, and the Father overcoming the Fever, departed from *Roſendale*, with Intention to bring his Son's Body to *England*, but died of a *Lethargy* at *Bergham op Zome*, ſo were both in one ſmall Park brought to *Southampton*, and buried at *Tichfield*. Wilſon.

1625. therefore was under a freſh Concern, fearing King *James* would reject theſe two Conditions. But he was far from breaking for ſo ſmall a Matter. He accepted them without being much importuned, and only refuſed to ſwear again, ſaying, his Word was ſufficient. But without the Oath, the Diſpenſation was not valid. To ſatisfy the Pope therefore, the King of *France* and the Princeſs were fain to write to him, that they would warrant the Performance of the two laſt Articles. But for all that, they were forced to demand a new Diſpenſation, which was ſome Months in coming, and in the mean Space, King *James* died without having the Pleaſure of ſeeing the Marriage conſummated.

*A new Diſpenſation is demanded.*

*Death of K. James.* Wilſon, p. 285.

About the middle of *March* he was ſeized with a *Tertian* Ague, of which he had ſome Fits. But tho' commonly ſuch ſort of Agues are not dangerous in the Spring, this brought him to his Grave. He died on the 27th of *March*, in the Fifty-ninth Year of his Age, having reigned Two and Twenty Years in *England*.

*Suſpicions againſt* Buckingham.

His Death happening, as I may ſay, thus ſuddenly and unexpectedly, cauſed many Suſpicions which fell upon the Duke of *Buckingham*. When one of the King's Fits was going off, the Duke cauſed certain *Plaiſters* to be laid to his *Side* and *Wriſts*, and gave him twice with his own Hands a *Medicine* to drink in the Abſence of the *Phyſicians*. Nay, he would have given it a Third Time; but could not perſuade him to take it. The King finding himſelf much worſe, ſent for the Phyſicians, who ſaid poſitively they would not meddle nor make, if the Plaiſters were not immediately taken off. However, the King died within a few Days. The Duke was afterwards impeached by the *Commons*, not directly for poiſoning the King, but for daring to apply Remedies without the Advice of his Phyſicians *.

*James*

* *Wilſon* ſays, one of *Buckingham*'s chief Motives was thought to be his Fear the King would ſet up *Briſtol* his deadly Enemy againſt

*James* left only a Son and a Daughter. His Daughter was married to a Prince who had now loſt his Dominions, and was fled for Refuge to *Reenen* in the Province of *Utrecht*, where he kept his little Court in a very poor manner. King *James*, who was ſo liberal, is accuſed of having contributed but very little towards the Maintenance of this diſconſolate Family. I do not know whether there be any juſt Ground for this Accuſation. *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, who came to the Crown after his Father, was ſtill more unfortunate than his Siſter. 1625.

I have obſerved elſewhere, that *James* I. has had for Hiſtorians Men very much prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, or extremely prejudiced againſt him. This naturally followed from the Diviſions to which he himſelf had given Birth. Some repreſent him as the perfect Pattern of a good King: Others blacken his Reputation as much as poſſible, by aggravating his Failings. The Reaſon of this Diverſity proceeds from the Hiſtory of his Reign, being written at a Time when the Animoſity of the two Parties was at the Height, whence it happened that Both have left in their Writings evident Marks of their Paſſion. And therefore the Character of this Prince muſt be formed neither upon the Praiſes of the one, nor the Invectives of the other, but upon his Manner of governing, upon his Speeches and Actions. This might be done by calling to mind the principal Circumſtances of his Reign. But to ſave the Reader the Pains, I ſhall

againſt him, to pull him down. And if what *Burnet* ſays be true, he had reaſon likewiſe to fear the King's old Favourite *Somerſet*. He ſays, the King being reſolved to bring the Earl of *Somerſet* into favour again, met him in the Night in the Gardens at *Theobalds*: Two Bed-chamber Men were only in the Secret: the King embraced him tenderly, and with many Tears: the Earl of *Somerſet* believed the Secret was not well kept, for ſoon after the King was taken ill with an Ague, and died at *Theobalds*. *Burnet* ſays, he had this from ſome who were told it by the Earl himſelf. Dr. *Craig* the King's Phyſician was diſgraced for ſaying, he believed the King was poiſoned. *Burnet*, p. 17.

1625. I shall briefly relate here what is said on both Sides, about which he will be able to give his Verdict.

The principal Thing which is made to serve for Matter to King *James*'s Panegyrick is the constant Peace he caused his Subjects to enjoy. This cannot be said to be the Effect of Chance, since it clearly appears it was his sole or at least his chief Aim in the whole Course of his Administration. Nothing, says his Friends, is more noble or more worthy a great King than such a Design. But this same Design loses all its Merit, if the Prince discovers by his Conduct, that he preserves Peace only out of Fear, Carelessness, excessive Love of Ease and Repose, and King *James*'s whole Behaviour shows he acted from these Motives, though he coloured it with the Pretence of his Affection for the People.

If some take care to cry up his Knowledge in *Philosophy*, *Divinity*, *History*, *polite Learning*; others affirm, it was all downright *Pedantry*, and that he never reaped any Advantage from the Knowledge he had acquired, but to talk fluently, though very impertinently on all sorts of Subjects, instead of drawing from thence solid and sure Rules for the well-governing his Dominions.

His Liberality, which some praise him for, is exclaimed against by others as Prodigality. These last pretend he gave without Measure and Discretion, without any Regard to his own Wants, or the Merits of those whom he heaped his Favours upon.

The same Contrariety occurs between King *James*'s Historians with respect to his Capacity. Some call him for his Wisdom, *the* Solomon *of the Age*. Others make it their Business to display all his Errors, particularly in the only two important Affairs in his Reign, wherein he came off very ill, I mean, the Prince his Son's Marriage, and his Son-in-law's Election for King of *Bohemia*.

Some extol him for having known how to maintain the *Prerogative Royal* in its full Lustre, in spite of the Endeavours of such as laboured continually to strike

at

at it. Others affirm, he had conceived wrong Notions of the *Engliſh Conſtitution*, and by aiming to carry the regal Authority too high, and by inſtilling the ſame Principles into his Succeſſor, he laid the firſt Foundation for the Ruin of his Family. 1625.

As to his *Manners*, Writers are no leſs divided. Some will have him to be looked upon as a very wiſe and virtuous Prince, whilſt others ſpeak of him as a Prince of a diſſolute Life, given to Drinking, and a great Swearer in common Converſation, eſpecially when he was in a Paſſion. He is likewiſe taxed with the diſſolving the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Marriage, the pardoning the Earl and Counteſs of *Somerſet*, the Death of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Confidence wherewith in full Parliament he called God to Witneſs, that he never had any thoughts of granting the *Papiſts* a Toleration, which he could not affirm, but by means of ſome mental Reſervation.

In fine, whilſt ſome praiſe his Moderation and Equity to the *Catholicks*, others pretend to make appear he was a *Papiſt* in his Heart, and only profeſſed the *Proteſtant* Religion out of fear of what might happen, in Caſe he openly declared for the *Catholick*. If ſome ſay, in order to ſhow he was a good *Proteſtant*, that he made conſtant Profeſſion of the eſtabliſhed Religion, perſevered in it to his Death, and when dying, charged the Prince his Son to protect the *Church* and *Clergy*; others anſwer, this is far from a Demonſtration. They pretend, the Point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that all his Actions belied his outward Profeſſion. That juſt the ſame Thing had happened to him in *Scotland*, where till the Age of Thirty-ſix Years, he had profeſſed a Religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards *.



* Of King *James*'s Diſſimulation in Point of Religion, there is a clear Evidence in a Speech of his to the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, which he is ſaid to ſpeak ſtanding. with his *Bonnet* off and his Hands lifted up to Heaven, wherein among other Things, *He bleſſed God that*

1625. That when he came to *England*, he declared himself openly the Protector of the *Papists*; took their part on all Occasions; promoted them to Honours, Dignities, publick Offices: That in his Reign the Laws enacted against them were never duly executed, which he made a boast of to the *Catholick* Princes in his *Apology* about the Oath of *Allegiance*: That in all his Speeches, whether to the Parliament or in the *Star-Chamber*, his constant Aim was to move his Subjects to consent to a full *Toleration* for the *Catholicks*: But not finding the Parliament inclined as he wished, granted by his sole Authority, a *Toleration* in Effect, by hindering the Laws to be put in Execution, and by discharging the condemned *Recusants* from *Fines*, and other Penalties: That lastly, in his Conventions with *Spain* and *France*, he positively promised to cause no more Laws to be made against the *Papists*, and those already enacted not to be executed: That on all Occasions he affected to show he found nothing amiss in the *Roman*-Religion, but the exorbitant Power the Pope assumed over Princes: That by giving the Pope the Titles of *Holy Father*, *His Holiness*, and by consenting that his Son's Children should be brought up in the *Roman*-Religion till the Age of thirteen Years, he plainly discovered he should not be sorry for their continuing in that Religion: Lastly, his Engagements with the Archbishop of *Ambrun* is a fresh and a manifest Proof of his being a true *Papist*. To this the others reply, it is not possible to conceive that if King *James* had been a *Papist* in his Heart, he would have spent a considerable part of his Time in writing Books against the *Popish* Religion, and combating the Arguments of *Bellarmine* and *Du Perron*.

Having

*that had honoured him to be King over* such a Kirk, *the sincerest* Kirk *in the World. The Church of* Geneva, *What are they? They keep* Pasche *and* Sale, What Authority have they in God's Word, and where is their Institution? *As for our Neighbour* Church *in* England, *their* Service *is an* Evil Mass, *said in* English; *they want nothing of the* Mass *but the* Liftings, &c. *Chalderwood*, Hist. of *Ch.* of *Scot.* P. 256.

Having related what is ſaid for and againſt King *James*, with reſpect to his Religion, I ſhall take the Liberty to offer my Opinion or Conjecture, that this Prince was truly neither a ſound *Proteſtant*, nor a good *Catholick*. One can hardly help owning, that he had never the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant* Religion much at Heart, as on the other Hand, it cannot be denied, that he made publick and conſtant Profeſſion of the ſame to his dying Day. This induces me to think he had formed in his Mind a Scheme of Religion different from that of others, according to which he counted as a ſmall Matter, what the *Proteſtants* and *Catholicks* looked upon as Eſſential. The Difference between the two Religions, with reſpect to the *Tenets*, was not what affected him moſt. He believed probably, that all Religion was good, provided it taught Obedience to Sovereigns, and preſerved the *Hierarchy*, which he conſidered as a Fundamental Article. It is no wonder therefore, that agreeably to this Scheme, he refuſed to go into the Meaſures of the *Engliſh Proteſtants*, to hinder the growth of the *Romiſh*-Religion in *England*, or that he ſhould make no ſcruple to continue in the Religion he profeſſed, ſince according to his Notions, the two Religions were equally good, provided the Pope's deſpotick Power were aboliſhed. I ſcarce doubt but in his Conferences with the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, he had in view the chimerical Project of reconciling the two Religions, without concerning himſelf about the Tenets which divided them, and which he called *Scholaſtick Queſtions* (*a*). But it is very probable, that in caſe he could have executed this Project according to his Plan, the Advantage would have been wholly on the ſide of the *Romiſh*-Religion. This, in my Opinion, is the only way to excuſe his Condeſcenſion to the *Catholicks*, and his Zeal to protect them. Otherwiſe I don't ſee how his doubtful Behaviour, with regard to Religion, can well be ac- 1625.

(*a*) In one of his Speeches to the Parliament.

1625. counted for. This may also serve to discover the Reason of his rejecting with so much Animosity, the Religion of the *Puritans*, whose Principles he deemed directly contrary to the Scheme he had formed.

But whatever may be said for or against King *James*'s Person, 'tis certain *England* never flourished less than in his Reign; the *English* saw themselves exposed to the Insults and Jests of other Nations, and all the World in general threw the blame on the King. The following *Epigram* made in *France* in his Time, is a clear Evidence how he stood in the Esteem of his Neighbours:

*Tandis qu'* Elizabeth *fut* Roy.
L' Anglois *fut d'* Espagne *l' effroy.*
*Maintenant, devise et Caquette,*
*Regi par la* Reine Jaquette.

## *The End of the Reign of* JAMES I.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

# THE INDEX.

*N. B.* *K.* ſtands for King, *K^m* for Kingdom, *D.* for Duke, *E.* for Earl, the Letter (*n*) before the Number of the Page means the Note at the Bottom of the Page.


A.

*Abington* enters into a Plot to aſſaſſinate Q. *Elizabeth*, 67 executed, 71

*Abbot* (*George*) made Abp. of *Canterbury*, 326 accuſed of being a *Puritan*. *ibid.* 505, *&c.* writes againſt the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Divorce, 350 deſires the Queen to recommend *Villiers* to the King, 368 inſtructs him how to behave, 369 forbids the Book of Sports to be read at *Croyden*, 404, *n.* kills a Man accidentally, and retires from Court, 505 his Letter to the King againſt tolerating of *Popery*, 541

*Abby*-Lands confirmed to the Crown, 147, *n.*

*Act* againſt the Q. of *Scots*, 46. againſt the *Papiſts*, 47 againſt *Nonconformiſts*, 147 to confirm K. *James*'s Title, 273

*Albert* (Archduke) married to *Iſabella*, 185 makes Q. *Elizabeth* Propoſals of Peace, 194 ſends to treat with the *States* about a Peace, 309 levies an Army againſt the K. of *Bohemia*, 426 amuſes K. *James* leſt he ſhould ſend Aſſiſtance to the *Hollanders*, or Elector *Palatine*, 458 dies, 460

*Albret* (Cardinal) Governour of the *Low-Countries*, makes a great Progreſs againſt *France*, 167

*Ale-Houſes* monopolized, 448

*Allen* (Cardinal) ſets up a College at *Doway*, 5

*Allum*, the making of it brought to Perfection in *England*, 311 the K. ingroſſes the ſelling of it. *ib.*

*Ambrun* (Abp. of) ſent Ambaſſador to *England* by *Lewis* XIII, 589 hath a Conference with K. *James* about tolerating the *Catholicks*, 590 his Account of it, *ibid.*

*America*, Q. *Elizabeth* ſends a Fleet thither againſt the *Spaniards*, 56, 146, 167

*Amiens* taken by the *Spaniards*, 174 retaken by the *French*, 177

*Andrew* (Archduke) propoſes a Peace to Q *Elizabeth*, 193

*Angus* (E. of) countenances the *Spaniſh* Plots in *Scotland*, 145

*Anhalt* (Prince of) goes to the Emperour, 431
*Anſon* (D. of) treats about a Marriage with Q. *Elizabeth*, 2 comes to *England*, 3 returns to *France*, *ib.* the Articles of his Marriage with Q. *Elizabeth*, 12, *&c.* is made Sovereign of the Confederate Provinces, 13 comes to *England*, 17 Q. *Elizabeth* puts a Ring on his Finger, *ib.* his Anger at her retracting, 18 goes from *England*, 21 is crowned D. of *Brabant*, *ib.* attempts to ſeize ſeveral Towns in the *Low-Countries*, 31 forced to retire into *France*, *ib.* dies, 44
*Anſpach* (Prince of) commands the Elector *Palatine*'s Army, 425, 428
*Ann* of *Denmark*, K. *James* demands her in Marriage, 136 is driven by a Storm upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, 137 comes to *England*, 239 crowned, 243 ſuſpected the E. of *Somerſet* of being the Cauſe of the Death of Prince *Henry*, 363 endeavours to ruin him, 364, 367 recommends *Villers* to the King, 369 dies, 419
*Antenati*, 307
*Antonio* (*Don*) diſputes the Crown of *Portugal* with K. *Philip*, 9 flies to *France*, and from thence to *England*, 20 *Drake* and *Norris* take him along with them in their Expedition againſt *Spain*, 132 they reſtore to him *Penicha*, &c. 133
*Aremberg* ſent Ambaſſador by the Archduke to K. *James*, 241 thought to be the occaſion of *Raleigh*'s Plot on purpoſe to ruin him, 242
*Armada* (the *Spaniſh*,) 120. *&c.* Account of it, *ib. n.* defeated, 125, *&c.* 127, *n.*
*Arran* (E. of.) See *James Stuart*.
*Arminians*, K. *James* declares againſt them, 330 had *Barnevelt* at their Head, 333 thoſe in *England* join with the Prerogative-Party. 503 favoured by the Court, *ib.*
*Articles* of Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* 519, 543, *&c.* between him and *Henriette*, 597, *&c.*
*Articuli Cleri*, 279, 412
*Arundel* (E. of.) See *Fitz-Allen* and *Howard*. How that Title came into the *Howard*'s Family, 9
*Arundel* (*Charles*) flies into *France*, 9
*Aſhton* contributes to render the E. of *Eſſex* very Penitent, *&c.* 207
*Aſhton* diſpatched by K. *James* to the Privy-Counſellors in *England*, 230
*Aſhton* (Sir *Walter*) ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, 425, 507
*Aſſociation* for the Defence of Q. *Elizabeth*, 40 confirmed by the Parliament, 46
*Aubeſpine* (L') the *French* Ambaſſador ſollicites in Favour of the Q. of *Scots*, 102 bribes two Aſſaſſins to Murder Q. *Elizabeth*, 103
*Aubigny* (Baron of.) See *Eſme Stuart*.
*Aumont* (*d'*D.) perſwades Q. *Elizabeth* not to recall her Troops out of *Bretagne*, 151 ſent Ambaſſador to her, 214
*Auſtria* (Houſe of) ſeizes *Cleves*, 326 411 *Henry* IV makes Preparations againſt it, 326. See *Matthias*, *Ferdinand*, &c.

B.

*Babington* (*Anthony*) enters into a Conſpiracy againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 66, 67 apprehended, 69 and executed, 71
*Bacon* (Sir *Francis*) the King's Sollicitor, ſpeaks earneſtly in favour of the Union of *Scotland* with *England*, 305, *&c.* made Lord-Chancellor, 383 his Character, *ib.* 388, 452 *Villers*'s rough Meſſage to him, *ib. n.* is accuſed by the Commons, 451 ſent to the Tower, *ib.* turned out of his Office, *ib.* and of the Houſe of Lords, 452 Remarks on his Hiſtory of *Henry* VII. *ib.*
*Baden* (Prince of) comes to aſſiſt the Elector *Palatine*, 510 defeated, 511
*Ballard* enters into a Conſpiracy againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 65. is apprehended, 69 and executed, 71
*Bancroft* made Abp. of *Canterbury*, 248 perſecutes the *Puritans*, *ibid.*

inſtils into the King Maxims of Arbitrary Power, 249 preſents to him the *Articuli Cleri*, 279, 312 perſecutes the *Puritans*, 312 dies 326
*Barnevelt* is the Head of the *Arminians*, 333 comes to *England* to treat about the Redemption of the Cautionary Towns, 390
*Barnwell* enters into a Plot to aſſaſſinate Q. *Elizabeth*, 67 executed, 71
*Barricadoes* of *Paris*, 129
*Baronets* when firſt inſtituted, 356 and upon what Terms, *ib.*
*Bartas* (*du*) goes to *Scotland*, 130 and propoſes the K. of *France*'s Siſter to him for a Wife, *ib.*
*Bavaria* (D. of) ſubdues *Upper-Auſtria*, 431 retires to *Munich*, 456 inveſted with the Electoral Dignity, 529
*Beal* (*Robert*) ſent to the Q. of *Scots* with ſome Articles, 26 ſent to her another time, 39 ſent to acquaint her with the Sentence paſſed upon her, 101 carries the Warrant for her Execution, 106, 107
*Beaumont* (*Mary*) a Servant in Sir *George Villier*'s Family, 365, *n.* married to Sir *George*. *ib.* and afterwards to Sir *Thomas Rayner*, and Sir *Thomas Compton*, *ib.* created Counteſs of *Buckingham*, 405 ruled her Son, *ib.* diſpoſes of all Offices, 437 zealous for the *Romiſh*-Religion, *ib.*
*Bellamine* writes againſt the Oath of Allegiance, 302
*Benevolence*; K. *James* raiſes, or tries to raiſe Money that way, 362, 437, 505, 565
*Bennet* (Sir *John*) Judge of the Prerogative Court turned out, 392
*Berkley* (Sir *Richard*) the Earl of *Eſſex* is committed to his Cuſtody, 195
*Bertie* (*Peregrine*) ſent Ambaſſador to the K. of *Denmark*, 23 commands the *Engliſh* Troops in *France*, 135
*Berulle* (Father) ſent to *Rome* about the Marriage of *Henrietta* with Prince *Charles*, 595
*Biron* (Marſhal de) perſwades *Henry* IV, not to fly into *England*, 135. inveſts *Roan*, 142, ſent to *England*, 214 beheaded, 217
*Blackwell* the Arch-Prieſt, takes the Oath of Allegiance, 301 reproved by *Bellarmine* for it, 302
*Blackwood* (Dr.) advances in a Sermon, that all the *Engliſh* were Slaves by the *Norman*-Conqueſt, 316
*Blunt* ordered by the E. of *Eſſex* to fall upon the Troops that ſtopt him at *Ludgate*, 205 tried and executed, 211
*Bodley* (Sir *Thomas*) ſent Ambaſſador into *Germany* and *Denmark*, 51 recommended by the E. of *Eſſex* to be Secretary of State, 171
*Bohemia* (Affairs of) 414, *&c.* *Proteſtants* there oppreſſed, *ib.* *&c.*
—(K. of) See *Ferdinand*, *Frederick*. States of that Km. preſent a Petition to the Emperour, 416 throw three of his Officers out of the Caſtle-Window, *ib.* ſign a Confedracy, and reſolve to take Arms, *ib.* proteſt againſt the ſummoning of *Ferdinand* as K. of *Bohemia*, 420 chuſe the Elector *Palatine* King, 421. ſeveral Town, *&c.* of that Km. taken by the Imperialiſts, 456, *&c.*
*Bothwell* (E. of) conſpires againſt K. *James*, 131, 146 flies into *Engl.* *ibid.* baniſhed thence, 150 withdraws to his own Houſe, *ib.* conceals himſelf on the Borders of *England*, *ib.* enters *Scotland*, and ſurpriſes *Leith*, 158 publiſhes a *Manifeſto*, *ib.* writes to the Synod of the *Kirk*, *ib.* retires to the Frontiers of *England*, *ib.* forbid by Q. *Elizabeth* to enter *England*, *ib.*
*Bouillon* (Marſhall de) ſent Ambaſſador to *England*, 168 propoſes a cloſer Union between *France* and *England*, 172 conſpires againſt *Henry* IV, 218 withdraws into *Germany*, *ib.* deſires Q. *Elizabeth* to interceed for him, *ib.*
*Bourbon*. See *Henry* IV.
—(Cardinal of) proclaimed K. of *France*, 136

*Bowes* (Sir *Robert*) ſent to *Scotland* to accuſe the E. of *Lenox*, 10
*Bretagne* taken by the *Spaniards*, 139 K. *Henry* endeavours to drive them thence, 156
*Brill* delivered by the *States* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 55 redeemed by them, 388
*Briſſac* (Count) ſurrenders *Paris* to the K. of *France* 156
*Briſtol*, (E. of) See *Digby*,
*Brook* (*Henry*) Lord *Cobham*, coldly received by K. *James*, 235 enters into a Conſpiracy againſt him, 242 tried and condemned, *ib.* obtains his Liberty, but is deprived of his Eſtate, 243, and *n.*
*Brook* (*George*) enters into a Conſpiracy againſt K. *James*, 242 executed, 243
*Brunſwick* (Prince of) See *Chriſtian*.
*Buckhurſt* (L.) *Sackville*, ſent to inform Q. *Mary* of the Sentence paſſed upon her, 101 made Lord-Treaſurer, 186 created E. of *Dorſet*, 234, dies, 310.
*Buckingham* (Counteſs of) See *Beaumont*,
——— (D. of) See *Villiers*,
*Buequoy* (*Charles de*) made the Empeperour's General againſt *Bohemia*, 417 conquers *Moravia*, 456 goes and commands the Imperial Army in *Hungary*, *ib.* ſlain there, 456
*Bull* of *Sixtus* V. againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 119
*Burleigh* (Lord) dies, 186

C.

*Cadiz* taken and burnt by the *Engliſh*, 169, 170 the Ships there burnt and plundered, *ibid.*
*Calais* taken by the *Spaniards*, 168
*Calendar* reform'd by Pope *Gregory* XIII. 25
*Calvert* (Sir *George*) made Secretary of State, 392
*Cambridge* viſited by K. *James*, 364
*Camden* animadverted upon, 41, *&c.* 64, 85, 104, 105
*Campian* (*Edmund*) Jeſuit comes to *England*, 6. publiſhes a Book in Defence of the Romiſh Communion, 7 *n.* executed, 19
*Carr* (Sir *Robert*) introduced at Court by the Lord *Hayes*, 329 carries that Lord's Shield to the King, *ib.* his Horſe throws him down, by which his Leg is broke, *ib.* the King orders him to be lodged in the Palace, 329 and viſits him often, *ib.* makes him a Knight, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, 330 makes him his Favourite, *ib.* is made Treaſurer of *Scotland*, *ib.* Baron of *Branſpeth*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 333 Privy-Counſellor, and Knight of the Garter, *ib.* every thing paſſes through his Hands, *ib.* the K. gives him 5000 *l.* 334 behaves prudently and modeſtly, *ib.* in Love with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, 335 guided by Sir *Thomas Overbury*, ib. acquaints *Overbury* with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s deſire to be divorced from her Husband, 346 deſires the K. to ſend him Ambaſſador to *Muſcovy*, 347 gets him poiſoned, 348 promotes the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Divorce, 349 is married to her, 351 applies to the E. of *Northampton* for his aſſiſtance, *ib.* created E. of *Somerſet*, 351 perſuades K. *James* to call a Parliament, 359 *Villiers* is ſet in in oppoſition to him, 366 the K. grows weary of him, 367 the Q. tries to ruin him, 363, 367. deſires the K. to make *Villiers* only *Groom* of the Bed-Chamber, 369 procures a Pardon from the K. 370 but the Chancellor refuſes to put the Seal to it, *ib.* his threatning Anſwer to *Villiers*, when he deſired his Friendſhip, 372 orders him to be apprehended, 373 ſent to the Tower, 374 brought to his Tryal, 375 condemned to die, 376 pardoned, *ib.* the K. allows him 4000 *l.* a Year, *ib.* dies, 377 his Daughter married to the D. of *Bedford*, *ib.* what vaſt Eſtate he amaſſed in five Years, 386
*Carew* (Sir *George*) coldly received by K. *James*, 235
*Carey* (*Henry*) ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 24
——— (*Robert*)

——(*Robert*) ſent with a Letter to K. *James*, 109 carries him the News of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 227
*Carthagena* taken by the *Engliſh*, 56
*Caſcais* taken by the *Engliſh*, 133 the Caſtle blown up, *ibid.*
*Caſimir* (Prince) extremely careſſed by Q. *Elizabeth*, and why, 1 made Knight of the Garter, *ibid.*
*Caſtile* (Conſtable of) negotiates a Peace between *Spain* and *England*, 280 his ſaying about tolerating the Catholicks in *England*, 297
*Catholicks*, See *Papiſts*.
*Catesby* (*Robert*) one of the chief Authors of the Gun-Powder-Treaſon, 286 flies into *Warwickſhire*. 292 ſlain, 293
*Cavendiſh* goes into the *South-Sea* by the Streights of *Magellan*, 116 plunders the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, *ib.*
*Cautionary*-Towns, See *Brill*, &c.
*Cecil* (*William*) Lord *Burleigh*, dies, 186
——(*Thomas*) made Privy-Counſellor to K. *James*, 232
—(Sir *Robert*) made Secretary of State, 171 ſent to the K. of *France* to concert Meaſures with him about a Peace, 178 held a private Correſpondence with K. *James* while Q. *Elizabeth* was alive, 229 K. *James* receives him with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem, 231 is accuſed of adviſing him to ſet himſelf above the Laws, 232 created Baron of *Ellingdon*, Viſcount *Cranburne*, and E. of *Salisbury*, 234 exchanges *Theobald*'s for *Hatfield*-Houſe, 232 *n.* his Character, 239, 310, 336. made Lord-Treaſurer, 310 his Speech to the Parliament from K. *James*, 317 his Artifice to limit K. *James*'s Bounty to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 334 dies, 335 ſold the Crown-Timber, 336 *n.* unites his Family with that of the E. of *Suffolk*, 342
——(*William*) married to one of the E. of *Suffolk*'s Daughters, 342
——*Chancellor* (Lord) See *Egerton*, *Bacon*, *Williams*,
*Charles* (Prince) left in *Scotland* upon account of his Indiſpoſition, 239, 240 created Prince of *Wales*, 384 the K. thinks of marrying him with a *French* or *Spaniſh* Princeſs, *ib.* pitches upon the *Infanta* of *Spain*, 385 Negotiations about it, *ib.* 411—414 the Proteſtants in *England* murmur at it, 418 the Articles of the Marriage, 519, *&c.* 543, *&c.* goes to *Spain* to fetch the *Infanta*, 531, *&c.* is very well received there, 534 but not ſuffered to ſee the *Infanta* in private, *ib.* his Anſwer to Pope *Gregory*'s Letter, 535, *&c.* ſwears to ſome private Articles, 550 many of the *Engliſh* Nobility come to ſee him at *Madrid*, 551, *n.* forced to ſtay in *Spain* till the Election of a new Pope, 555 cauſes of the Breach of his Marriage with the *Infanta*, 556 reſolves to depart from *Spain*, 557 gets the King's Conſent, *ib.* the Means he uſed to leave *Madrid*, without creating any Suſpicion in the Court, 558 he leaves a Proxy to celebrate the Marriage, 559 the Cauſe of the K. of *Spain*'s letting him go, 558 *n.* *Archy*'s Saying about it, 559 *n.* ſwears to the Articles again, 560 departs from *Spain*, *ib.* ſends an Order to the E. of *Briſtol* not to deliver up the Proxy, *ib.* arrives in *England*, ib. defers acquainting the K. with his Deſigns, *ib.* rules the Kingdom, 565 had reſolved to enter into a War with *Spain*, *ib.* forms a Project of marrying *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, 566 cauſes the Lord-Treaſurer to be impeach'd, 585. A Marriage negotiated between him and *Henrietta* of *France*, 588, 594 the Pope endeavours to put off or delay the Diſpenſation, 597 Articles of his Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta*, 597, *&c.* endeavours to obtain a League from *France* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, 603
*Charnock* enters into a Plot to aſſaſſinate Q. *Elizabeth*, 67
*Chriſtian* Prince of *Brunſwick*, raiſes an Army for the Elector Palatine, 510 takes ſome places in *Weſtphalia*, *ib.* attack'd

attack'd by *Tilly*, 511 gets into *Manheim*, *ib.* hath one of his Arms ſhot off, *ib.*
*Chriſtiern* K. of *Denmark* comes to *England*, 305, 363
*Clark* enters into a Conſpiracy againſt K. *James*, 242 executed 243
*Clement* VIII. Pope, ſends *Tyrone* a Bull, 194 and Briefs to the *Romiſh* Clergy and People in *England*, 195
*Clergy* countenance K. *James*'s Principles touching arbitrary Power, 279 have carried paſſive Obedience very high, *ib.* ſide with K. *James* againſt the People, 503
*Cleves*, War about the Succeſſion to that Dutchy, 324
*Clifford*, E. of *Cumberland*, made Privy Counſellor to K. *James*, 233
*Cobham* (Lord) See Brook.
*Cockaine* (Alderman) gets a Monopoly for the dreſſing of Cloth, 311
*Coke* (Sir *Edward*) K. *James*'s charge to him, 374 his ſaying of Prince *Henry*'s Death *ib.* decides againſt the K. about Commendams, 379 is turn'd out of his Office, 382 brings a Complaint againſt the Lord Chancellor, *ib.* made one of the Privy-Council, 391 impeaches the Lord Treaſurer *Suffolk*, *ib.* impriſoned, 493
*Commendams*, Diſpute between the K. and the Judges about them, 379
*Common-Law* deſpiſed by K. *James* 364
*Commons* (Houſe of) a Difference between them and K. *James* about a Knight of the ſhire for *Bucks*, 277, 278 preſent an Addreſs to K. *James* about Grievances, and repreſent their Privileges, *&c.* 278 complain of the King's Prodigality, 319 and the High Commiſſion, *ib.* reſolve to oppoſe K. *James*'s arbitrary Deſigns, 321 examine Grievances, 359, 360 ſome of them impriſon'd, 360, 493 delay the giving him Money, 454 he orders them to be adjourn'd, *ib.* which they think to be a breach of Privilege, and deſire a Conference with the Lords about it, *ib.* the K. gives them leave to ſit a Fortnight longer, 455 their Declaration for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, *ib.* ſparing of their Money to K. *James*, 464 their Remonſtrance to him, 465 and Petition, 473 and Proteſtation, 489 Cauſe of the Differences between the King and them, 494 their Privileges examined into, *ib. &c.* offer K. *James* Money, 577
*Condé* (Prince of) the D. of *Guiſe* ſtirs up the Catholicks againſt him, 57 tries to relieve *Angers*, 58 forced to fly into *England*, *ib.* ſupplied by Q. *Elizabeth* with 50,000 Crowns and Ten Ships, 59
*Conſpiracies* againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 35, 39, 45, 65, 155, 185
——— againſt K. *James*, 24, 33, 131, 146, 195
*Contra-Remonſtrants*, Origin of that Name, 331
*Conway* (Sir *Edward*) ſent Ambaſſador to *Prague*, 423 made Secretary of State, *ib.* and 437 could neither read nor write, *ib.*
*Cornwallis* (Sir *Charles*) negotiates a Marriage between Prince *Henry*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, 326
*Cottington*, Ambaſſador to *Spain*, brings the Articles of Marriage to *England*, 540
*Council* open Q. *Elizabeth*'s Will, 227 ſend K. *James* word of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 228 wait on him at *Theobalds*, 232 decide in favour of him about Commendams, 381
*Cowel* (Dr) advances ſome things in his *Interpreter* in favour of the Prerogative, 315 proſecuted for it by the Parliament, 316
*Cranfield* (Sir *Lionel*) made Lord Treaſurer, 437 and E. of *Middleſex*, *ib.* an Account of him, 438 his Speech to the Parliament, 463 impeached and fined, 586
*Crew* (Sir *Thomas*) ſent to *Ireland*, 493
*Crichton*, a *Scotch* Jeſuit, being attack'd by Pirates, tears ſome Papers he had about him, 39, 40 which being put together are found to contain

tain a Conſpiracy, *ib.*
De Santa *Cruce* (Marquiſs of) appointed to command the *Spaniſh* Armada, 120 dies, *ib.*
*Cuff*, Secretary to the E. of *Eſſex*, puts him upon violent Courſes, 199 the Earl exhorts him to ask God forgiveneſs and the Queen, 208 condemned, 211
*Cullen* (Patrick) ſent to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 155 hanged, *ib.*
*Cumberland* (E. of) See *Clifford*.
*Curle*, one of the Q. of *Scots* Secretaries apprehended and examined, 70, 71 confirms upon Oath his Evidence, 89
*Czar* of *Muſcovy* ſends an Ambaſſador to K. *James*, 363

D.

*Davers* (Sir *Henry*) created Baron of *Dantſey*, 235 *n.*
*Davis* (John) diſcovers a Streight in the *North-Seas*, 57
*Daviſon* ſent into *Scotland* to win the Earl of *Arran*, 33 made Secretary of State, 105 employed to draw the Warrant for the Q. of *Scots* Execution, *ib.* called to an Account for it, 109 his Accuſation and Anſwer, 111, 112 his Apology, 112
*Dageant*, his Memoirs quoted, 591
*Denmark* (K. of) See *Frederick*, *Chriſtiern*.
——— (Houſe) 324
*Derby* (E. of) See *Stanley*.
*Deſneval*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Scotland* diſſwades the King from making a League with *England*, 62
*Devereux* (Robert) E. of *Eſſex* fits out ſome Ships againſt *Spain*, at his own charge, 133 appointed to command *Engliſh* Troops ſent into *France*, 142 in great Favour with Q. *Elizabeth*, *ib.* returns to *England*, *ib.* goes to *France* againſt the Q's. expreſs Order, *ib.* the Q. orders him to return forthwith, 143 he comes back, and appeaſes her, 144 the *Engliſh* Catholicks form a Project of placing the Crown of *England* upon his head, 159 commands the *Engliſh* Forces againſt *Spain*, 169 takes *Cadiz*, 169. commands a Fleet againſt *Spain*, 174 quarrels with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *ib.* angry at *Thomas Howard*'s being created E. of *Nottingham*, 175 created *Earl-Marſhal* of *England*, *ib.* oppoſes the ſending Sir *William Knolles* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 186 the Q. gives him a Box on the Ear, *ib.* is againſt the Lord *Montjoy*'s being made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 187 is himſelf choſen to that Employment, *ib.* made himſelf ſo popular, that he was almoſt adored, 187 Friends and Enemies do him ill Offices, 188 his Character, *ib.* and 198 acts contrary to his Inſtructions, 189 gives the command of the Horſe to the E. of *Southampton*, *ib.* does not march againſt *Tyrone*, *ib.* ſends for a Reinforcement, 189 his vanguard defeated, *ib.* treats with *Tyrone*, and grants him a Truce, 190 the Q. ſuſpects him of ill Deſigns, *ib.* writes to him in a Paſſion, *ib.* he forms a Reſolution of returning to *England*, and revenging himſelf on his Enemies, *ib.* comes to *England* without leave, 191 is commanded by the Q. to keep his Chamber, *ib.* defends himſelf very ill, *ib.* is confined, 192 writes an Apology, 192 his Friends cabal in his Favour, 193 is examined before the Council, *ib.* writes ſubmiſſive Letters to the Q. 195 is permitted to retire to his own Houſe under the Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Berkely*, *ib.* his Friends ruin him, 196 Articles of his Accuſation, *ib.* he acknowledges his Guilt, 197 and is condemned to certain Penalties, *ib.* the Q. gives him full Liberty, but forbids him the Court, 198 makes his Submiſſion, 198 returns to bad Counſels, 199 is ſet on by ſome Incendiaries to deſtroy all his Enemies about the Q's. Perſon, 199 keeps an open Houſe for all Malecontents, *ib.* his Enemies inſpire the

the Queen with Jealouſy of his Deſigns, *ibid.* Spies are placed upon him, *ibid.* forms a Project of making himſelf Maſter of the Queen's Perſon, 200 and 202 writes to K. *James* that a Plot was laid to deprive him of the Succeſſion, 201 draws into his Party ſuſpected Perſons, *ibid.* and the Swords-men in *London*, 202 eſtabliſhes a Council, *ib.* is ſent for by the Privy-Council, *ibid.* excuſes himſelf from going, *ibid.* reſolves to raiſe the City of *London*, 203 but no body joins him, 204 detains the Lord-Keeper, *&c.* who were ſent to him, *ibid.* goes to the Sheriff's Houſe, 205 is oppoſed in his Return to his Houſe, *ibid.* tries to force his Paſſage, *ibid.* gets to his Houſe by Boat, 206 burns ſome Papers, *ibid.* he ſurrenders, and is conducted to the Tower, *ibid.* brought to his Tryal and condemned, 207 is very penitent, *ibid.* diſcovers his Accomplices, *ibid.* is beheaded, 209 the *Marſhal de Biron* paſſes a Jeſt upon the Manner of his Death, *ibid.* K. *James* uſed to call him his Martyr, 235

*Devereux* (*Robert*) reſtored to his Father's Eſtate and Honours, 235 married with *Frances Howard*, 342 his Counteſs refuſes to conſummates her Marriage with him, 342, &c. her Behaviour to him, 344 he ſlights her, 345 ſhe is divorced from him, 346, 349 commands a Company of *Engliſh* Volunteers in *Bohemia*, 427 comes to *England* to obtain a ſpeedy Aid from K. *James*, 432

*D. Diego d'Ibarra* deſigns to ſend a *Spaniſh* Army into *England*, 155 to make away with Q. *Elizabeth*, and invade *England*, *ibid* bribes ſome to poiſon her, *ibid.*

*Diggs* (Sir *Dudley*) ſent to *Ireland*, 493

*Digby* (Sir *Everard*) concerned in the Gun-powder Treaſon, 286 contributes 1500 *l.* towards carrying it on, 288 taken, 293

*Digby* (Sir *John*) K. *James*'s Ambaſſador to *Spain*, ſends K. *James* Notice of an Overture of a Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, 385 ordered to begin the Negotiations about it, *ibid.* called home, 425 ſent to *Vienna* about the *Palatinate*, 448 returns from *Vienna*, 457 ſent thither again, 459 preſents a freſh Memorial to the Emperour, 460 comes into the *Upper-Palatinate* to confer with the D. of *Bavaria*, 461 borrows 10,000 *l.* to pay the *Engliſh* Troops, *ibid.* ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to *Spain*, 507 made E. of *Briſtol*, 508 ordered by Prince *Charles* not to deliver up the Proxy, 560 the Prince's Letter to him, 561 and the King's, about the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, *ibid.* ordered by K. *James* not to deliver the Proxy till after *Chriſtmaſs*, 562 recalled, 564 hated by the D. of *Buckingham*, *ibid.* Prince *Charles* endeavours to ruin him, *ibid.* K. *James* depended on his Advice, 586 is forced to diſgrace him, *ibid.*

*Dominis* (*Antonio de*) Abp. of *Spalato* comes to *England*, and turns Proteſtant, 396 writes againſt the *Romaniſts*, *ibid.* made Maſter of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Windſor*, *ibid.* prevailed by *Gondemar* to return to *Rome*, and turn *Catholick* again, *ibid.* thrown in the Inquiſition, *ibid.* his Body burnt after his Death, 397

*Doncaſter*

*Doncaſter* (Viſcount of) See *Hayes*.
*Dorſet* (E. of) See *Sackville* and *Buckhurſt*.
*Doway*; an *Engliſh* College ſet up there, 5 ſends Emiſſaries into *England*, 6
*Dowglaſs* (*Thomas*) counterfeits K. *James*'s Privy-Seal to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, 284 hanged, *ib.*
*Drake* (*Francis*) returns to *England* from his Voyage round the World, 8 knighted, *ibid.* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complains of him, *ibid.* Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſent into the *Weſt-Indies*, 56, *n.* ſent with a Fleet againſt *Spain*, 115 burns ſeveral Ships at *Cadiz*, *ibid.* ravages the Coaſt of *Spain*, 116 plunders and burns Ships in the *Tagus*, *ibid.* takes a *Carack* near the *Azores*, *ibid.* one of the Vice-Admirals againſt the *Spaniſh* Armada, 121 fits out a Fleet againſt *Spain*, 132 takes the *Groyne*, 133 and *Penicha*, *ib.* proceeds towards the *Tagus*, *ibid.* takes *Caſcais*, *ibid.* ſeizes in the *Tagus* ſixty Ships belonging to the *Hans-Towns*, *ibid.* dies, 167
*Dudley* (*Robert*) E. of *Leiceſter*, *Simier* tries to ruin him, 2 bribes one of the Guards to kill *Simier*, 3 gets an Aſſociation for the Defence of Q. *Elizabeth*, 40 made General of the *Engliſh* Troops in the *Netherlands*, 56 goes to *Holland*, 59 is declared Governour and Captain General of *Holland*, &c. *ibid.* reprimanded by Q. *Elizabeth* for accepting of it, *ibid.* he appeaſes the Queen, 60 forms Projects deſtructive of the Liberties of the *States*, *ibid.* returns to *England*, *ibid.* the *States* ſend Ambaſſadors to complain of him, 116 comes back from *England* to make the D. of *Parma* raiſe the Siege of *Sluiſs*, 117, endeavours to ſurprize *Leyden*, *ibid.* all Correſpondence between him and the *States* is broken off, *ibid.* recalled home, *ibid.* dies, 128 the Queen Orders his Goods to be ſold, 129
*Dutch*-Man of War refuſes to ſtrike to the *Engliſh*, 283

E.

*East-India* Company, the Occaſion of their Inſtitution, 117
*Egerton* (Sir *Thomas*) created Baron of *Elleſmere*, 235, *n.* his flattering Speech to K. *James* at the *Hampton*-Court Conference, 246 refuſes to put the Seal to the E. of *Somerſet*'s Pardon, 370 Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* brings a Complaint againſt him in the *Star*-Chamber, 382 delivers up the Great-Seal, 383 dies, *ibid.*
*Elector Palatine*. See *Frederick* V.
*Elleſmere* (Lord) See *Egerton*.
*ELIZABETH*, Queen, careſſes Prince *Caſimire*, and why, 1 confers on him the Order of the Garter, *ibid.* her Heart is won by *Simier*, 2 a Piſtol is fired in her Barge, 3 orders ſome of her Privy-Counſellors to examine the Advantages and Dangers of her marrying with the D. of *Anjou*, *ibid.* enjoins all Papiſts that had Children in foreign Seminaries to call them home, 7 dined on Board Sir *Francis Drake*'s Ship, 8 uneaſy at the Affairs of *Scotland*, 9 ſends to accuſe the E. of *Lenox* of holding Intelligence with *France*, 10 diſpatches *Randolph* to ſollicit in behalf of the E. of *Morton*, 11 the Articles of her Marriage with the D. of *Anjou*, 12, 13, *&c.* ſtarts Difficulties about this Marriage, 15 it is publickly exclaimed againſt, 17 ſhe retracts all that ſhe

she had done towards her Marriage, 18 Remarks on her Conduct, *ibid.* is in a State of Uncertainty, 21 relies on her People's Affections, 22 sends the Order of the Garter to the K. of *Denmark*, 23 offers her Service to K. *James*, 24 pretends to be willing to release the Q. of *Scots*, and sends her some Articles, 26, 27, *&c.* writes to K. *James* about the E. of *Arran*, 30 draws Q. *Mary*'s Secrets from the Master of *Gray*, 34 Conspiracies against her, 35. See *Conspiracies*. Reproves the Judges for their Severity to the Catholicks, 36 sends ten Ambassador to K. *Philip* to inform him why he ordered his Ambassador out of the Km. 38 renews the Negotiation with the Q. of *Scots*, *ibid.* it is broken off, 39 Association made for her Defence, 40 the Q. of *Scots* sends her Proposals, *ibid.* 49 endeavours to have K. *James* in her Power, 51 tries to break his Marriage, *ibid.* she sends *Edward Wootton* to him, 52 sends Sir *Thomas Bodley* Ambassador into *Germany* and *Denmark*, 51 demands a solemn Reparation for the Death of *Francis Russel*, 53 permits the *Scotch* Fugitives to return home, *ibid.* makes a Treaty with the *States*, 55 gives them a powerful Aid, *ibid.* sends a Fleet in *America* against the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* aids the *Huguenots*, 58 complains of the Authority conferred by the *States* on the E. of *Leicester*, 59 reprimands him for accepting of it, *ibid.* makes a League with the K. of *Scotland*, 61 *Babington*, &c. conspires against her, 66, *&c.* her Commission for trying the Q. of *Scots*, 72 the Parliament petitions her to put the Sentence against Q. *Mary* in Execution, 90 her Answer, 91, *&c.* desires both Houses to find some Expedient to save the Life of the Q. of *Scots*, 96 her Speech to them, 97, 101 expresses a great deal of Grief at the Q. of *Scots* Execution, 108 writes to K. *James* about it, 109 calls *Davison* to an Account, 109, 110 sends a Fleet against *Spain*, 115 prepares to be in a Posture of Defence against the *Spaniards*, 118 K. *Philip* tries to amuse her, *ibid.* the Pope thunders out a Bull against her, 119 she prepares for the Defence of her Km. against the *Spaniards*, 120, *&c.* fits out a Fleet, *ibid.* is in great Perplexity, 122 but yet manages every thing with wonderful Presence of Mind, 123 causes some of the Catholicks to be put into Custody, *ibid.* takes care of *Ireland*, *ibid.* caresses the K. of *Scotland*, *ibid.* publickly returns God Thanks for the Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*, 128 sheds Tears upon the Death of the E. of *Leicester*, 129, bribes Chancellor *Maitland*, 130 and endeavours to hinder K. *James* from marrying, *ibid.* sends a Fleet against *Spain*, 132, sends K. *Henry* IV Assistance, 135, 136 tries to divert K. *James* from marrying with *Ann* of *Denmark*, 136 her Sparingness and Frugality, 138 raises the Customs, *ib.* engages to assist K. *Henry* IV, 141 sends him Troops, 141, 144, 145 he does not put them to the Use he had promised, at which the Queen is extremely nettled, 142, 143, 144, 145, 151, 153, 157 she recalls them, 157 prohibits the carrying of any warlike Stores or Provisions into the *Spanish* Dominions,

minions, 144, 145 refuſes to deliver up *Bothwel* to K. *James*, 146, 150, 157 the Parliament grants her a large Subſidy, 148 grows very ſuſpicious of K. *James*, 149, *&c.* ſends the Lord *Borough* to give him Advice, *ibid.* diſpatches *Thomas Wilks* to *Henry* IV, to perſuade him not to change his Religion, 151 makes a League offenſive and defenſive with him, 154, 172 *Lopez* bribed to poiſon her, 155 demands of the Archduke *Erneſt* the Puniſhment of the Authors of the Conſpiracies againſt her, 156 ſends the Lord *Zouche* to give K. *James* good Advice, *ibid.* ſends a Supply of Troops into *Ireland*, 160 the K. of *France* applies to her for Aſſiſtance, *ibid.* ſhe refuſes him, *ibid.* K. *James* reſolves to live in Union with her, 161, 162 demands of the *States* a Payment of their Debts, 165, 171 ſends Ships againſt the *Spaniards* in *America*, 167 lends K. *Henry* a Sum of Money, 168 ſends a Fleet againſt *Spain*, 169 which takes *Cadiz*, &c. *ibid.* fortifies all the Places where the *Spaniards* could land, 174 ſends a Fleet againſt *Spain*, *ibid.* diſpatches an Ambaſſador to the *Diet*, to anſwer the Accuſations of the *Hans-Towns*, 175 ſhe complains of the K. of *France*'s negotiating a Peace without her, 178, 179 exceedingly provoked at it, 180 writes to him a Letter full of Reſentment, 181 reſolves to continue the War, 182, 183 makes a new Treaty with the *States*, 183, 184 gives the E. of *Eſſex* a Box on the Ear, 186 is for recovering *Ireland* immediately to its Duty, 187 writes to the E. of *Eſſex* in a very angry manner for not obeying her Orders, 189 ſuſpects him of ill Deſigns for his treating with *Tyrone*, 190 writes to him very angrily, *ibid.* raiſes 6000 Men, 191 what Reception ſhe gave the E. of *Eſſex* upon his return from *Ireland*, 191 hath his Conduct examined before the Council, 193 the Archduke propoſes a Peace to her, *ibid.* and 194 ſhe ſends Plenipotentiaries to *Bologne*, 194 ſhe ſhewed a great Eſteem and Affection for the E. of *Eſſex*, 198, 209, 210 he forms a Project of making himſelf Maſter of the Queen's Perſon, 200, 202 ſhe ſends Orders to the Lord Mayor of *London* to have the Train'd-Bands ready, 203 ſends the Lord-Keeper, E. of *Worceſter*, &c. to the Earl, 204 orders by a Proclamation all Vagabonds and Strangers to leave the City, 207 appears irreſolute about the E. of *Eſſex*'s Execution, 209 her Anſwer to the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, 212 mutual Compliments paſs between her and K. *Henry* IV. 213 annuls Monopolies, 214 the Commons vote her a very large Subſidy, 216 ſends a Fleet againſt *Spain*, *ibid.* falls ill, 218 moſt of her Courtiers forſake her, and go to the King of *Scotland*, *ibid.* which throws her into a Melancholly, *ib.* names the K. of *Scotland* for her Succeſſor, *ibid.* dies, *ibid.* where buried, 220, *n.* her Character, 220 —225 her Will is opened, 227 her Death very much lamented, 228 K. *James* does not go into Mourning for her, 234

*Elizabeth* (Princeſs) K. *James*'s Daughter, 338 married to the Elector *Palatine*, 340 the Lord Mayor of *London* preſents her with

with a Pearl-Necklace, 341 an account of her Marriage-Expences, 361 how pictured in the Netherlands, 504 ſends Offers to the D. of *Buckingham* in caſe of a Rupture with *Spain*, 557
*Elphingſton* (Sir *James*) made one of the Privy-Counſellors to K. *James*, 232
*Elways* (Sir *Gervaſe*) made Lieutenant of the Tower, 347 did not give the poiſoned Meat to *Overbury*, 348 apprehended, 373
*Emperor*, See *Rodolphus*, *Matthias*, *Ferdinand*.
*England* (Affairs of) See *Elizabeth*, *James*.
*Engliſh*; Jealouſy between them and the *Scots*, 284 *Engliſh* Volunteers go to aſſiſt the *Elector-Palatine*, 427 left in Garriſon at *Heidelberg*, &c. 428
*Erneſt* (Archduke) made Governor of the Low-Countries, 156
*Erneſt*, Count of *Mansfeldt*, choſen of the States of *Bohemia*'s Generals, 417 remains faithful to the Elector after his defeat, 431 fortifies himſelf in *Bohemia*, 456 marches in the Upper *Palatinate*, 457 concludes a Treaty with *Tilly*, *ib.* prevailed upon by Lord *Digby* to march into the Lower-*Palatinate*, *ib.* forced to retire into *Alſatia*, 458 joined by the Princes of *Brunſwick* and *Baden*, 510 falls in with Capt. *Tilly*, 511 routed by him, *ib.* goes and joins Prince *Maurice*, *ib* at *Paris*, 603 comes to *England*, 604 ſent into the *Palatinate* with an Army, *ib.* but cannot obtain a Paſſage through the *Netherlands* or *France*, 605 goes to *Zeland*, 606 the greateſt Part of his Army deſtroyed by a Plague, 606
*Eſcurial*, a Deſcription of it, 559 *n.*
*Francis Eſpinay* of St *Luke* joins *Norris*, 151 they make ſome Conqueſts in *Bretagne*, *ibid.*

F.

*FAwks* (*Guy*) concerned in the Gun-powder Plot, 286 apprehended, *&c.* 291
*Ferdinand* adopted by the Emperour *Matthias*, 415 who tries to make him K. of *Bohemia*, *ibid.* crowned at *Prague*, 416 declared *Matthias*'s Heir, *ibid.* the States of *Bohemia* refuſe to own him for King, 420 elected Emperour, 421 ſeveral Electors, *&c.* declare for him, 425 the Pope ſupplies him with Money, *ibid.* conquers *Bohemia*, &c. 431, *&c.* his Anſwer to the Lord *Digby*'s Demands, 459 writes to *Iſabella*, 460 ſends an Ambaſſador to K. *James* to amuſe him, 462 inveſts the D. of *Bavaria* with the Electoral Dignity, 529
*Fernihurſt* (Lord) *Francis Ruſſel* is ſlain at a Conference with him, 53 ſent to Priſon, where he dies, *ibid.*
*Fiennes* introduced in the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Place, 350
*Fitz-Allen* (*Henry*) E. of *Arundel* dies, 9
*Fitz-Williams* (Sir *William*) Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, 123
*Florida*, ſome Towns there burnt by the *Engliſh*, 56
*Fluſhing* delivered by the *States* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 55 redeemed by them, 388, *&c.*
*Forbiſher* (Sir *Martin*) one of the Admirals of the *Engliſh* Fleet againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, 121 ſlain in *Bretagne*, 157
*Forman* (Dr.) employed by the Counteſs of *Eſſex* to incapacitate her Husband, 344

*Forteſcue* (Sir *John*) Member of Parliament for *Buckinghamſhire*, 277 his Election conteſted, *ibid.*
*France*, War renewed in that Km. 9, 44
—— (Affairs of) See *Henry*, *Lewis*.
—— (K. of) See *Henry*, *Lewis*.
*Frankendal* beſieged by *Gonſales*, 458 the Siege of it raiſed, *ib.* and by *Tilly* 511 delivered to *Iſabella*, 528 K. *James* demands it of her, 604
*Franklin* gives *Overbury* a poiſoned Gliſter, 352 apprehended, 373
*Frederick* V Elector *Palatine*, comes to *England* to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, 338 made Knight of the Garter, 340 married with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* returns to *Germany*, 341 the K. demands an Aid of his Subjects for her Dowry, *ibid.* choſen K. of *Bohemia*, 421 ſends an Ambaſſador to acquaint K. *James* with it, *ib.* draws Troops, and comes to *Prague*, *ibid.* crowned, *ibid.* K. *James* perſuades him to quit the Crown, 423 ſeveral Princes of *Germany* form a League to ſupport him, 425 *Engliſh* Volunteers come to his Aſſiſtance, 427 defeated at *Prague*, 431 flies into *Holland*, *ibid.* forſaken by moſt of his Confederates, 431 the Reaſons why K. *James* did not aſſiſt him, 417—457, *&c.* cauſes *Mansfeldt* to march into the *Upper-Palatinate*, 457 obtains of the *Hollanders* 150,000 Florins, *ibid.* gets the Prince of *Brunſwick* and *Badon* to aſſiſt him, 510 goes into a Ship to *Calais*, 513 and gets through *France* to Count *Manſfeld*'s Army, *ibid.* falls in with C. *Tilly*, 511 is routed, and forced to retire to *Manheim*, *ibid.* returns to *Holland*, *ibid.* Negotiations between K. *James*'s Ambaſſador and the Archdutcheſs *Iſabella* about reſtoring him, *ibid.* obliged by a Truce to forſake the Prince of *Brunſwick*, and Count *Mansfeldt*, 528 deprived of all Hopes of entring his Country again, *ibid.* ſtript of all his Dominions, 529
*Frederick* K. of *Denmark*, Q. *Elizabeth* ſends him the Order of the Garter, 23 K. *James* treats about a Marriage with one of his Daughters, 51, 55, 130 gives her to the D. of *Brunſwick*, *ibid.* K. *James* demands his 2d Daughter, 136 dies, *ibid.*
*Fuentes* (Count *de*) deſigns to ſend over a *Spaniſh* Army into *Scotland*, 155 to make away with Q. *Elizabeth*, and invade *England*, *ibid.* made Governour of the *Low-Countries*, 162 enters *Picardy*, *ibid.*

G.

*Gabor* (*Bethlem*) Prince of *Tranſilvania*, declares for the Elector *Palatine*, 425
*Gage* (Mr.) ſent to *Rome* to forward the Diſpenſation for Prince *Charles*'s Marriage, 508 ſent back with the Articles, 518
*Garnet* (*Henry*) approves of the Gun-powder Plot, 287 adminiſters an Oath of Secrecy to the Conſpirators, *ibid.* accuſed by *Freſham* of being an Accomplice in it, 294 executed, 298 made a Martyr, 299, 287, *n.*
—— (*Thomas*) hanged, 310
*Gerard* (Sir *Thomas*) created Baron of *Gerard*'s Bromley, 235
*Gerard* (*John*) approves of the Gun-powder Plot, 287
*Germany*; great Jealouſies there between the Proteſtants and Catholicks, 413
—— (Affairs of) See *Rodolphus*, *Matthias*, *Ferdinand*.
*Gifford* (Dr.) perſuades *Savage* to kill

kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 65 conveys Letters to Q. *Mary* of *Scots*, 68 discovers all to *Walsingham*, *ibid.*
*Gifford* (*Robert*) 65
*Gomarus* (*Franciscus*) declares against *Arminius*, 330
*Gondemar* (Conde) the *Spanish* Ambassador to K. *James*, ordered to treat about a Marriage between Prince *James* and the *Infanta*, 385 his Character, *ibid.* governed K. *James*, *ibid.* his Jest upon his Ministers, 387, *n.* makes loud Complaints against Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Expedition into *America*, 407 makes very long Delays in carrying the Articles to *Spain*, 417, 418 returns to *England* with large Sums of Money, 425, 426 and bribes the Courtiers, 426, 432, 433, 437 the D. of *Buckingham*'s Letter to him about the *Palatinate*, 433, *&c* bribes the Ladies, *ibid. n.* his Jest about the Dutchess of *Buckingham*, 437 the People offended at his having so much Power at Court, 454, is insulted by the Mob, *ibid.* desires the E. of *Bristol* not to oppose Prince *Charles*'s turning Catholick, 534
*Gonsales de Cordova* commands the Emperour's Troops in the *Palatinate*, 458 raises the Siege of *Frankendal*, *ibid.*
*Goodwin* (Sir *Franci*) contests about his being elected Member of Parliament for *Buckinghamshire*, *ibid.*
*Gorges* (Sir *Ferdinand*) Governour of *Plymouth*, one of the E. of *Essex*'s Council, 202 discovers the Earl's Plot to the Court, 203 advises him to set the Lords he had imprisoned at Liberty, 205
*Gowry* (E. of) See *Ruthven*.
*Gowry*'s Conspiracy, 24
*Gregory* XIII Pope, publishes a Bull for the Reformation of the Calendar, 25 dies, 59
*Gregory* XV Pope, puts Postils to the Articles of Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta Maria*, 529 writes a Letter to Prince *Charles*, 535 adds new Conditions to the Dispensation, 539 dies, 555
*Grey* (Master of) sent Ambassador to Q. *Elizabeth*, 34 discovers to her the Q. of *Scots* Secrets, *ibid.* found out by the E. of *Arran*, *ibid.* tries to ruin him, *ibid.* publickly sollicits Q. *Elizabeth* to favour Q. *Mary*, 103 but privately advises her to make her away, *ib.*
*Grey* (Lord) coldly received by K. *James*, 235 enters into a Conspiracy against him, 242 condemned, *ibid.* dies in Prison, 243
*Grey* (Sir *Henry*) created Baron of *Groby*, 235, *n.*
*Grey* (*Arthur*) Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, 7
*Guise* (D. of) frames a Plot to raise Q. *Elizabeth* Troubles, 3, 22 K. *Henry* informs Q. *Elizabeth* of his Designs against her, 23 hath Succours of K. *Philip* to fight against K. *Henry*, 31 forms a Design of seizing the Crown of *France*, 44, 57 renews the League, *ibid.* withdraws to his Government of *Champagne*, *ibid.* signs a private League with the K. of *Spain*, *ibid.* aimed at seizing the Crown of *France*, 57 puts on a religious Zeal, *ibid.* disparages the King, *ibid.* publishes a Manifesto, 58 possesses himself of several Places, *ibid.* hath the Command of the Army against the *Huguenots*, *ibid.* comes to *Paris*, and obliges the K. to depart thence, 129 assassinated, *ibid.*
—— (D. of) his Son, helps to raise the Siege of *Roan*, 144

*Gun-Powder-Plot*; an account of it, 285, *&c.* the Perſons concerned in it apprehended, or killed, 293 the firſt Intimation of it given by K. *Henry* IV. 217, *n.*

H.

*Haguenau*, a Truce concluded there, 457

*Hampton-Court*-Conference, 245, *&c.*

*Hans-Towns*, ſome of their Ships taken by the *Engliſh* in the *Tagus*, 134 they complain of it to Q. *Elizabeth*, ib. and 166, 175 all Commerce between them and *England* prohibited, 176

*Harrington* (Sir *John*) created Baron of *Exton*, 235

*Hatton* ( ) is againſt Q. *Elizabeth*'s marrying the D. of *Anjou*, 17 perſuades the Q. of *Scots* to plead, 75

*Hawkins*, one of the Vice-Admirals of the Fleet againſt the *Spaniſh* Armada, 121 dies, 167

*Hawley* (*Edmund*) affronted in the Court by *Maxwell*, 337, *n.*

*Hayes* (Lord) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 384 marries the E. of *Northumberland*'s Daughter, 419 procures him his Liberty, *ib.* made Viſcount *Doncaſter*, ib. ſent Ambaſſador to *Ferdinand*, 420 and to *France*, 432 created E. of *Carliſle*, 551

*Heidelberg* taken by *Tilly*, 511

*Henrietta Maria* of *France*, Prince *Charles* forms the Project of marrying her, 566 Negotiations about it, 588

*Henry* (Prince) is created Prince of *Wales*, 324 his Character, *ib.* and Encomium, 338 a Marriage negotiated between him and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, 326 falls ill, 338 dies, *ib.* the Viſcount *Rocheſter* ſuſpected of having cauſed him to be poiſoned, 389 his Body opened, 340

*Henry* III. K. of *France*, gives Q. *Elizabeth* Notice of the D. of *Guiſe*'s plotting againſt her, 23 becomes contemptible to his Subjects, 31 perſuades the K. of *Navarre* to change his Religion, 44 refuſes the Sovereignty offered him by the *States*, 55 is obliged to forſake the K. of *Navarre*, 58 publiſhes an Edict againſt the *Huguenots*, ib. ſends an Ambaſſador to Q. *Elizabeth* in behalf of *Mary* Q. of *Scots*, 103 cauſes the D. of *Guiſe* and his Brother to be aſſaſſinated, 129 the Legate and *Paris* declare againſt him, *ib.* calls the K. of *Navarre* and *Huguenots* to his aſſiſtance, 134 beſieges *Paris*, 135 ſtabbed by *Jaques Clement*, ib. nominates the K. of *Navarre* for his Succeſſor, *ib.*

*Henry* K. of *Navarre*: the D. of *Guiſe* endeavours to exclude him from the Throne, 44 K. *Henry* perſuades him to change his Religion, *ib.* the D. of *Guiſe* ſtirs up the Catholicks againſt him, 57 the K. forſakes him, 58 ſucceeds him by the Name of *Henry* the IV. 435 the League refuſes to acknowledge him, 135 deſerted by ſeveral great Men, *ib.* promiſes to be inſtructed in the *Romiſh* Religion, *ib.* applies to Q. *Elizabeth*, *ib.* driven by the E. of *Mayenne* into *Normandy*, *ib.* receives an *Engliſh* Supply, *ib.* forced to retire, 336 reduces ſome Places in *Normandy*, gains the Battle of *Ivry*, 139 blocks up *Paris*, *ib.* obtains Forces from Q. *Elizabeth*, but does not put them to the Uſe he had promiſed, 141—157 She complains of his Proceedings, 142 cauſes *Roan* to be inveſted, *ib.* deceives Q. *Elizabeth*, 142, *&c.* 145 changes his Religion, 151 Q. *Elizabeth* ſends him an Ambaſſador, and a Letter about it, 151, 152 makes a League offenſive and defenſive with her, 154, 172 becomes Maſter of *Paris*, 156 applies to Q. *Elizabeth* for help, but is refuſed 160, 162, 163 adviſed to make a ſeparate Peace, 164 complains of the *States*, 165 ſecret Negotiations carried between him and K. *Philip*, 174 calls upon Q. *Elizabeth* to ſend 4000 Men as ſtipulated, 175 he threatens to make a Peace without her,

her, *ib.* negotiates a Peace with *Spain* without her, 178 he ſigns the Peace without his Allies, 181 comes to *Calais*, 213 a Conſpiracy againſt him, 217 ſends an Ambaſſador to K. *James*, 240 gives him the firſt Information of the Powder-Plot, 297 diſpatches Preſident *Jeannin* to mediate a Peace between the *States* and Archduke, 310 makes great Preparations againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, 325 ſtabb'd by *Ravaillac*, *ibid.*

*Herbert* ſent to concert Meaſures with *France* about a Peace 178

——— (*Philip*) made E. of *Montgomery*, 234, 337 Q. *Ann*'s Favourite, 328 ſwitched at a Horſe-race by *Ramſey*, 337

——— (  ) E. of *Pembroke*, K. *James*'s Favourite, 328, *n.*

*Herbert* (Sir *Edward*) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 432 cha'lenges De *Luynes*, *ib.*

*Hereditary* Right, remarks upon it, 237, *&c.*

*Heſquet* ſent to perſwade the E. of *Derby* to take the Title of King, 154 impeached by the E. and hanged, *ib.*

*High-Commiſſion* Court, 246, *n.* great Complaints againſt it, 319, 320

*Hiſpaniola* taken by the *Engliſh* 56

*Hodgeſon* perſwades *Savage* to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 65

*Holland* (E. of) See *Rich.*

*Holland*, See *Low Countries.* The *States* offer to put themſelves under the Protection of *France* or *England*, 43 Q. *Elizabeth*'s Treaty with them 55 ſends an Army thither. 56

*Hollanders* Fiſh on the Coaſts of *England* without asking the Governor of *Scarborough*'s leave, 409 the *Engliſh* complain of it, *ib*

*Howard* (*Phillip*) E. of *Arundel*, reſtored in Blood, 48 embraces the *Catholick* Religion, *ib.* reſolves to leave the Km. *ib.* betrayed by his Servants and confined to the Tower, *ib.* tryed and condemned, 131 pardoned, *ib.*

——— (*Thomas*) his Son, created E. of *Arundel* and *Surry*, 233 quarrels with the Lord *Spenſer* in the Houſe of Lords, 453 ordered by the Houſe to give the Lord *Spenſer* Satisfaction, 454 he refuſes, and is ſent to the Tower, *ib.*

*Howard* (*Thomas*) the D. of *Norfolk*'s Second Son, goes to the *Azores* to wait for the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, 144 takes a Ship richly laden, *ib.* created E. of *Suffolk*, 233 and made Privy-Counſellor, *ib.* made Lord Treaſurer, 336 his Counteſs very greedy of Money, *ib.* ſhe receives great Sums when the Peace was made with *Spain*, 280, *n.* built *Audley*-End, 386 converts to his Uſe the Money received for the Cautionary Towns, 391 impeached by Sir *Edward Coke*, *ib.* fined, 392

*Howard* (*Charles*) of *Eſſingham*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, 120 the Q. gives him a yearly Penſion, 128 created E. of *Nottingham*, 175 commands the Fleet againſt *Spain*, 169 hath the Command of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Army, 191 ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*, 283

*Howard* (*Henry*) made Privy-Counſellor to K. *James*, and created E. of *Northampton*, 233 directs the E. of *Somerſet*, 353 favours the *Roman*-Catholicks, *ib.* ſues ſome Perſons for *Scandalum Magnatum*, 353 he writes a Letter to *Bellarmine*, which is produced againſt him by the Abp. of *Canterbury*, *ib.* retires into the Country, and dies, 354 *n.*

*Howard* (*Francis*) married to the E. of *Eſſex*, 342 Prince *Henry* and the Viſcount *Rocheſter* in love with her, 335 puts off the Conſummation of her Marriage with the E. her Husband, 342, 343 falls in love with the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, *ib.* meet often with the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 345 is divorced from her Husband, 346, 349 married to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 351 apprehended, 373, 374 and

374 and ſent to the Tower, *ib.* brought to her Trial, 376 and condemned, *ib.* pardoned, *ib.* dies a very lamentable Death, 377

*Huguenots*, the D. of *Guiſe* excites the *Catholicks* againſt them, 57 K. *Henry* publiſhes an Edict againſt them, 58 draw their forces together for their own Defence, *ib.* are aſſiſted by Q. *Elizabeth*, *ib.* K. *Henry* is forced to call them to his Aſſiſtance, 134 oppreſſed by *Lewis* XIII. 432 K. *James* ſends to ſollicit in their behalf, *ib* force K. *Lewis* to raiſe the Siege of *Montauban*, 458

*Hume* (Lord) attends K. *James* into *England*, 231 made Privy-Counſellor, 232

——— (Sir *George*) created E. of *Dunbar*, 232, *n.* Treaſurer of *Scotland*, 331 dies, *ib.*

*Hunſdon* (E. of) See *Carey*.

*Hunting*, Proclamation againſt it, 250

*Huntley* (E. of) conſpires againſt K. *James*, 131 purſued, and forced to yield, *ib.* countenances the *Spaniard*'s Plots in *Scotland*, 149

I.

St. JAGO taken by the *Engliſh*, 56

JAMES, *Eſme Stuart*, and *Stuart* of *Oghiltry* try to ſet him and Q. *Elizabeth* at Variance, 3, 4. perſuaded by the *Stuarts* to take a Progreſs into ſome of his Counties, 4 ſends the Lord *Humes* Ambaſſador into *England*, 10 is ſecured by the Lord *Ruthen*, 24 and carried to *Sterling*, ib. Q. *Elizabeth* ſends him Offers of his Service, 24 is left at Liberty, 29 aſſembles the Nobility of St. *Andrews*, and promiſes to publiſh a general Pardon, *ib.* viſits the E. of *Gowry*, ib. appoints 12 Counſellors, *ib.* takes the E. of *Arran* into Favour again, *ib.* orders the *Ruthven*-Lords to come and beg his Pardon, *ib.* aſſembles the Nobility in order to put an end to this Affair, 31 but is prevailed upon by the E. of *Arran* not to pardon them, 31, 32 holds private Intelligence with his Mother, 33 Q. *Elizabeth* ſends *Edward Wotton* to him, 52 the K. makes him one of his greateſt Favourites, *ib.* ſends *Peter Young* to the K. of *Denmark*, 53 is ſeiz'd by the *Scotch*-fugitive Lords, 54 a Treaty of Marriage between him and the Princeſs of *Denmark* begun, 55 makes a League with Q. *Elizabeth*, 61 intercedes for his Mother, 102, 103 Q. *Elizabeth* writes to him, 109 ſtifles his Reſentment, and keeps fair with Q. *Elizabeth*, 115 her Ambaſſador makes him very large Offers, 127 ſends Ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen*, 131 demands in Marriage the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark*, 136 Q. *Elizabeth* propoſes to him *Catherine* Siſter to the K. of *Navarre*, ib. gets the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* to riſe up in Arms, to bring about his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Denmark*, 137 ſhe is driven by a Storm upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, *ib.* *Bothwel* makes a freſh attempt upon his Life, 146 he demands him of Q. *Elizabeth*, ib. and 150, 157 ſhe grows very ſuſpicious of him, 149 and ſends the Lord *Borough* to give him Advice, *ib.* forced to grant *Bothwel* a Pardon, 150 conſtrained to diſmiſs his faithfuleſt Miniſters, *ib.* recalls them, *ib.* ſuſpected of favouring the Plots of the *Catholicks*, 150, 157 Q. *Elizabeth* ſends the Lord *Zouch* to give him good Advice, *ib.* baniſhes the *Catholick* Lords, 159 reſolves to live in Union with Q. *Elizabeth*, 161 requires to be declared Succeſſor to Q. *Elizabeth*, 185 writes to the Pope, *ib.* the E. of *Eſſex* writes to him that a Plot was forming in *England* to deprive him of the Succeſſion, 201 ſends Ambaſſadors to *England*, as the E. of *Eſſex* deſired, 212 the *Engliſh* Courtiers make their Court to him during Q. *Elizabeth*'s Illneſs, 219 ſhe names him for her Succeſſor, *ib.* and 226 his Right to the

Crown of *England*, 227 is proclaimed K. of *England*, ib. ſets out for *England*, 230 diſpatches *Aſhton* to the Privy-Counſellors, *ib.* he is received with very great Demonſtrations of Joy, 231 reſtrains by a Proclamation the People from flocking to him. *ib.* the *Engliſh* meet him at *York*, *ib.* hangs a Cut-purſe without Tryal, 232 comes to *Theobald*'s, ib. encreaſes the Number of the Privy-Counſellors, *ib.* does not go into Mourning for Q. *Elizabeth*, 234 is very laviſh of Honours and Dignities, *ib.* and 282 crowned, 243 was a great lover of Flattery, 235, 276 had a good ſhare of Learning, 236 was perſuaded that the Authority of Kings had no Bounds, *ib.* 252, 313, 315, 323, 447 was very ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a Conceit of his own Merit, 236 is very much flattered, *ib.* called the *Solomon* of the Age, *ib.* and 386 a ſmart Saying of *Henry* IV upon that account, 336, *n.* a great aſſerter of Hereditary Right, *ib.* this the Cauſe of the Troubles which afflicted *England*, 239 ſends for the Queen and his Children, *ib.* boaſted that he had governed *England* ſeveral Years before Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 240 revokes the Letters of Mark granted by Q. *Elizabeth*, 241 retires to *Wilton* upon account of the Plague, *ib.* threatens the *Puritans* at the *Hampton-Court* Conference, 247 had always a great Regard for the *Catholicks*, 249 makes his Entry into *London* with his Queen, 251 thought that the Parliament's and People's Privileges were only Conceſſions from former Kings, 252 deſcribes in his Writs to call the Parliament what Perſons ſhould be choſen, *ib.* his Speech to his firſt Parliament, 253—271 the Remarks that were made upon it, 271, *&c.* Act to confirm his Title, 273 a Difference happens between him and the *Commons* about the Election of a *Knight* of the Shire for *Bucks*, 277 the Interpretation he put on the Letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle* about the Gun-powder Treaſon, 290 his Speech to the Parliament about it, 294 the People's Reflections upon it, 296 flattered upon the Diſcovery of the Powder-Plot, 297 and congratulated by foreign Ambaſſadors, *ib.* &c. a Report of his being ſlain, 299 publiſhes an Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, 302 receives a Viſit from the K. of *Denmark*, 305 and from the Prince of *Vaudemont*, *ib.* makes a long Speech to the Parliament about the Union of *Scotland* and *England*, 306, *&c.* is very much vexed at the rejecting of it, 308 is out of Conceit with Parliaments, *ib.* the *States* ſend to inform him of the Peace they were negotiating with *Spain*, 310 was liberal, *ib.* and 317, 355 prohibits all foreign Nations the fiſhing on the Coaſts of *England*, 312 the *Hollanders* make a Treaty with him upon that Score, *ib.* affected to look upon the *States* as Rebels, 313 ſends an Ambaſſador into *Holland* to aſſiſt at the Negotiation of the Peace between them and the Archduke, 313 acted not ſincerely in this Affair, 314 licences Dr. *Cowel's Interpreter*, and ſcreens him from the Parliament's Proſecution, *ib.* the People are diſſatisfied with his Proceedings, 316 eſpecially with his Prodigality to the *Scots*, 319 his Speeches to his Parliaments, 253, 294, 306, 321, 392, 441, 449, 451, 567, 576 left the Management of Affairs to his Miniſters, 324 baniſhes all *Jeſuits* and Prieſts, 326 negotiates a Marriage between his Son *Henry*, and the K. of *Spain*'s eldeſt Daughter, *ib.* meddles in the Controverſy between the *Arminians* and *Gomariſts*, 330 and takes *Robert Carr* for his Favourite, and loads him with Riches and Honours, 329, *&c.* was governed by his Favourites, 404, *&c.* grants a Commiſſion for the divorcing the Counteſs of

of *Eſſex* from her Husband, 349 anſwers Abp. *Abbot*'s Reaſons againſt the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Divorce, 350 gives Sir *Henry Rich* 3000 *l.* 355 his Ways to get Money, 357, *&c.* creates *Baronets* and Knights of *Nova Scotia*, 357 perſuaded to call a Parliament, 359 demands Money for the Marriage of his Daughter, *ib.* reſolves to call no more Parliaments, 362 but to raiſe a Benevolence, 362, *&c.* 437, 505 uſed to take two Progreſſes every Year, 364 comes to *Cambridge*, and hath the *Ignoramus* Comedy acted twice before him, 364 ſlighted the Common-Law, *ib.* takes *Villiers* for his Favourite, 366 would have no Favourites but of the Q's recommending, 368 orders the E. of *Somerſet*, &c. to be apprehended, 373 his Diſſimulation with regard to him, *ib.* Diſpute between him and the Judges about *Commendam's*, 379. *&c.* reſolves to marry his Son *Charles* with the *Infanta*, and ſets a Negotiation on Foot for that Purpoſe, 385 is amuſed by the Court of *Spain*, ib. alienated the Crown-Lands, 386 gives up the Cautionary-Towns to the *Dutch*, 388, *&c.* ſuffered his Fleet to fall to decay, 391 goes to *Scotland* to compel that Church to conform to that of *England*, 397—403 orders the Book of Sports, 404 the People complain of his Adminiſtration, 408 of his ſuffering the *Dutch* to fiſh on our Coaſts, 409 and of his ſtretching the Prerogative, *ib.* ſigns the Articles for the *Infanta*'s Marriage with Prince *Charles*, 413 amuſed by the *Spaniſh* Court, 417, *&c.* 424 and with what View, *ib.* ſeized with a great Illneſs, 419 ſends an Ambaſſador to make up Matters between *Ferdinand* and the *States*, 420 is againſt his Son-in-law's accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia*, 421, *&c.* would never give him the Title of King, 423 endeavours to perſuade him to quit the Crown, *ib.* and to be Umpire between him and *Ferdinand*, 424 *n.* cannot be prevailed upon to aſſiſt his Son-in-law, 426, *&c.* ſuffers a Regiment to be rais'd for his Aſſiſtance, 427 ſends an Ambaſſador to try to appeaſe the Troubles in *Bohemia*, 428 ſends to ſollicite *Lewis* XIII. in behalf of the *Huguenots*, 432 feigns to take at Heart the Defence of the *Palatinate*, 438 calls a Parliament to get Money on pretence for the *Palatinate*, ib. Reaſons of the wrong Meaſures he took in this Affair, 438 forbids by a Proclamation People's talking of State-Affairs, 439 tries to ſcreen the D. of *Buckingham* againſt the Parliament, 450 orders the Parliament to be adjourned, 454 See *Commons*, is amuſed by the Archduke, 458 complains to the Emperour of the Invaſion of the *Palatinate*, 462 re-aſſembles the Parliament upon *Digby*'s return from *Vienna*, ib. the *Commons* preſent a Remonſtrance to him, 465 at which he is offended, 471 ſends a Letter to the Speaker, 472 the *Commons* preſent to him a Petition, 473 his Anſwer to it, 478 tears the Proteſtation of the *Commons* out of the Council-Book, 490, *&c.* impriſons ſeveral of the Houſe of *Commons*, 360, 493 Remarks on the Difference between the *Commons* and him, 494, *&c.* Reaſons alledged for and againſt him, 498, *&c.* ſlighted and inſulted by his Neighbours, 504 is made a publick Jeſt on Stages, and in Pictures, *ib.* intended to conclude his Son's Match before he demanded the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, 506 releaſes all the Recuſants out of Priſon, 508 ſends Sir *R. Weſton* to procure a Truce for *Bohemia*, 511 his Letters to the E. of *Briſtol*, 513, *&c.* is at a great loſs upon the coming of the Articles from *Rome*, 523 ſends a Memorial to the E. of *Briſtol* with his Offers, 524 agrees

to whatever the Pope requires for the *Catholicks*, 530 without any mention of the *Palatinate*, 531 gives Prince *Charles* and *Buckingham* leave to go to *Spain*, 532 debates in Council about tolerating the *Papists*, 541 ſigns the Articles ſent from *Spain*, 543 gives the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors a Declaration in behalf of the *Catholicks*, 552 writes to *Buckingham* to bring away the Prince from *Spain* by any means, 558 is governed by Prince *Charles* and the D. of *Buckingham*, 565 calls a Parliament, 566 becomes Popular, and careſſes the *Puritans*, *ibid.* his Anſwer to the Parliament's Petition againſt *Catholicks*, 579, *&c.* forced to Diſgrace the E. of *Briſtol*, 587 puts the Laws againſt the *Catholicks* in Execution, 589 diſcovers to the Abp. of *Ambrun* his Thoughts about Religion. 590 and that he intended to tolerate the *Roman*-Catholicks, *ib.* his Notion of the *Catholick*-Religion, 592 ſends Count *Manſfeldt* with an Army into the *Palatinate*, 604, *&c.* falls ill of a tertian Ague, 607 dies, *ib.* the D. of *Buckingham* ſuſpected of having haſtened his Death, *ib.* his Character, 608

*Jeannin* (Preſident) ſent to negotiate a Peace, between *Spain* and the *States* 310

*Jervis* (*George*) a ſeminary Prieſt hanged, 310

*Jeſuits*, a quarrel between them and the ſecular Prieſts in *England*, 217 they are baniſhed the Realm, and forbid ſetting Foot in it on Pain of Death, *ib.* baniſhed the Realm by K. *James*, 249. 326 their Arrifice to increaſe Diviſions in *England*, 275 great Numbers of them ſuffered by the E. of *Northamaton* to come over, 353 admitted into *Prague*, 414

*Indulgences*, 22,000 found in a *Spaniſh* Ship bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, 114

*Infanta* of *Spain*. See *Maria*.

*Inns* monopolized, 448

*Inoioſa* complains of the D. of *Buckingham*'s Relation to the Parliament, 574 gives the K. ſecret Informations againſt him, 583

*Inſurrection* in *Northamptonſhire*, 309

*Invincible Armada*, 120

*Ireland*, ſome *Spaniards* land there. 7 Rebellion there. See *Tyrone* and *Devereux*.

*Iſabella. Infanta* of *Spain*, K. *Philip* deſigns to procure her the Km. of *France*, 140 the *Catholicks* are for placing her on the Throne of *England*, 159 married to the Archduke *Albret*, 185 has the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* aſſigned her, *ib.* empowered to conclude a Truce with *England*, 509 a Letter from the K. of *Spain* to her about it and *Frankendal*. 528 K. *James* demands of her *Frankendal*, 604 and a Paſſage into the Empire, *ib.*

*Italy*, the Trade there ſettled in a Company, 282 aboliſhed again, *ib.*

*Juan* (*Don d' Aquila*) lands in *Ireland* with *Spaniſh* Troops, 216 becomes Maſter of *Kingſale*, and publiſhes a *Manifeſto*, *ib.* beſieged and forced to capitulate, *ib.* retires into *Spain*, *ibid.*

*Judges*, Q. *Elizabeth* reproves them for being tooſevere to the *Catholicks*, 26 they clear themſelves, *ib.* declare K. *James*'s Title to the Crown of *England*, to be entire, notwithſtanding his Mother's Attainder, 90 oppoſe the *Articuli Cleri*, 312 decide againſt K. *James* in Favour of *Commendams*, 379, *&c.*

*Juliers* taken, 327

K.

*Keymis* (Captain) accompanies Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *America*, &c, 406 kills himſelf, 407

*Kinloſs* (Lord) attends K. *James* into *England*, 231

*Knevet* (Sir *Thomas*) ſearches under the Houſe of the Lords upon the Diſcovery of the *Powder-Plot*, 290 apprehends *Guy Fawkes*, 291

*Knolles* (Sir *William*) Q. *Elizabeth* pitched upon him for Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 186 the E. of *Eſſex* oppoſes it, *ib.* ſent by Q. *Elizabeth*

*lizabeth* to the E's Houſe, 204 detained Priſoner by him, *ib.* created a Baron, 235, *n.*

L.

*Lake* (Sir *Thomas*) ſent by the Council to inform K. *James* of the State of *England*, 228
*Lane* (*Ralph*) the firſt that brought Tobacco into *England*, 57, *n.*
*Laud* (*William*) made Biſhop of St. *David's*, 503
*League* between *England* and *Scotland*, 62, *&c.*
——Offenſive and Defenſive between *France* and *England*, 154, 172 another propoſed, 603
*League* in *France*; K. *Henry* III forced to make an Agreement with the Heads of it, 129 declares againſt the King, *ib.* refuſes to acknowledge K. *Henry* IV, 135 returns to his Obedience, 156
*Lee* (*Thomas*) hanged, 206
*Leiceſter* (E. of.) See *Dudley*.
*Lenox* (E. of.) See *Eſme Stuart*.
*Leviſon* poſted at *Ludgate* to ſtop the E. of *Eſſex*, 205 commands ſome Ships againſt *Spain*, *&c.* 216
*Lewis* XIII K. of *France* married, 384 ſends to the Emperour and *German* Princes in order to appeaſe the *Bohemian* Troubles, 428 oppreſſes the *Huguenots*, 432, 458 ſent the Abp. of *Ambrun* to K. *James* to interceed for the *Catholicks*, 589
*Lewkenor* (Sir *Lewis*) the firſt Maſter of the Ceremonies, 241 preſented by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador with a Gold Chain for bringing him the News of K *James*'s being well, 299
*Leomenie* ſent Ambaſſador by the K. of *France* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 163 ſpeaks to her with a great deal of Haughtineſs, *ib.*
*London*, a Proclamation againſt enlarging it, 5
*Lopez* (*Roderigo*) bribed to poiſon Q. *Elizabeth*, 155 executed, *ib.*
*Low-Countries* (Affairs of) 4, 13, 21, 31, 43, 55, 116, 129, 139. See States. *Philip*, *Maurice*, &c.
*Luſatia* taken by the Elector of *Saxony*, 430

M.

*Maitland* (Chancellor) bribed by Q. *Elizabeth*, 130
*Mallery* (Mr.) ſent to Priſon, 493
*Marr* (E of.) See *Ruthven* Lords attends K. *James* into *England*, 230 made one of the Privy-Counſellors, 232
*Markham* (Sir *Griffith*) enters into a Conſpiracy againſt K. *James*, 242 *n.* condemned, 242 releaſed out of Priſon, and retires beyond Sea, 243, *n.*
*MARY* Q. of *Scots*, the D. of *Guiſe* plots in favour of her, 22, 23 offers to make her Son Partner with her in the Kingdom, 25 writes to Q. *Elizabeth* to engage her to deliver him, *ib.* Q. *Elizabeth* pretends to be willing to releaſe her, and offers her ſome Articles, 26, 27 the Maſter of *Gray* diſcovers her Secrets to Q. *Elizabeth*, 34 Plots in favour of her, 35 ſends Propoſals to Q. *Elizabeth*, 40 committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Drue Drury*, 42 Act againſt her, 46 the Cauſe of all the Plots againſt Q *Elizabeth*, 49 ſhe writes to *Babington*, and directs him how to manage the Plot againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 67 her Secretaries are ſeized, 70 an Artifice to get her Papers from the *French* Ambaſſador, 70 Commiſſioners appointed for her Tryal, 72 is informed of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Commiſſion, 74 ſhe refuſes to plead, 75 is perſwaded by *Hatton* to do it, *ib.* an Account of her Tryal, 74—85 Reflections on the Sentence paſſed upon her, 85 is informed of the Sentence paſſed againſt her, 101 ſhe receives the News with great Firmneſs of Mind, *ib.* the *French* Ambaſſador ſollicits in her favour, 102 the Sentence againſt her is publiſhed, *ib.* ſhe writes to Q. *Elizabeth*, *ib.* her Son interceeds for her, *ib.* the K of *France* ſends an Ambaſſador to intreat Q. *Elizabeth* in behalf of her, 103 the People loudly

loudly call for her Death, 104 Q. *Elizabeth*'s great Diſſimulation in this Matter, 105 the Warrant for her Execution drawn, 106 ſhe is beheaded, 107 an Account of her Execution, *&c.* 108, *n.*

*Maria, Infanta* of *Spain*, Negotiation of a Marriage between her and Prince *Charles* ſet on Foot, 385 with what view 411 Conventions for it, 412 the *Spaniards* endeavour to lengthen the Negotiation, 412, 413, 414 the E. of *Briſtol* ſent to conclude the Marriage, 507 Articles of it, 519, *&c.* 543 determined to retire to a Convent, 526 the time of ſolemnizing her Marriage is fixed. 530 the Prince of *Wales* is not ſuffered to ſee her in private, 534 probable Cauſes of the Breach of the Match between her and Prince *Charles*, 556 ordered by the K. of *Spain* to quit the Title of Princeſs of *Wales*, 563

*Maſtricht* taken by the Prince of *Parma*, 4, 5

*Matthias* Emperour, exhorts the *Proteſtants* to diſſolve their League, 414 violates their Privileges, 415 adopts *Ferdinand*, and endeavours to help him to the Crown of *Bohemia*, *ib.* dies, 420

*Maud*, *Ballard*'s Companion and *Walſingham*'s Spy, 65

*Maurice* Prince of *Orange*'s ſecond Son made Governour of *Holland*, &c. 43 conſtituted Capt *General* of the *State*'s Forces, 117 reſtores the Affairs of the United Provinces, 131 takes *Breda*, 139 defeats the *Spaniards* at *Turnhout*, 174 gains *Newport*-Battle, 194 takes *Juliers*, 327 declares for the *Gomariſts*, 333 made Kt. of the *Garter*, 340, *ib.* endeavours to become Maſter of *Cleves*, 411 joined by Count *Manſfeldt*, 511

*Mayenne* (D. of) bent upon revenging the Death of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe*, 132 drives *Henry* IV into *Normandy*, 135 attacks him at *Argues*, *ib.* forces him to retire to *Paris*, 136 cauſes the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed King, *ib.* defeated at *Yvry*, 139 raiſes the Siege of *Roan*, 144

*Medina-Celi* (D. of) commands the *Spaniſh* Armada, 120 ſails for *England*, 124, *&c.*

*Melvil* (Sir *James*) cautions K. *James* againſt *Edward Wotton*, 52

——(*Robert*) ſent to implore Q. *Elizabeth*'s Mercy for the Q. of *Scots*, 103 and to demand *Bothwell*, 150

*Melun*, a League Offenſive and Defenſive concluded there between *England* and *France*, 154

*Mendoza* (*Bernardine de*) the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador makes Complaints againſt Sir *Francis Drake*, 8 was concerned in *Throgmorton*'s Conſpiracy, 37 is ſent for by the Council, and ordered to depart the Land, *ib.* complains loudly in *France*, 38 hath a Conference with *Ballard*, 65

*Merchants*, *Engliſh* Adventurers, prohibited all Commerce with the Empire, 176

*Mercaur* (D. of) becomes Maſter of *Bretagne*, 139

*Michael* (Sir *Francis*) hath a Patent for making Lace, 448 impeached by the Commons, 449 his Eſtate is confiſcated, and he degraded, 450 fined and impriſoned for Life, *ib.*

*Middleton* (*Hugh*) makes the New-River to ſupply *London* with Water, 364

*Mildmay* (Sir *Walter*) ſent to treat with the Q. of *Scots*, 24

*Mompeſſon* (Sir *Giles*) hath a Patent for making Lace, 448 impeached by the Parliament, 449 flies 450 his Eſtate is confiſcated, and he degraded, *ib.*

*Monſon* Sir *William*) commands a Squadron of Ships againſt *Spain*, 216 takes a rich *Carack*, 217 a *Dutch* Man of War refuſes to ſtrike to him, 283

——(Sir *Thomas*) recommends *Weſton* to Sir *Gervaſe Elways*, 348 ſends *Overbury* Gallies, *ib.* tried and ſent

sent back to the Tower, 374 his Servant acquitted by his ingenuous Confeſſion, *ib.*

*Montjoy* (Lord) Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 187 ſtops *Tyrone*'s Progreſs, 194 accuſed by the E. of *Eſſex*, 208 defeats *Tyrone*. See *Tyrone*, brings him over to *England*, 240, *n.* ſworn of the Privy-Council, and made E. of *Devonſhire*, *ib.*

*Monopolies* annulled by Q. *Elizabeth*, 214 ſuppreſſed by K. *James*, 250 for dreſſing of Cloth, 311 and making *Allum*, *ib.* Monopolies granted by K. *James*, 357 complained of, 448 Proclamation revoking them, 456

*Montague* (Sir *Henry*) made Lord Chief Juſtice, 383 and one of the firſt Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, 392 gives 20,000 *l.* to be made Lord Treaſurer, 437 turned out, *ib.*

*Montauban* beſieged by K. *Lewis*, 458

*Monteagle* (Lord) See *Wotton*.

*Montgomery* (E. of) See *Philip Herbert*,

*Mordant* (Lord) ſuſpected of being concerned in the *Powder-Plot*, 296 fined, *ib.*

*More* (*Grorge*) Lieutenant of the Tower, his Contrivance to have *Somerſet* brought to his Tryal. 375

*Morgan* perſwades *Parry* to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 45

*Morley* (Lord) See *Wotton*.

*Morton* (E. of) the *Stuarts* try to ruin him, 4, 10 accuſed by the E. of *Arran*, 10 ſent to Priſon, 11 beheaded, *ib.*

*La Mothe Fenelon* ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 25

*Munſter*; the E. of *Eſſex* diſperſes ſome Rebels there, 189

N.

*Naunton* (Sir *Robert*) made Secretary of State, 392 turned out for diſobliging *Gondemar*, 437

*Nawe*, Secretary to the Q. of *Scots* ſent by her to Q. *Elizabeth* with new Propoſals, 40 apprehended, and examined, 70, 71 confirms upon Oath his Evidence, 89

*Nevil* (*Charles*) E. of *Weſtmoreland* dies, 43, *n.*

——(*Edmund*) lays claim to the Inheritance of the Earls of *Weſtmoreland*, 45 impeaches *Parry*, *ib.*

——(*Henry*) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 208 accuſed by the E. of *Eſſex* of being in the Conſpiracy with him, *ib.* recalled and confined, *ib.* 212

*Newport* (Battle of) 194

*Nonconformiſts*, Statute againſt them, 147

*Norris* fits out a Fleet, and levies Troops againſt *Spain*, 132 is General of the Land Forces, *ib.* takes the *Groyne*, *&c.* 133 See *Drake*. goes and meets the *Condé di Andrada*, *ib.* ſlays 3000 of his Men, *ib.* burns ſeveral Villages, *ib.* marches by Land to *Lisbon*, *ib.* and encamps before it, *ib.* marches towards the Mouth of the *Tagus*, *ib.* commands the *Engliſh* Troops in *France*, 141 was promiſed a Place in *Bretagne*, 151 *Francis Eſpinay* joins him, *ib.* they make ſome little Conqueſts in *Bretagne*, *ib.* recalled thence, 157 and ſent to *Ireland*, *ib.* the Q. ſends him a ſupply of Troops, 160 a Jealouſy ariſes betweed him and the Lord *Lieutenant*, 167

*Northampton* (E. of) See *William Howard*.

*Northumberland* (E. of) See *Percy*.

*Nottingham* (E. of) See *Charles Howard*.

O.

*OATH* of Allegiance, 299, 300 the Pope ſends two Briefs againſt it, 302 K. *James* orders it to be taken by all his Subjects, 326

*Oldcorn*, his ſaying about the Powder Plot, 298 executed, *ib.* made a Martyr, 299

*Olivarez* (*Condé*) the K. of *Spain*'s Letter, 526 his Anſwer, *ib.*

*Officers*; who the great Officers of the Crown are, 175

*Orange* (Prince of) gets the Union of *Utrecht* ſign'd, 5 is made Governor of *Flanders*, *ib.* aſſaſſinated, 43 ——(Prince of) See *Maurice*.
*Ormond* (E. of) defeats the *Spaniards* in *Ireland*, 8
*Oſtend* beſieged, 213 and taken by the *Spaniards*, 282
*Overbury* (Sir *Thomas*) directed the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 346 diſſwades him from marrying the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, *ib.* the Counteſs tries to ruin him, *ib.* Viſcount *Rocheſter* deſires the K. to ſend him Ambaſſador to ruin *Muſcovy*, 347 ſets the K. againſt him, *ib.* is ſent to the Tower, *ib.* and poiſoned, 348, *&c.* writes to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, 352 is poiſoned with a Glyſter, and ſmothered in his Bed, *ib.* the E. of *Northampton*'s Letter about him, 352 K. *James*'s Favourites give him an ill Character, *ib. n.*
*Oxford* (E. of) See *Henry Vere*.

P.

*Paget* (Lord) flies into *France*, 35
*Palatine* (Elector) See *Frederick*.
*Palatinate* (Affairs of) 426 the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons for the Defence of it, 455 the *Upper Palatinate* ſubdued by the D. of *Bavaria*, 457 and the Lower by *Spinola*, *ib.*, *&c.* the Court of *Spain* promiſes to have it reſtored, 562
*Palſgrave*, See Frederick.
*Papiſts*, thoſe that had Children in foreign Parts ordered to call them home, 7 Laws againſt them, 20, 47 put in Execution by K. *James*, 588 ſome of them put into Cuſtody by Q. *Elizabeth*, 123 form a Project of placing the Crown of *England* upon the Head of the E. of *Eſſex* or *Iſabella*, 159 preſent a Petition to K. *James*, 243 contrive the *Gun-powder* Treaſon, 285 countenanced by K. *James*, 316, 395 flock to *England*, 405 K. *James* deliberates about tolerating of them, 541 the Parliament Petitions againſt them, 578
*Paris* barricaded, 129 blocked up, 139 ſurrendered to K. *Henry* IV. 156
*Parliament* confirms the Aſſociation for the Defence of Q. *Elizabeth*, 46 confirms the Sentence againſt Q. *Mary*, 90 and petitions Q. *Elizabeth* to put it in Execution, *ib.* ſhe deſires them to find ſome expedient to ſave Q. *Mary*'s Life, 96. they inſiſt upon their former Demand, *ib.* prorogued, 101 grant Q. *Elizabeth* a large Subſidy, 148 and another, 178 prorogued by K. *James*, 278, 296 enjoyns an Oath of Allegiance, 299 grants K. *James* a large Subſidy, 304 prorogued, *ib.* and 308, 324 diſſolved, 327 a Second called by K. *James*, 359 diſſolved, 360 another called, 438 diſſolved, 492 See *Commons*, their Privileges examined into, 494, *&c.* ſet at firſt but a few Days, 492, *n.* a Fourth Parliament called, 566 adviſes K. *James* to break the Marriage with the *Infanta*, 574 preſent to him a Liſt of the Papiſts in Offices, 582
*Parma* (D. of) takes *Maeſtricht*, 4, 5, beſieges *Cambray*, 15 makes a great Progreſs in the *Low-Countries*, 31 lays Siege to *Antwerp*, 43 ſome of the *Engliſh* Governors in the *Low-Countries* deliver up places to him, 117 beſieges *Sluys*, *ib.* brings an Army on the Coaſt of the *Low-Countries*, in order to invade *England*, 120 is not able to join the *Spaniards*, 126 beſieges *Bergen Op-zoom*, 129 conſtrains *Henry* IV. to raiſe the Blockade of *Paris*, 139 raiſes the Siege of *Roan*, 144 dies, 614
*Parrot* (Sir *James*) ſent to Priſon, 493
*Parry* (*William*) enters into a Conſpiracy againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 45 oppoſes a Bill againſt the *Jeſuits*, *ib.* is ſent to the Tower, *ib.* his Confeſſion, *ib.* executed, 46

*Parſons* (*Robert*) comes to *England*, 6 challenges the *Proteſtant* Clergy to diſpute, *ib.*

*Paul* (Father) by what means his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent* was conveyed to *England*, 397. *n.*

*Peace* between *Spain* and *England* purchaſed with Money, 280

*Penſioners* (Gentlemen) 287, *n.*

*Percy* (*Henry*) E. of *Northumberland*, put in the Tower for being in *Throgmorton*'s Conſpiracy, 49 ſhoots himſelf, *ib.*

——(*Henry*) E. of *Northumberland*, made Privy-Counſellor to K. *James*, 233 Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, 294 ſuſpected of being concern'd in the Gun-Powder-Treaſon, *ib.* is ſent to the Tower and fined, *ib.* his Daughter married to the Lord *Hayes*, 419 releaſed, *ib.* puts Eight Horſes to his Coach, *ib. n.*

*Percy* (*Thomas*) one of the Contrivers of the Gun-Powder-Plot, 286, 287, hires a Houſe adjoining to the Houſe of Lords, *ib.* and a Cellar under the Houſe of Lords, 288 writes a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, 289, 290 flies, 292, 293 killed, 293

*Percy* (Sir *Charles*) ſent to acquaint K. *James* with Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 228

*Perez* (*Antonio*) 156

*Petre* (Sir *William*) created Baron of *Writtle*, 235, *n.*

*Philip* II. K. of *Spain*, gets Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Portugal*, 9 tries to raiſe the K. of *France* Troubles, 31, 44 ſigns a private League with the D. of *Guiſe*, *ib.* prepares to invade *England*, 117 ground of his Title to *England*, *ib.* Q. *Mary* had conveyed to him the Kms. of *England* and *Scotland* by Will, 118 ſends the *Armada* againſt *England*, 124, *&c.* how he received the News of the Defeat of it, 128, and *n.* prepares to exert his utmoſt to ſupport the *French* League, 154 endeavours to procure his Daughter the Km. of *England*, 159 puts a Fleet out to Sea to conquer *England*, 173 but it is diſperſed by a Storm, *ib.* ſecret Negotiation carried between him and K. *Henry*, 174 forms Projects againſt *Ireland*, *ib.* dies a dreadful Death, 185

*Philip* III. K. of *Spain*, 185 ſends an Agent to congratulate K. *James*'s Deliverance from the Powder-Treaſon, 297, *n.* ſends a Ratification of the Peace between the States and Archduke, 310, 313 his Reaſons for ſpinning out the Negotiation of the Marriage between the *Infanta* and *Charles*, 413 ſupplies the Emperour with Troops, 425 raiſes an Army for him in the *Low-Countries*, 426 dies, 458

*Philip* IV. K. of *Spain*, 458 appears eager to conclude the Marriage, 925 his Letter to *Condé Olivarez* about it, 526

*Pleſſis Mornay* ſent Ambaſſador by *Henry* IV. to Q. *Elizabeth*, 143

*Polly*, a Spy of *Walſingham*'s, 67

*Pope*. See *Gregory*, *Sixtus*, *Clement*, *Urban*,

*Popiſh* Recuſants, See *Recuſants*,

*Poſtnati*, 307

*Pouch* (Captain) See *Reynolds*,

*Prague*, the *Jeſuits* admitted there, 414, driven thence, 416, Surrenders to the Emperour, 456

——(Battle of) 431

*Prerogative* K. *James* very full of his, 232, 252, 379 would not have it examined into, 380, 392, 410, 496. *&c.*

*Prieſts* four Popiſh executed, 6 ſeveral tranſported, 26 quarrel between them and the Jeſuits in *England*, 217 baniſhed the Realm, 249, 317

*Proclamations* very frequent in K. *James*'s Reign, 243, *&c.* 316 an Order to bind them in a Book, 319 forbidding People's talking of State-Affairs, 438, 456, 493

*Proteſtants* in *Germany*, Diſputes beteen them and the *Catholicks*, 413, enter into a Confederacy, 414 their Affairs in a bad ſituation, 438

*Purbeck* (Viſcount of) See *Villiers*,
*Puritans* much hated by K. *James*, 244, 395, 592 preſent a Petition to him, *ib.* enjoined by a Proclamation to conform to the eſtabliſhed Church, 250 diſcontented, 275 perſecuted by *Bancroft*, 312 go and ſettle in *Virginia*, *ib.* two ſorts of them, 321 confounded by the High-Commiſſion, *ib.* ſome ſtopt from going to *America*, 354 are for the People, 502 careſſed by K. *James*, 566
*Purveyors*, Proclamation againſt them, 250
*Pym* (Mr.) impriſon'd) 493

R.

*Raleigh* (Sir *Walter*) puts to Sea with a Deſign to go to the *Spaniſh* Plantations in *America*, 146 takes a *Carack* richly laden, *ib.* makes a ſecond Expedition into *America*, 167 burns the Merchant-Ships at *Cadiz*, 170 falls out with the E. of *Eſſex*, 174 is coldly received by K. *James*, 235 enters into a Conſpiracy againſt him, 242 tried and condemdemned, *ib.* kept twelve Years Priſoner in the Tower, 243 where he writes a Hiſtory of the World, *ib.* diſcovered *Virginia*, 312 obtains his Liberty, 405 his Eſtate given to the E. of *Somerſet*, *ib.* forms a Project of going to *America* in queſt of a gold Mine, 406 obtains a Commiſſion from the K. *ib.* ſails with 12 Ships, *ib.* is not able to find the Mine, 407 forced by the Sailors to return to *England*, ib. apprehended, and ſent to the Tower, 407 beheaded, 408 fell a Sacrifice to the *Spaniards*, ib. and 418
*Rammekins* delivered by the *States* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 55 redeemed again, 388, *&c.*
*Randolph* ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 11 tries to ſtir up a Rebellion there, *ib.* comes back, 12 ſent to make a Treaty between *Scotland* and *England* 61 dies, 140
*Ravillac*, ſtabs *Henry* IV, 326 his Confeſſion, *ib.*
*Recuſants*, Popiſh, Act againſt them, 147 *n.* ordered not to come within 10 Miles of the Court, 326 releaſed out of Priſon by K. *James*, 508 complains to *Lewis* XIII. 588
*Reeve*, an Apothecary's Boy, makes the poiſoned Gliſter for *Overbury*, 371 diſcovers the Matter to Sir *William Trumbull's* Servants, *ib.*
*Remonſtrances*, Origin of that Name, 331
*Reynolds* (Dr.) one of the chief Managers at the *Hampton*-Court Conference, 245, *&c.*
*Reynolds* (*John.*) 309
*Rheims* an *Engliſh* College ſet up there, 6
*Rich* (Sir *Nathan*) ſent to Priſon, 493
*Rich* (Sir *Henry*) K. *James* gives him, 3000*l.* 355 ſent to *France* about the Treaty of Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, 567 created E. of *Holland*, *ib.*
*Richardot* employed to negotiate a Peace between *Spain* and *England*, 280 throws an Imputation upon K. *James*, 314
*Richlieu* (Cardinal) negotiates with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors the Marriage of Princeſs *Henrietta* with Prince *Charles*, 596
*Roan* Q. *Elizabeth* lends the K. of *France* Troops for the Siege of it, 142
*Rodolphus* II Emperour, ſeizes upon *Cleves*, 326 dies, 415
*Roſny* (Marquiſs of) ſent by the K. of *France* Ambaſſador to K. *James*, 420
*Roſs* (Lord) ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, 384
*Ruſſel* (Lord) Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a Jealouſy between him and *Norris*, 167
——— (*Francis*) Son to the E. of *Bedford*, ſlain at a Conference with *Fernihurſt*, 53
——— (*Francis*) created Baron of *Thornaugh*, 235
*Ruthven*-Conſpiracy, 24
——— (Lords of) *ib.* convene the States, 28 K. *James* refuſes to pardon them, though he had promiſed it, 30 they leave the Court, *ib.* they enter into a new Conſpiracy

ſpiracy againſt the E. of *Arran*, 31
*Ruthven*, E. of *Gowry*, ſecures K. *James*, 24. K. *James* viſits him, 29 he asks the King's Pardon, *ibid.* quits the Court, 30 enters into a Conſpiracy againſt the E. of *Arran*, 32 beheaded, 33
—— his Sons conſpire againſt K. *James*, 195 killed in the Attempt, *ibid.* all who bore the Name of *Ruthen* obliged to quit it, *ibid.* *Auguſt* 5 ordered to be kept a Holiday for it, 250

S.

S*Alt-petre* Men ſuppreſſed, 250
*Sanquir* (Lord) cauſes a Fencing-Maſter to be aſſaſſinated, 336 hanged for it, *ibid* the true Reaſon of the King's proving ſo inexorable to him, *ibid. n.*
*Savage* (*John*) perſuaded to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 65, 67 executed, 71
*Saxony* (Elector of) gained by *Ferdinand*, 425 conquers *Luſatia*, 430
*Scotland* (Affairs of) 9, 24, 28, 31, 52, 130, 136, 146, 150, 157, 158. See *Mary* and *James*. Union of it with *England* propoſed, 274 debated, 305 rejected, 307
——K. *James* endeavours to compel that Church to conform to that of *England*, 397—403
—— States of that Km. enact new Laws againſt the Catholicks, 159 and enter into an Aſſociation, *ibid.*
*Scots*, Jealouſy between them and the *Engliſh*, 284 affront them, 337 get large Eſtates in *England*, 274, 359, 387
*Scotch* Fugitives permitted by Q. *Elizabeth* to return to *Scotland*, 53 draw a Body of Troops, and march to *Sterling*, 54 ſeize K. *James*, *ibid.* reſtored to their Eſtates, *ib.*
*Selden* (Mr.) impriſoned, 493
*Seminaries* (*Engliſh*) eſtabliſhed at *Rome* and *Rheims*, 5 Penalties for ſending Children there, 47 Perſons coming from thence not to be harboured by any body, 145
*Seymour* (*Henry*) ſent with forty Ships to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from joining the *Spaniſh* Fleet, 121
——— (  ) E. of *Hertford*, ſent Ambaſſador to *Bruſſels*, 283
——— (Sir *William*) married *Arabella Stuart* without the King's Conſent, 378 for which they are committed to the Tower, *ib.* he eſcapes from thence, *ibid. n.* gets leave to come back, and marries the E. of *Eſſex*'s Daughter, 379, *n.*
*Sherley* (*Robert*) comes Ambaſſador to *England* from *Perſia*, 337
*Sidney* (Sir *Robert*) ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 128 created Baron of *Penhurſt*, 235, *n.*
*Sileſia* ſubmits to the Emperour, 456
*Simier* the *French* Envoy to Q. *Elizabeth* wins her Heart, 2 tries to ruin the E. of *Leiceſter*, *ibid.*
*Simon*. See *Thomas Monſon*.
*Sixtus* V Pope, thunders out Cenſures againſt the K. of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, 59 ſides with K. *Philip* againſt *England*, 119 thunders out a Bull againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* favours K. *Philip*'s Attempt upon *France*, 140
*Somers* (*James*) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 15
*Somerſet* (*Thomas*) ſent by the Council to inform K. *James* with Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 228
——— (E. of) See *Carr*.
*Spalato* (Abp. of) See *de Dominis*.
*Spain*; a Company to trade there eſtabliſhed,

*Purbeck* (Viſcount of) See *Villiers*,
*Puritans* much hated by K. *James*, 244, 395, 592 preſent a Petition to him, *ib.* enjoined by a Proclamation to conform to the eſtabliſhed Church, 250 diſcontented, 275 perſecuted by *Bancroft*, 312 go and ſettle in *Virginia*, *ib.* two ſorts of them, 321 confounded by the High-Commiſſion, *ib.* ſome ſtopt from going to *America*, 354 are for the People, 502 careſſed by K. *James*, 566
*Purveyors*, Proclamation againſt them, 250
*Pym* (Mr.) impriſon'd) 493

R.

*Raleigh* (Sir *Walter*) puts to Sea with a Deſign to go to the *Spaniſh* Plantations in *America*, 146 takes a *Carack* richly laden, *ib.* makes a ſecond Expedition into *America*, 167 burns the Merchant-Ships at *Cadiz*, 170 falls out with the E. of *Eſſex*, 174 is coldly received by K. *James*, 235 enters into a Conſpiracy againſt him, 242 tried and condemdemned, *ib.* kept twelve Years Priſoner in the Tower, 243 where he writes a Hiſtory of the World, *ib.* diſcovered *Virginia*, 312 obtains his Liberty, 405 his Eſtate given to the E. of *Somerſet*, *ib.* forms a Project of going to *America* in queſt of a gold Mine, 406 obtains a Commiſſion from the K. *ib.* ſails with 12 Ships, *ib.* is not able to find the Mine, 407 forced by the Sailors to return to *England*, ib. apprehended, and ſent to the Tower, 407 beheaded, 408 fell a Sacrifice to the *Spaniards*, ib. and 418
*Rammekins* delivered by the *States* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 55 redeemed again, 388, *&c.*
*Randolph* ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 11 tries to ſtir up a Rebellion there, *ib.* comes back, 12 ſent to make a Treaty between *Scotland* and *England* 61 dies, 140
*Ravillac*, ſtabs *Henry* IV, 326 his Confeſſion, *ib.*
*Recuſants*, Popiſh, Act againſt them, 147 *n.* ordered not to come within 10 Miles of the Court, 326 releaſed out of Priſon by K. *James*, 508 complains to *Lewis* XIII. 588
*Reeve*, an Apothecary's Boy, makes the poiſoned Gliſter for *Overbury*, 371 diſcovers the Matter to Sir *William Trumbull's* Servants, *ib.*
*Remonſtrances*, Origin of that Name, 331
*Reynolds* (Dr.) one of the chief Managers at the *Hampton*-Court Conference, 245, *&c.*
*Reynolds* (*John*,) 309
*Rheims* an *Engliſh* College ſet up there, 6
*Rich* (Sir *Nathan*) ſent to Priſon, 493
*Rich* (Sir *Henry*) K. *James* gives him, 3000*l.* 355 ſent to *France* about the Treaty of Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, 567 created E. of *Holland*, *ib.*
*Richardot* employed to negotiate a Peace between *Spain* and *England*, 280 throws an Imputation upon K. *James*, 314
*Richlieu* (Cardinal) negotiates with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors the Marriage of Princeſs *Henrietta* with Prince *Charles*, 596
*Roan* Q. *Elizabeth* lends the K. of *France* Troops for the Siege of it, 142
*Rodolphus* II Emperour, ſeizes upon *Cleves*, 326 dies, 415
*Roſny* (Marquiſs of) ſent by the K. of *France* Ambaſſador to K. *James*, 420
*Roſs* (Lord) ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, 384
*Ruſſel* (Lord) Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a Jealouſy between him and *Norris*, 167
——— (*Francis*) Son to the E. of *Bedford*, ſlain at a Conference with *Fernihurſt*, 53
——— (*Francis*) created Baron of *Thornaugh*, 235
*Ruthven*-Conſpiracy, 24
——— (Lords of) *ib.* convene the States, 28 K. *James* refuſes to pardon them, though he had promiſed it, 30 they leave the Court, *ib.* they enter into a new Conſpiracy

ſpiracy againſt the E. of *Arran*, 31
*Ruthven*, E. of *Gowry*, ſecures K. *James*, 24 K. *James* viſits him, 29 he asks the King's Pardon, *ibid.* quits the Court, 30 enters into a Conſpiracy againſt the E. of *Arran*, 32 beheaded, 33
—— his Sons conſpire againſt K. *James*, 195 killed in the Attempt, *ibid.* all who bore the Name of *Ruthen* obliged to quit it, *ibid.* *Auguſt* 5 ordered to be kept a Holiday for it, 250

S.

*Salt-petre* Men ſuppreſſed, 250
*Sanquir* (Lord) cauſes a Fencing-Maſter to be aſſaſſinated, 336 hanged for it, *ibid* the true Reaſon of the King's proving ſo inexorable to him, *ilid. n*
*Savage* (*John*) perſuaded to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 65, 67 executed, 71
*Saxony* (Elector of) gained by *Ferdinand*, 425 conquers *Luſatia*, 430
*Scotland* (Affairs of) 9, 24, 28, 31, 52, 130, 136, 146, 150, 157, 158. See *Mary* and *James*. Union of it with *England* propoſed, 274 debated, 305 rejected, 307
——K. *James* endeavours to compel that Church to conform to that of *England*, 397---403
—— States of that Km. enact new Laws againſt the Catholicks, 159 and enter into an Aſſociation, *ibid.*
*Scots*, Jealouſy between them and the *Engliſh*, 284 affront them, 337 get large Eſtates in *England*, 274, 359, 387
*Scotch* Fugitives permitted by Q. *Elizabeth* to return to *Scotland*, 53 draw a Body of Troops, and march to *Sterling*, 54 ſeize K. *James*, *ibid.* reſtored to their Eſtates, *ib.*
*Selden* (Mr.) impriſoned, 493
*Seminaries* (*Engliſh*) eſtabliſhed at *Rome* and *Rheims*, 5 Penalties for ſending Children there, 47 Perſons coming from thence not to be harboured by any body, 145
*Seymour* (*Henry*) ſent with forty Ships to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from joining the *Spaniſh* Fleet, 121
——( )E. of *Hertford*, ſent Ambaſſador to *Bruſſels*, 283
——(Sir *William*) married *Arabella Stuart* without the King's Conſent, 378 for which they are committed to the Tower, *ib.* he eſcapes from thence, *ibid. n.* gets leave to come back, and marries the E. of *Eſſex*'s Daughter, 379, *n.*
*Sherley* (*Robert*) comes Ambaſſador to *England* from *Perſia*, 337
*Sidney* (Sir *Robert*) ſent Ambaſſa- to *Scotland*, 128 created Baron of *Penhurſt*, 235, *n.*
*Sileſia* ſubmits to the Emperour, 456
*Simier* the *French* Envoy to Q. *Elizabeth* wins her Heart, 2 tries to ruin the E. of *Leiceſter*, *ibid.*
*Simon*. See *Thomas Monſon*.
*Sixtus* V Pope, thunders out Cenſures againſt the K. of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, 59 ſides with K. *Philip* againſt *England*, 119 thunders out a Bull againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* favours K. *Philip*'s Attempt upon *France*, 140
*Somers* (*James*) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 15
*Somerſet* (*Thomas*) ſent by the Council to inform K. *James* with Q. *Elizabeth*'s Death, 228
——(E. of) See *Carr*.
*Spalato* (Abp. of) See *de Dominis*.
*Spain*; a Company to trade there eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, 282 aboliſhed again, *ibid.*

*Spaniards*, ſome land in *Ireland*, 7 and build a Fort, 8 all killed, *ibid.* Q. *Elizabeth* ſends a Fleet againſt them in *America*, 56 and in *Spain*, 115, 116 ſprepare to invade *England*, 117, *&c.* contrive ſome dangerous Plot in *Scotland*, 149 enter *Picardy* and *Noyon*, &c. 155 *Dourlens* and *Cambray*, 163 make a Deſcent in *England*, 165 ſend a Fleet to make a Deſcent in *Cornwal*, 175 land in *Ireland*, and take *Kingſale*, 216 with what view they ſet on Foot the Negotiation between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, 411

*Spaniſh Armada*, 120

*Spaniſh* Match ſet on Foot, 385, &c.

*Spenſer* (Lord) falls out with the Lord *Arundel* in the Parliament-Houſe, 453

*Spenſer* (Sir *Robert*) created Baron of *VVorm-Leighton*, 235, *n.*

*Spinola* (*Francis*) puts ſome Gallies to Sea in the K. of *Spain*'s Service, 193 guards a rich *Carack*, 217 hath a ſharp Engagement with ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, *ibid.* takes *Oſtend*, 283, *n.* for which he is created D. of *Santa Severina*, *ibid.* endeavours to become Maſter of *Cleves*, 411 made General of the K. of *Spain*'s Troops againſt *Bohemia*, 426 takes ſome Places in *Bohemia*, 428 defeats the Elector *Palatine*, 431 makes ſeveral Conqueſts in the Lower *Palatinate*, 457 leads Troops in the Low-Countries, *ibid.*

*Sports* (Book of) ordered to be publiſhed and read in Churches, 403, 404

*Squire* (*Edward*) attempts to poiſon Q. *Elizabeth*, 185 apprehended, *ibid.*

*Stanley* (*Ferdinand*) E. of *Derby*, *Heſquet* perſuades him to take the Title of King, 154 and threatens him, if he did not, *ibid.* he informs againſt *Heſquet*, *ibid.* poiſoned,

*Stanley* one of the *Engliſh* Governors in the Low-Countries, 116

*States* of *Holland* complain of the E. of *Leiceſter*, 116 give the command of their Army to Count *Maurice*, 117 they break all Correſpondence with the E. of *Leiceſter*, *ibid.* Q. *Elizabeth* propoſed to be Mediatrix between them and *Spain*, 118 they refuſe to treat, *ibid.* join ſome Ships with *Drake* and *Norris*, 132 K. *Henry* complains of them, 165 they ſend him Money and Troops, *ibid.* Q. *Elizabeth* calls upon them to pay what they owed her, 165, 171 they enter into the League between *France* and *England*, 173 make a new Treaty with Q. *Elizabeth*, 184 the *Spaniards* negotiate a Peace with them, 309, 313 ſend to acquaint K. *James* with it, 310 would not treat but as free States, 313 make a Truce, 315 redeem the Cautionary Towns, 388, *&c.* ſeize part of *Cleves*, 326, 411

*Statute* againſt Nonconformiſts, 147

*Sterlin* taken by the *Ruthven* Lords, 33 K. *James* ſurprized there, 54

*Stuart* (*James*) of *Oghiltry*, one of K. *James*'s Favourites, 4 tries to ſet him againſt the E. of *Morton*, *ibid.* made E. of *Arran*, 10 accuſes the E. of *Morton*, *ibid.* his Character, 12, 33 grows odious to the People, *ibid.* attempts to go and free K. *James*, 24 is taken Priſoner, *ib.* releaſed, and taken by K. *James* again into favour, 29 perſuades him not to pardon the *Ruthven*-Lords, *ib.* 31 they form

form a new Conſpiracy againſt him, 32 Q. *Elizabeth* wins him to her ſide, 34 confers with the E. of *Hunſdon*, and makes a private Treaty with him, 34 he engages to keep the K. unmarried for three Years, *ib.* tries to ruin the Maſter of *Gray*, *ib.* his Credit decreaſes, 53 *Wotton* helps to ruin him, *ib.* is thought the Author of the Quarrel, wherein *Francis Ruſſel* was ſlain, *ib.* confined to his Houſe, *ib.* ſet at Liberty, *ib.* eſcapes from the *Scotch* Fugitives, 54

*Stuart* (*Eſme*) tries to ſet K. *James* and Q. *Elizabeth* at variance, 3 becomes K. *James*'s Favourite, 4 tries to ruin the E. of *Morton*, *ib.* perſwades K. *James* to take a Progreſs into ſome of his Counties, *ib.* made E. and D. of *Lenox*, 10 Q. *Elizabeth* ſends to accuſe him of holding Intelligence with *France*, *ib.* his Character, 12 grows odious to the People, *ib.* retires to *Dunbarton*, 24 and then into *France*, where he dies, 28

*Stuart* ( ) D. of *Lenox*, comes over to *England* with K. *James*, 231 made a Privy-Counſellor, 233

------(*Arabella*) a Plot to ſet her on the Throne, 242 an account of her, and of her right to the Throne, 378 married to Sir *William Seymour*, *ib.* for which ſhe is committed to the Tower, *ib.* tries to eſcape, but is taten and brought back to the Tower, *ib. n.* dies, *ib.*

*Stuart* (Colonel) 55

*Stubbs* (*John*) hath his right hand cut off for writing againſt Q. *Elizabeth*'s Marriage with the D. of *Anjou*, 18

*Sturton* (Lord) ſuſpected of being an Accomplice in the Powder-Plot, 296 fined *ibid.*

*Subſidies*; granted to Q. *Elizabeth*, 148, 216

------to K. *James*, 304, 323, 447

*Sundays*, K. *James* petitioned to permit Recreations on thoſe days, 403

*Sweden* (K. of) his ſaying upon Q. *Elizabeth*'s treating with the *States*, 56 *n.*

T.

*Taxis* ſent by the K. of *Spain* Ambaſſador to *England*, 241 treats about a peace, *ibid.*

*Teſmond* (*Oſwald*) approves of the *Gun-powder* Treaſon, 287

*Thames* dried up ſo that a Man might ride over it, 146

*Thomas* (*Valentine*) ſlanders Q. *Elizabeth*, 240 condemned, *ib.*

*Throgmorton* (*Francis*) enters into a Conſpiracy againſt Q. *Elizabeth*, 35 arreſted, *ib.* ſends the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador a Cabinet full of Papers, 37 his Confeſſion and Execution, 38

*Tickburn* and *Tilney* enter into a Plot to aſſaſſinate Q. *Elizabeth*, 67 executed, 71

*Tilly* (Count) the Duke of *Bavaria*'s General, 456 enters the *Upper-Palatinate*, and takes ſeveral places there, 457 concludes a Treaty with Count *Mansfedlt*, *ib.* ſtops up all the Paſſages of the *Palatinate*, 510 routs the K. of *Bohemia*, and Count *Mansfeldt*, 511 attacks the Prince of *Brunſwick*, *ib.* takes *Heidelberg*, &c. *ibid.*

*Tobacco*, when firſt brought into *England*, 57 *n.*

*Toleration*; the Papiſts petition for one, 243, *&c.* 285

*Tories* and *Whiggs*, Origin of those two Parties, 452, *&c.*
*Tortus*, 302
*Treaty* of Marriage between K. *James* and *Ann* of *Denmark*, 55
*Treaty* between Q. *Elizabeth* and the *States*, 55, 183 between them and K. *James*, 313 between *England* and *Scotland*, 60, &c. between *France* and *England*, 141, 145 between *England* and *Spain*, 241, 280
*Trent*, Father *Paul*'s History of that Council, how conveyed to *England*, 397 *n.*
*Truce* between *England* and *Isabella* about the *Palatinate*, 528
*Tresham* (*Francis*) concerned in the Gun-powder Treason, 286 contributes 200*l.* towards carrying it on, 288 apprehended, 293
*Trumbull* (Sir *William*) *Reeve* discovers the poisoning of *Overbury* to some of his Servants, 371
*Tungland* (Lord) sent by K. *James* to *France*, 130
*Turner* (*Ann*) employed by the Countess of *Essex* to incapacitate her Husband, 344 and to poison *Overbury*, 348 recommends *Weston* to the Countess of *Essex*, *ib.* apprehended, 373
*Turnhout* (Battle of) 174
*Tyrone* enters into a Rebellion 160 obtains a Truce, 167 grows formidable in *Ireland* 184 gains great Advantages over the *English*, 186 the Province of *Munster* revolts to him, *ib.* sends the E. of *Essex* word that he was ready to submit to the Q. and desires a Conference with him, 190 obtains a Truce from him, *ib.* breaks it 192 flatters himself with Assistance from *Spain* and the *Pope*, *ib.* forms a design of driving all the *English* out of *Ireland*, *ib.* the Pope sends him a *Phœnix*'s Feather, *ib.* reduces the whole Province of *Ulster*, 164 the Pope sends him a Bull with very large Indulgences, *ib.* receives Succours from *Spain*, 216 routed by the *English*, *ib.* throws himself upon the Q.'s Mercy, 218 yields himself to the Lord Deputy, brought to *England*, 240 and pardoned, *ib. n.* returns to *Ireland*, 309 attempts to stir up a Rebellion in that Kingdom, *ib.* flies from thence, *ibid.*

V.

*Vaudomont* (Prince of) visits K *James*, 305
*Vaux* (Lord) permitted by K. *James* to raise Troops for the *Infanta*'s Service, 509
*Vere* (*Henry*) E. of *Oxford*, commands a Company of Volunteers in *Bohemia*, 427 forced to retire to *Worms*, 458 throws himself into *Frankendal*, *ib.* sent to the Tower 493
*Vere* (*Francis*) knighted, 129 *n.* made Governour of the *Brill*, 171 sent to the *States* to know whether they would continue the War 182 signalizes himself at the Battle of *Newport* 124 and at the Siege of *Ostend*, of which he was Governour, 213, 283
----- (Sir *Horatio*) commands the *English* Troops that went to assist the K. of *Bohemia* 427
*Vervins*; Peace signed there, 181
*Vigo*, taken by the *English* and fired, 134
*Villiers* (*George*) his first Appearance before K. *James*, 365 an Account of his Extraction, and Qualifications, 365 set by some Lords in opposition to the E. of *Somerset*, *ib.* the

the K. makes him his Favourite 366 purchaſes a *Cup-bearer's* place, *ib.* the Q. prevailed upon by the Abp. of *Canterbury* to recommend him to the King, 368, 369 knighted and made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, 369 ordered by the K. to go and deſire *Somerſet's* Friendſhip, 272 rules all at Court 379 his Meſſage to Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, 383 ruins the Lord Treaſurer *Suffolk*, 391 created Baron of *Brandſpach*, Viſcount *Whaddon*, and E. of *Buckingham*, 396 and made Privy-Counſellor of *Scotland*, 403 beſtows nothing without Money or Penſions 404 inriches his Kindred, 405 the People complain of his Adminiſtration 409 made Lord High-Admiral, 409 and Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, *ib.* his Letter to *Gondemar* about the *Palatinate* 433, *&c.* rules in the King's Name 437 diſpoſes of all Offices, *ib.* marries the E. of *Rutland's* Daughter, 438 is attacked by the Parliament, as chief Author of the Monopolies, 450, *&c.* the K. tries to ſcreen him, *ib.* gets *Wm. Laud* to be made Bp. of St. *David's* 503. his Motives in perſuading Prince *Charles* to go to *Spain* 532 ſets out with him, 534 made D. of *Buckingham*, 551 adviſed the Prince to break off the Marriage with *Spain*, 556 ordered by K *James* to bring the Prince back by any means, 558 comes to *England*, 560 adviſes the K. to call a Parliament, 566 gives in a Speech to the Parliament the pretended Cauſes of the breaking the Match with the *Infanta*, 572 the K. grows ſuſpicious of him, 585 is very nigh being diſgraced, *ib* gets the Lord Treaſurer condemned 586 endeavours to obtain a League from *France* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, 603 puts ſome Plaiſters to K. *James's* wriſts, when ill of the Ague, 607 ſuppoſed to have haſtned his Death by that, *ib.* impeached by the Houſe of Commons for it, *ibid.*

*Villiers* (*John*) created Viſcount *Purbeck*, 405

------ (*Chriſtopher*) made E. of *Angleſey*, *ibid.*

*Virginia*, diſcovered by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, 312 many *Puritans* go and ſettle there, *ib.*

*Ulſter*, 189, 190

*Union* of *England* and *Scotland*; Commiſſioners appointed to conſider of it, 274 is debated in Parliament, 305 rejected, 307, *&c.*

*Union* of *Utrecht*, 5

*United* Provinces. See *Low-Countries*, *Holland*, *States*, *Maurice*, D. of *Parma*

*Vorſtius* (*Conrad*), choſen Divinity-Profeſſor at *Leyden*, 331 K. *James* writes to the *States*, and preſents Remonſtrances againſt him, *ib.* &c. orders his Books to be burnt, *ib.*

*Urban* VIII. Pope, ſends Briefs to the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*, 302 delays to grant the Diſpenſation for Prince *Charles's* Marriage, 556, 595, *&c.* 606

W.

*WAad* ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain* 38 is refuſed Audience, *ib.* ſent to the Q. of *Scots*, *ibid.*

*Walſingham* (*Francis*) ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, *ib* exclaims againſt the Q.'s Marriage with the D. of *Anjou*, 17 ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 30 hath Spies in *Babington's* Conſpiracy, 65, 67 informed

formed by *Gifford* of it, 68 charged by the Q. of *Scots* of forging Letters, 79 *n.* dies very poor, 140
*Watſon*, enters into a Conſpiracy againſt K. *James*, 242 executed 243
*Weſtmoreland* (E. of) See *Nevil.*
*Weſton* (Sir *Richard*) ſent to negotiate a Peace with the *Infanta*, 509 recalled, 518
*Weſton* employed to poiſon *Overbury*, 348 apprehended 373
*Whiggs* and *Tories*, Origin of thoſe two Parties, 452
*Whinyard*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, lets the Cellar under the Houſe of Lords to *Percy*, 291
*VVhitgift* (Abp.) his flattering Speech to K. *James* at the *Hampton*-Court Conference, 246 dies 248
*Wilks* (*Thomas*) ſent to *France* to perſuade K. *Henry* IV. not to change his Religion, 151 dies, 178
*Williams* (Dr.) made Dean of *VVeſtminſter*, 419 Privy-Counſellor and Bp. of *Lincoln*, *ib.* and Lord-Keeper, 456 his Speech to the Parliament, 462 recommends *VVilliam Laud* to the King, 503 vindicates the K. for letting the Recuſants out of priſon, 508
*VVilliams* (Sir *Roger*) commands Troops in *France*, 141
------ (*Richard*) ſuborned to kill Q. *Elizabeth* 256 executed 162
*VVilloughby* (Lord) ſent into the Low-Countries to command the *Engliſh* Troops, 117
*VVinter* (*Thomas*) one of the Contrivers of the Gun-powder-plot, 292 flies into *VVarwickſhire*, *ib.* apprehended 293 his Confeſſion, *ib.*
------ (*Robert*) *ib.*
*VVinwood* (Sir *Ralph*) preſents Memorials to the States againſt *Vorſtius*, 331 made Secretary of State, 364 thwarts the E. of *Somerſet* 371 diſcovers to the King, *Reeve*'s information of *Overbury*'s being poiſoned, 372 dies, 392
*VVotton* (*Edward*) ſent by Q. *Elizabeth* to K. *James* to divert him, 52 corrupts ſeveral of the *Scotch* Courtiers, 53 forms a deſign of carrying away K. *James* to *England*, 54 is diſcovered and flies, *ib.* ſent to *France* with Copies of the Q. of *Scot*'s Letters, 71 created Baron of *Morley* 235 *n.*
------ (*Thomas*) Lord *Morley*, hath information given him of the Gun-powder-Treaſon, 289 rewarded by the K. for diſcovering of it, 297 *n*
------ (*Henry*) ſent by K. *James* to try to appeaſe the Troubles in *Bohemia*, 428 his Propoſals to the Emperour, 429
*VVriotheſly* (*Henry*) E. of *Southampton*, the E. of *Eſſex* gives him the Command of the Horſe, 189 marries without the Q.'s conſent, *ib.* diverts the E. of *Eſſex* from returning to *England*, to revenge himſelf, *ib.* attends the E. of *Eſſex* into *England*, 191 returns back from the *Netherlands*, 199 one of the E. of *Eſſex*'s Council, 202 committed to the Tower, 206 brought to his Tryal, and condemned, 207 kept in Priſon, 212 reſtored to his Eſtate and Honours, 235 confined, 493

*Yury* (Battle of) 129

Y.

*Yelverton* (Sir *Henry*) Attorney-General, turned out of his place 392

York; K. *James* met there by the *Engliſh* Lords 231

*York* (*Edmund*) ſuborned to kill Q. *Elizabeth*, 156 executed, 162

*Young* (*Peter*) ſent by *James* Ambaſſador to *Denmark*, 52

Z.

*Zealand* refuſes to come into the Terms propoſed by the *Archduke*, 314 complies with them at laſt, 315

*Zouch* (Lord) ſent Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, 157 made Privy-Counſellor to K. *James*, 232

# *FINIS.*

## *ERRATA* in Vol. IX.

PAGE 41 Line 21. Countries r. Counties, p. 57. l. 14. always r. all ways, p. 79, l. ult. of the Note, ſhe would r. *he would*, p. 112. l. 10. do r. *to* p. 113. l. 6. perceive r. *perceived*, p. 117. l. 39. Ghent r. *Gaunt*, p. 148. l. 32. unſual r. *unuſual*, p. 168. l. 28. new-levelled, r. *new-levied*, p. 173. l. 14. ſhe ought r. *they ought*, p. 183. l. ult. twenty Millions, r. *twenty thouſand*, p. 183. l. 11. Intereſt r. *Intereſts*, p. 195. l. 20. Ruthons r. *Ruthens*, p. 200. l. 37. Meaſurers r. *Meaſures*, p. 207. l. 37. one r. *one may*, p. 211. l. 7. dele the, after *what*, p. 249. l. 2 from the bottom, after *Religions* add, *differed*. This. p. 258. l. 18 that r. *than*, p. 259. l. 26. em r. *am*, p. 261. l. 6. Apollo r. *Apollos*, p. 281. l. 26. after *forming* put a. p. 287. l. 2. before *whilſt* put a, p. 295. l. 3. from the bottom dele *that*, p. 315. l. 21. dalled r. *called*, p. 328. l. 1. of the Note, of the r. *the*, p. 331. l. 9. Contre r. *Contra*, p. 359. l. 22. after Court put a, p. 412. l. 14. Cottingham r. *Cottington*, p. 422. l. ult. of the Note, have r. *trave*, p. 440. l. 7. imitate r. *intimate to*, p. 448. l. 23. dele *the*, p. 506. l. 4. was r. *was not*, p. 535. l. 7. Ambaſſadors r. *Ambaſſador*.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

